



hISTORY
OF

INDIA

5186



Notes, Edward Henry.

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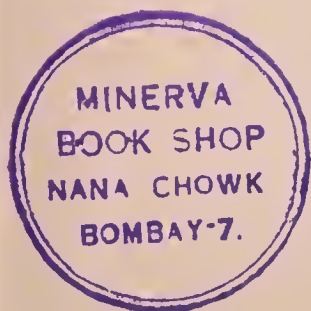
W. Daniell, R.A. Pinxt

R. Woodman, Sculpt

A HINDOO WOMAN.

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Vol. 1, Pt. 2



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W. Darnell, R.A. Del.

W. J. Cooke, Sculp.

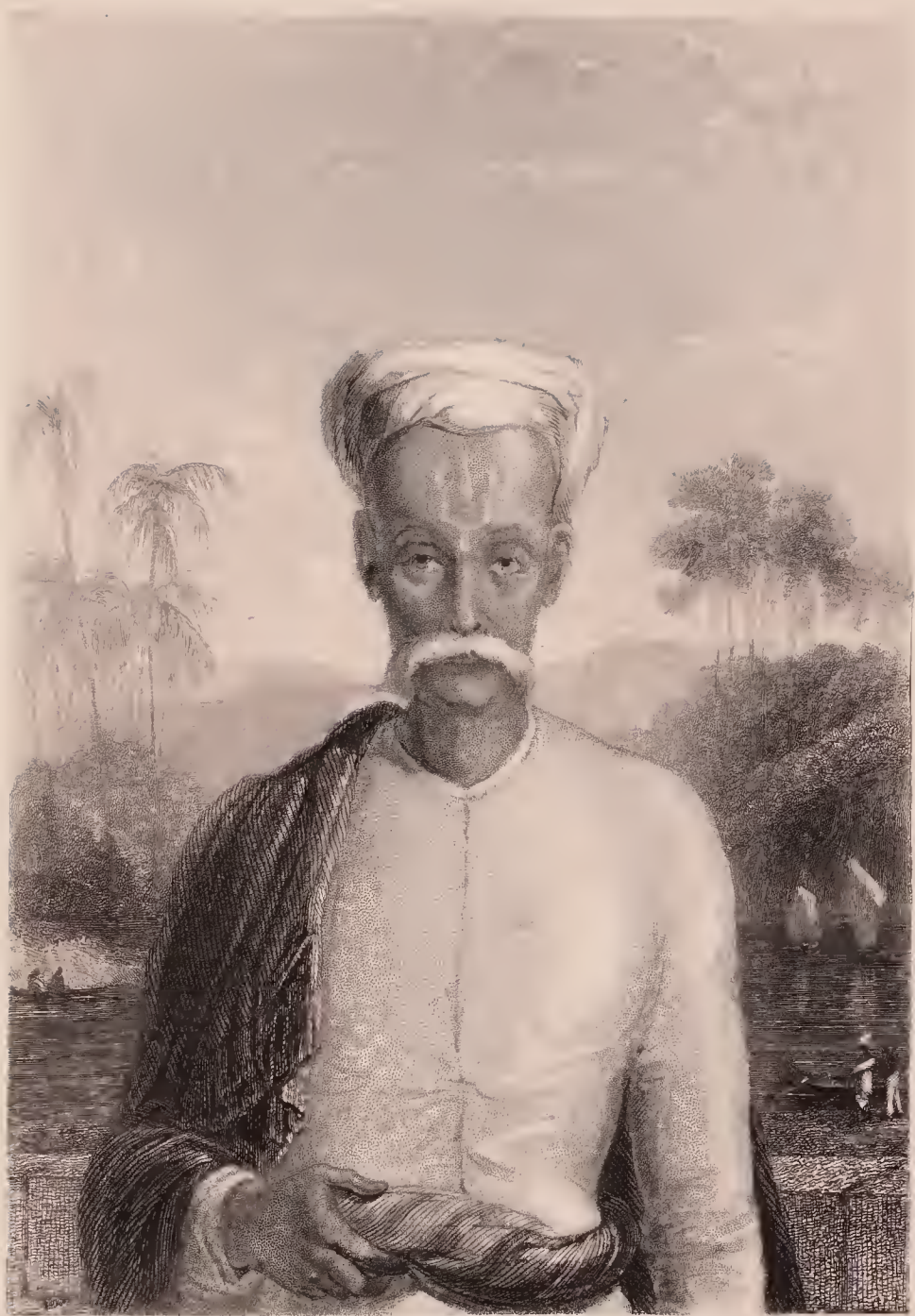
SCENE NEAR THE COAST OF MALABAR.



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MALABAR HINDOO.

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ENTRANCE TO THE LARGE CAVE, SALSETTE.



T. Knight.

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GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL.

From a Painting by Sir J. Reynolds.

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R.W. - Inman Sculp.

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THE OXEN OF THE EAST



THE BATTLE OF MOODKEE.





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NEAR MUSKAT,



GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B.



W. Daniel, R.A. D.D.

T. Garner, Sculpt.

PEASANT WOMAN OF MADRAS

L. H. G. B. R. T. D. D. D.



W. & A. R. 1854

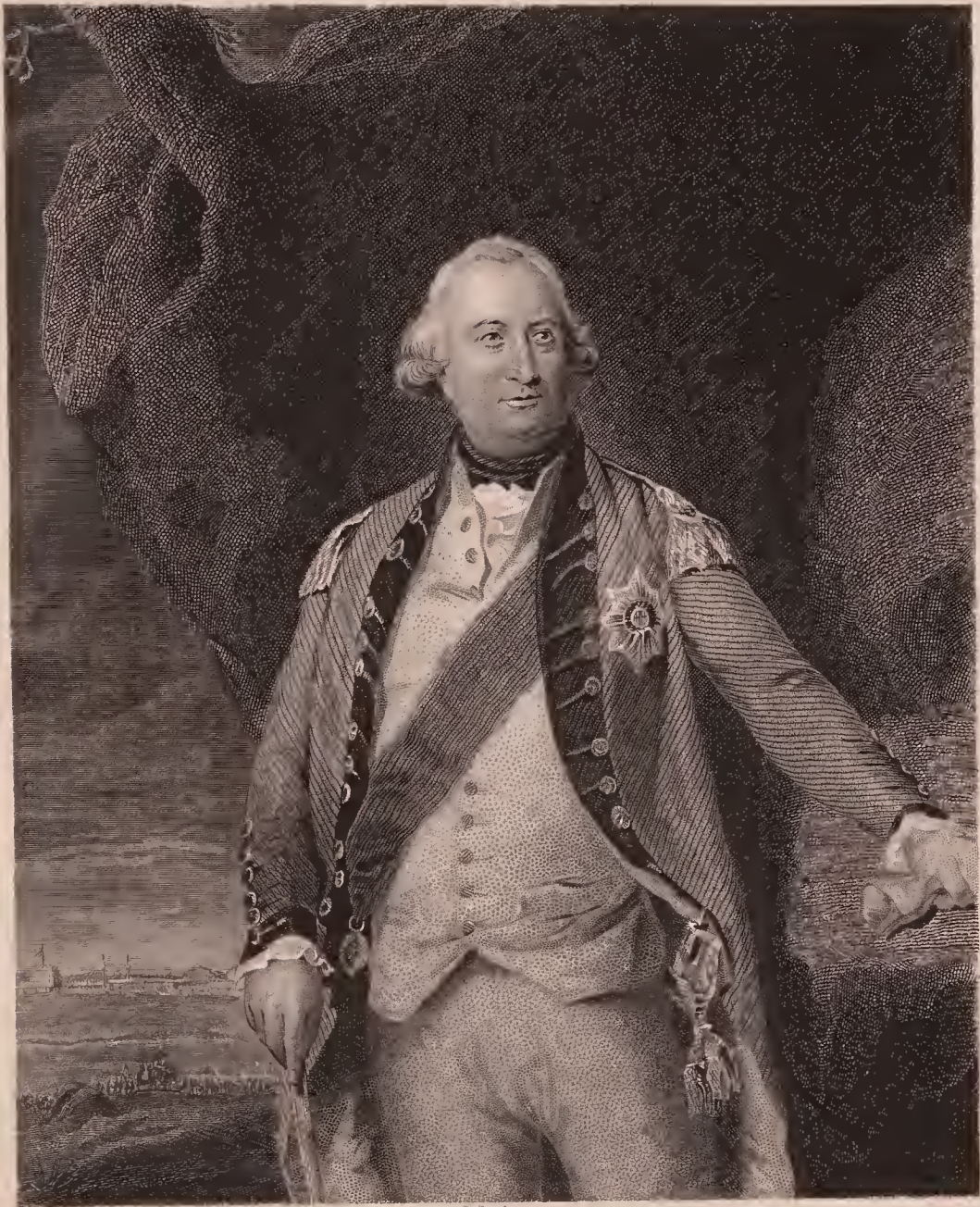
Alton

BENARES.

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CALCUTTA - THE MONSOON.



G. Stodart

THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

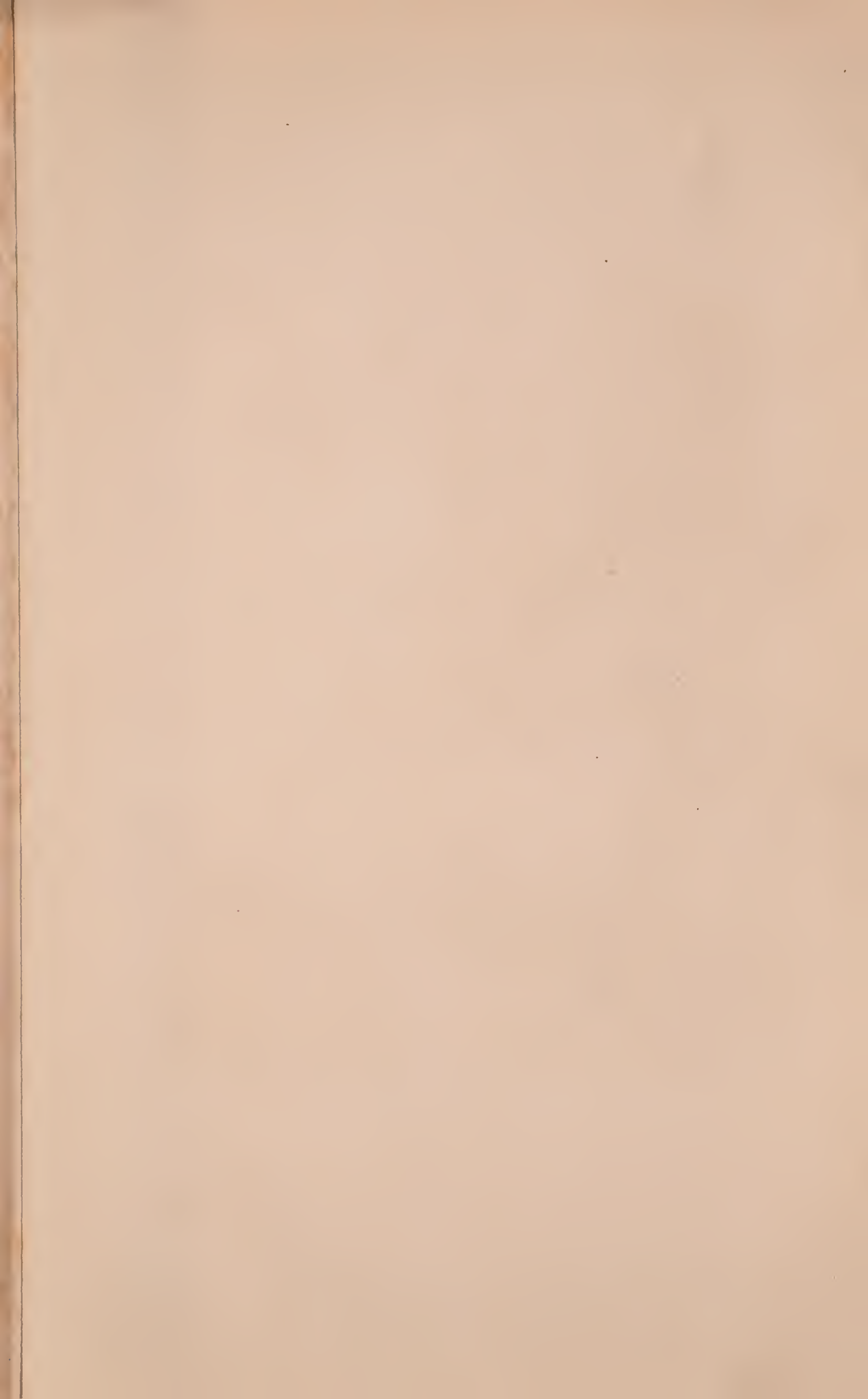


W. Daniell R.A. Del.

J. Redaway Sculp.

RAUDHAH AT ALLAHABAD.

LONDON: PUBLISHED BY J. REDAWAY.









ASIA

English Miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000

judged of from the fact that the average annual importation during the ten years, from the beginning of 1844 to the end of 1853, was—

| | From Russia. cwt. | From all other Places. cwt. |
|---|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Hemp, dressed | 620,519 | 387,098 |
| Flax and tow or codilla of hemp and flax | 1,013,565 | 466,417 |

Or the supplies we have drawn from Russia have been about twice as great as from all other countries put together. On the other hand, the hope we have of making India available for all our wants, is shown by the very rapid rate at which the importation of fibrous materials from that country has increased during the last twenty-five years. Thus, at three successive periods, there were imported into the United Kingdom:—

| | 1831. cwt. | 1847. cwt. | 1851. cwt. |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Hemp from Russia | 506,803 | 544,844 | 672,342 |
| Fibres from British terri- tories in the East Indies | 9,472 | 185,788 | 590,923 |

Thus, while the import of hemp from Russia increased in twenty years only one-third, that of fibrous materials from India increased sixty times, and even between 1847 and 1851, increased three times! A further increase of three times, which, from Dr. Royle's statements, appears not only possible, but easy, would make us altogether independent of the hemp and flax of Russia. This possible independence of Russia arises from the circumstance that though the fibres hitherto imported from India include neither any real hemp nor any true flax, yet they include materials which may be usefully substituted for both, while for many of the purposes to which hemp and flax are severally applied they are superior to either.*

It may interest the reader to be informed why hemp fibre should be comparatively little grown, and should not be at all imported from India, although the true hemp plant is described as a native of that country. There appear to be two reasons for this apparent anomaly. The first is, that the low country of India is so rich in other fibres, which are either more rapid in their growth, more easily prepared, more beautiful to the eye, or more durable, that the natives for home use prefer them to hemp. The second is, that hemp is cultivated largely and widely for the sake of the *churrus* and *bhang* which it yields. The *churrus* is the well-known resin of hemp, or the inspissated juice of the leaves obtained from the plant by rubbing between the hands; and *bhang* is the name usually given to the dried leaves and twigs. Both of these are

* *Edinburgh Review.*

extensively used as soothing and exhilarating narcotics. The former is swallowed in the form of pills or boluses, the latter is smoked either alone or mixed with a certain proportion of tobacco. It will give an idea of the extent to which the hemp plant is cultivated for this luxurious purpose if we add from another authority that the use of it, as a narcotic, prevails in Asia and Africa among not less than two or three hundred millions of men!*

But what becomes of the fibre, it will naturally be asked? The resin and the leaves and the twigs being removed, why should the hemp fibre not be made use of also? The reason of this is, that the mode of culture best suited for the production of *bhang*, and usually followed in Lower India, is not adapted to the growth of a valuable fibre. All plants when grown thickly together, shoot up in height, branch little, and, if the soil be rich and moist, are of a looser and more spongy texture. If fibrous plants be so raised, they yield finer, softer, stronger, and more flexible threads. Hence, both hemp and flax, when cultivated for their fibres, are sown more or less thickly, and are pulled up about the season of flowering, and usually before the seeds are permitted to ripen. But in India, when cultivated as a narcotic, the seed of the hemp plant is not sown thick as it ought to be when intended for cordage. The natives first sow it thin, and afterwards transplant the young plants, placing them at distances of nine or ten feet from each other.†

Rheea fibre rope has been manufactured under the auspices of government; this fibre has of late years become an export. It exceeds the best hemp in strength, and rivals in fineness superior flax. It is cultivated in Rungpore, Dinapore, Assam, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and in the Straits' settlements: four to five crops of fibre can be obtained in the year from the same plants, and the price is as cheap as Russian hemp. This plant seems identical with the China grass, from which their celebrated grass cloth is made. Various prizes were awarded at the Great Exhibition of 1851 for the manufactures produced from this commodity. Excellent ropes have been made in England from this substance.

Varieties of paper, some of rather a fine quality, have been made from Indian fibres, both in India and in the British Isles. Notwithstanding the rude implements employed by the native manufacturers, some paper of a good quality, resembling that used for foreign

* Johnston's *Chemistry of Common Life*, vol. ii. p. 183.

† *Edinburgh Review.*

correspondence in England, has been produced.

Jute has become a material of commerce very extensively shipped from India. It is the substance from which the gunny bags are generally made, although as stated in a previous paragraph, they are sometimes manufactured from flax. Jute is often marked as hemp in the customs returns, and it is difficult to state with precision their relative quantities.

A trade in gunny bags has sprung up between England and the United States of America. These articles are sent to the Union, where they are used for the packing of cotton. In the year ending 1855 the value of this export was 18.09.540 rupees; in the year ending 1856 it had risen to 27.03.326 rupees.

Dr. Forbes Royle represents the importations in England of fibres from India in weight as follows:—

| | 1854. | 1855. |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Hemp | 125,951 cwt. | 69,464 cwt. |
| Jute | 443,558 „ | 520,741 „ |
| Other fibres | 741 „ | 963 „ |
| Total | 570,250 | 591,168 |

Bast is a commodity of Indian commerce for which there is a growing demand in India. This article had been almost exclusively derived from Russia in the form of mats, used by gardeners for protecting fruit-trees and plants, and covering pit frames, and afterwards, when pulled to pieces, for tying up fruits and vegetables. Cabinet-makers and upholsterers use it for packing their manufactures. Russia exports three and a half millions of mats to this country. The Russian basts are made from the bark of the lime or linden-tree, which is also made into shoes, cordage, sacks for corn, &c. The linden-tree is not a native of India, but there are trees of that family which yield similar products. Several of these were introduced to Chiswick Gardens some years ago, and received there considerable attention from Dr. Lindley; he was instrumental in pointing out the commercial adaptations of several of the specimens.

Gutta percha has become a valuable importation in England, and has been imported from the Straits' settlement of Singapore. The forests where the tree grows from which it is drawn are rapidly being exhausted, and attention has been turned with success to provide the means of supply from India. The tree has been found on the Malabar coast, and its discovery in India will probably preserve the supply of so valuable an article.

The country is also rich in tanning substances, for which there is a good market in

England, such as *terra japonica*, or gambir. This is an inspissated extract from the leaves and branches of the *Uncaria Gambir*. Our supplies all come from Singapore, whence we imported 6847 tons in 1856. Cutch is another tanning substance. The best, which comes from Pegu, is an astringent extract, obtained by boiling the wood of the *Acacia Catechu*. In 1856 we imported 1689 tons. Besides those substances from the Straits' settlements and Indo-Chinese peninsula, we derive myrobolams from Bombay. These are the dried fruit of several species of *Terminalia*, imported from India. They are of a dingy yellow, oval, and about the size of an olive.

The trade in pepper, cloves, and other spices, and in ebony, saul-wood, teak, and other timbers has been increasing rapidly: references have been made to these so frequently when describing the places where they are chiefly produced, as not to require any particular notice here. The vegetable products peculiar to India, adapted to food or manufactures, are likely to be much more in request by European nations.

The commercial productions of India noticed in the foregoing pages are drawn from vegetable sources; the animal world supplies India also with numerous materials for home consumption and for export. Among the most prominent of these is silk, the secretion of the worm of the silk moth (*Bombyx Mori*), whose favourite food is the leaf of the mulberry-tree. The *Bombycidae* includes the largest of all the moths yet known, the *Saturnia Atlas*, the extent of whose wings measures between eight and nine inches. The ground colour is a fine deep orange-brown, and in the middle of each wing is a large subtriangular transparent spot: each of these transparent parts is succeeded by a black border, and across all the wings run lighter and darker bars, exhibiting a very fine assortment of varying shades. The upper wings are slightly curved downwards at their tips, and their lower wings are edged with a border of black spots on a pale buff-coloured ground. The antennæ are widely pectinated with a quadruple series of fibres, which have a very elegant appearance. This moth is met with in Southern India, and the Chinese Tussah silk has been said to be obtained from it. Among the various moths found in Assam and other parts of India, are the *Bombyx Mori*; the Tussah (*Saturnia Paphia*); the eria, or arindy (*Bombyx Cynthia*, or *Phalæna Cynthia*); the moonga (*Saturnia Assamensis* of Helfer); the jooree (*Bombyx religiosa*, Helfer); and the *Saturnia Silhetica*, Helfer. Another species of *Saturnia* (*S. Se-*

lene), the posterior wings of which are prolonged into a tail-like process, is common in Southern India. Its chrysalis is enveloped in a silky covering, so like that of *S. Paphia*, that it would probably be found to yield a strong and useful thread. The Cossimbazar produces a large cocoon; but this worm will only produce silk annually. Dessec is the small indigenous or native silkworm of Bengal, which may be produced nearly throughout the year. It yields silk of a bright yellow colour. The eggs are hatched and formed into cocoons in from fifty-five to sixty days in the November or March *bunds*, or seasons; from forty to forty-five days in the October, and from twenty-eight to thirty-two days in the April and June *bunds*. The nistry tribe of silkworms comprises three species—the *madrassie*, the *soonamooky*, and *cramee*. The *soonamooky* are the best: like the *madrassie*, they are very hardy, requiring little care, and not being at all choice in their food. The *madrassie* or foreign cocoons rank next. They produce silk of a greenish hue, much inferior to the *dessee* or *soonamooky*, but the produce is large. The worm is distinguished from the *dessee* by a black mark under the throat. The *Tussah* silkworms are reared in all the western forests, and there are three different kinds of the *goottees*, or cocoons, collected in September—namely, the *moonga*, the most common, which produce a coarse thread, easily wound; the *teerah*, a smaller cocoon, with a firm thread, but not so wound, nor so much valued by the weavers; and the *bonbunda*, the largest of the wild silkworms, the thread being coarser, runs easier, and is, therefore, in more estimation by the weavers.*

The *Bombyx Cynthia*, or *Phalæna Cynthia*, is the *eria* of Assam and the eastern districts of Bengal. It has engaged the attention of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India for many years.† With the view of bringing the substance prepared by the worm into use as an article of commercial value, the society, in conjunction with Captain (now Colonel) Jenkins, the commissioner of Assam, offered, in 1849, the sum of £60 and a gold medal to the discoverer of an effectual and cheap solvent for the adhesive material which attaches to the cocoon. Though this prize was before the public for seven years, no claimant for it appeared, and the amount was diverted to another purpose.‡ At the close of the year 1855 Sir William Read, the

governor of Malta, presented to Dr. Templeton a sample of silk produced in that island from the cocoons of the *Bombyx Cynthia*. Dr. Templeton sent the specimen to India, alleging that Signor Salteria, an Italian, succeeded in winding this silk, that the quality was peculiarly fine, and that an Englishman at Malta had succeeded in producing a pair of beautiful silk stockings and some lace-work from it. The castor-oil plant is that upon which this species of worm feeds. Since then the worms have been bred, and silk wound off, at Malta, Piedmont, Tripoli, France, and in the Island of Granada, but the worm thrives nowhere so well as at Assam, unless possibly in the neighbouring districts of Eastern Bengal.*

At the close of 1855 and beginning of 1856, Captain Hutton, in a correspondence with the Calcutta Horticultural Society, enumerated nine different species of worms indigenous to the Himalayas—seven *Saturnia*, one *Actias*, and one *Bombyx*. One species of the *Saturnia* the captain found feeding upon the quince-tree. Two of the *Saturnia* species only thrive in the warmest valleys of the Himalayas; the others prospered at great elevations. One species of *Actias* he found at elevations from five to seven thousand feet. The *Bombyx* (*Bombyx Huttoni*, West) he found feeding on the wild mulberry, from the base of the hills to the height of seven thousand feet. The captain, during the year 1855, reared a number of the caterpillars of the *Actias selene*, in order to ascertain the value of the silk, which he was unable to wind from the cocoons. These creatures thrive on the shrub *Coriaria Nipalensis*, *Andromeda orealisfolia*, the walnut, and occasionally upon the *Carpinus bimana*.

The *Tussah* silkworm is found in such abundance over many parts of Bengal, and the adjoining provinces, as to have afforded to the natives, from time immemorial, a considerable supply of a most durable, coarse, dark-coloured silk, which is woven into a kind of cloth called *Tussah dooties*, much worn by Brahmins and other sects of Hindoos. This worm cannot, however, it is said, be domesticated.

The *arrindy* silkworm is peculiar to the interior parts of Bengal, in the districts of Dinajpore and Rungpore, where the natives rear and breed it in a domestic state, as they do the silkworm. The food of this kind consists entirely of the leaves of the castor-oil plant (the *Ricinus communis*), which the natives call *arrindy*, or *arundi*, and is abundantly reared over every part of India on account of the oil obtained from the seed.

* *Report of the Entomological Society.*

* Indian Department, Exhibition 1851.

† *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

‡ *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.*

Their cocoons are remarkably soft and white, or yellowish, and the filament so exceedingly delicate as to render it impracticable to wind off the silk; it is, therefore, spun like cotton. The yarn thus manufactured is wove into a coarse kind of white cloth, of a seemingly loose texture, but of great durability. When made into clothing for men and women, it will wear constantly for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. It is likewise used as a baling material for wrapping packs of fine cloths, silks, or shawls. It must, however, be always washed in cold water; for if put into boiling water, it makes it tear like old rotten cloth.*

It will make the foregoing remarks more intelligible to the reader interested in the productions and commerce of India, but imperfectly acquainted with the technicalities of the silk trade, and cultivation, to give a few statistical and general facts in connection with the production and sale.

From 250 to 400 cocoons go to the pound. To compose an ounce of eggs of the largest breed of silkworms of 4-casts, it would require 37,440: if each of these eggs produced a worm, and they all lived, from one ounce of eggs 373 lbs. of cocoons would be obtained. One ounce of worms consume in the—

| | lbs. | |
|-------------------|-------|------------|
| 1st age | 6 | of leaves. |
| 2nd „ | 18 | „ |
| 3rd „ | 60 | „ |
| 4th „ | 180 | „ |
| 5th „ | 1,098 | „ |

Total 1,362lbs. of leaves from the hatching to the formation of the cocoon.

During the life of the silk-worm there has been excrement to the amount of 745 lbs. 8 ozs., and uneaten leaves or fragments, 155 lbs. odd. 458 feet 4 inches of spun silk extracted from a common cocoon of 4-casts weighs one grain. A cocoon yields 1760 feet of spun silk: the ounce of this spun silk is 264,000 feet long. We may conclude, on an average, that the silkworm, in forming its cocoon, draws a thread of half a mile in length. The full-grown worm is three inches long. After four, five, or six days each moth will have laid on an average 510 eggs, and 68 eggs weigh one grain: 180 female moths lay 91,800 eggs, weighing $2\frac{1}{3}$ ozs.

The size or substance of a silk thread is usually estimated by deniers, and Italian and French weight, the comparative proportion of which will be understood by the specially prepared and appended figures, which will enable the reader the better to judge of the Indian silk trade relatively to that of other countries.

* *Report of the Society of Arts.*

A Comparative Table of the Weights used for testing Silk in England, France, and Italy.

The ounce troy and the ounce “poids de marc” of Lyons, by the latter of which silk is tested in France and Italy, are equal in weight, but are differently subdivided. The ounce Troy in England is divided into 20 pennyweights $\times 24 = 480$ grains; the ounce of Lyons, poids de marc, into 24 drams $\times 24 = 576$ deniers. The denier is therefore one-sixth less than the English grain, or as the decimal 0.8334 is to 1.000.

| | Deniers. | Grains. |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|
| Therefore | 1.000 | = 0.8334 |
| „ | 1.200 | = 1.000 |
| „ | 6 | = 5 |
| „ | 100 | = $83\frac{1}{3}$ |
| 1 dram, poids de marc | 24 | = 20 |
| 1 pennyweight, troy, about | $28\frac{3}{4}$ or | 24 |
| 1 dram, avoirdupois „ | $33\frac{1}{4}$ or | $27\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1 oz. avoirdupois (16 drams of $27\frac{1}{2}$ grains) about | 532 or | $437\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1 oz. troy (20 pennyweights of 24 grains) | 576 | = 480 |
| 1 oz. poids de marc (24 drams of 24 deniers) | 576 | = 480 |
| 1 lb. troy (12 oz. of 480 grains, or 576 deniers) | 6912 | = 5760 |
| 1 lb. avoirdupois (16 oz. of $437\frac{1}{2}$ grains) | 8512 | = 7000 |
| 1 lb. poids de marc (16 oz. of 576 deniers) | 9216 | = 7680 |

The pound troy is to the pound avoirdupois as 14 to 17, nearly.

The pound avoirdupois is to the pound poids de marc as 10 to 11, nearly.

The pound poids de marc is to the pound troy as 4 to 3.

The pound and ounce apothecaries' weight are the same as troy.

The English silk reel is 818 bounts of 44 inches = 1000 yards.

The French 400 ells, or 475 metres, of 39,371 inches = 520 yards.

The custom of the trade is to reckon 32 deniers to a dram. This has probably been adopted from ease of subdivision, but when carried out creates much error.

The standard of silk measure is about 400 yards; that length of a single filament from China cocoons will weigh 2 deniers, and from French or Italian $2\frac{1}{2}$. A 10-denier silk will thus be the combined thread of four or five cocoons.

In the chapter devoted to China, notice was taken of the cultivation of the mulberry, and the production and exportation of silk in connection with that country. India imports Chinese silks, and exports them again, but this trade is not carried on to any great extent. The perfection to which the cotton manufacture has been brought both in India and England has interfered with the silk manufacture wherever it existed—even in China the cottons of India and England are little by little checking the consumption of silk; yet, although thus retarded by the competition of cotton, the silk manufactures of Europe have increased greatly.

The people of this country pay enormous sums of money for the foreign manufactured

* *Report of the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851.*

silk which they wear, although much is made here. We cannot, however, obtain all the supplies of the raw material our manufacturers require, owing to the competition of other countries, the precariousness of the silk crop, and the increased consumption in Europe, which is now more than threefold what it was at the beginning of the century.

Our imports of silk in 1856 were derived from the following quarters :—

| | |
|------------------|--------|
| | bales. |
| China | 56,561 |
| Bengal | 13,820 |
| Persia | 1,858 |
| Brutia | 143 |
| Italy | 2,784 |
| Total | 75,166 |

In the provinces east of Bengal, and on the Indo-Chinese peninsula, silk is produced, and the home consumption is very great. Upon the borders of Thibet and Bhotia, throughout Upper Assam, the silkworm finds suitable food in shrubs indigenous to those regions, and is in most parts carefully tended. In the independent territory of Monypore, and the quasi-independent territory of Tipperah, the use of both silk and cotton prevails; the higher classes using muslins brought from lower India, and silk and calico made in their own lands. There is no great quantity of silk produced for exportation, but there is an exchange of silk and silk manufacture with Birmah. English cotton goods are gradually making encroachments upon the silk manufacture of both the independent and subsidiary states to the east of Bengal. Within the Thibet frontier silk fabrics from China and Birmah are used, and cotton goods from Bengal and England. The Bhotians, Siamese, and Nepaulese, also consume the silk goods of China and Birmah, but the consumption is checked by the cottons of India proper, and of England. In Nepaul, Persian silks, brought by caravans through Cabul and the Punjaub, are worn, but only by the higher classes. Silk is spun in all these countries in some degree, and portions of it sent down to India, where it is manufactured into cloth, or exported as India silk. In Chittagong (Islamabad), Arracan, and Martaban, the mulberry-tree is carefully planted for the sake of the worm, and the native consumption of silk cloth is considerable. The cultivation of the worm in those provinces is on the Pegu and Birmese frontiers, on the higher lands; and much of the silk spun is sent into either of those countries. Silk thread, called Birmese and Peguan, and exported from these places, has been spun in the adjoining provinces of Martaban, Arracan, and Chittagong.

In the district of Prome, in Pegu, worms are bred amidst the hills and highlands by the same class of persons who grow cotton. The worm is there fed on mulberry leaves. The plants are allowed to grow three or four years, after which they are cut down, and a new plantation is made, fresh soil being cleared for the purpose. The silk thread sold before the Birmese war—that is, up to 1851—was about seven rupees a *viss*, which is the designation given to a weight of 365 lbs.* In 1855 the price was raised to nine rupees for that amount, but again declined during the year 1856–7. The dress of the better classes of the Peguans and of the Birmese, both men and women, being chiefly silk, the commodity is not likely to fall below seven rupees a *viss*. This silk, which is at so low a price in Prome, is unfit for the European market, or its cost would be soon greatly raised;† it is, however, exported in small quantities to the neighbouring provinces. Pegu is not likely to contribute to the Indian silk exports to Great Britain, for which purpose the chief object of the silk-breeder is to get cocoons made of long, strong, fine, even, lustrous, and white thread.

The silk trade of England may perhaps rank next to that of cotton, since silk now forms one of the most important articles of consumption for the purposes of dress, furniture, decoration, and luxury. Silk, it has been well remarked, is both an agreeable and a healthy material. Used in dress, it retains the electricity of our bodies. In the drapery of our rooms and furniture covers it reflects the sunbeams, giving them a greater brilliancy, and it heightens colours with a charming light. It possesses an element of cheerfulness of which the dull surfaces of wool and linen are destitute.

The quantity of silk now consumed in Europe is threefold what it was at the beginning of the century. The stiff brocade, the massy velvet, the slight gauze, and the beautiful blonde, are alike produced by the labour of the little silkworm.

Our imports of raw silk in 1856 amounted to 7,383,672 lbs.; of thrown or spun silk, 853,015 lbs.; of waste knubs and husks, 17,994 cwt. Of silk manufactures of Europe we received 905,013 lbs., and of Indian silk 597,752 pieces.

The declared value of the exports of British manufactured silks, which, in 1820, was but £371,755, had increased, in 1856, to close upon £3,000,000.

In the commercial department of the South

* *Memorandum on Silk produced in the Northern Portion of Pegu.* By Major Phayre, commissioner.

† Secretary of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

Kensington Museum, and the new museum of the India-house, Leadenhall Street, specimens of oriental silks in every form may be seen, which cannot fail to interest those concerned in our Indian commerce. In the former place will be found catalogued—

Case of wild Indian silks, containing:—

Yarns and cloth from the arca, or wild silk moth of Assam.

The eria cocoons reduced to a floss, presented by Captain F. Jenkins, commissioner of Assam, in 1837.

Yarn and thread from the silk of the mango-tree silkworm (see *Transactions of the Linnean Society*, vol. vii. p. 47).

Arca silk thread of four qualities, from Captain Jenkins.

Arindeh silk thread, dyed red, from the Marchioness of Hastings, 1818.

Spun silk from the Tusser worm, ditto.

Wild Indian silk, dyed yellow.

Thread made by the Eas Pato (*Phalœna Cynthia*), on the castor-oil plant, Central Assam.

Various cloths made from Arca silk in Assam.

Silk thread and cloth made from the mango-tree and castor-oil tree silkworms, 1809, Dr. Roxburgh.

Cocoons of the Moongha Lata and of the Tussah, or wild forest silkworms.

Specimens of raw silk from the smaller "pat pato" (*Bombyx mori minor*), and from the larger pat pato (*Bombyx mori major*), Central Assam.

The following is from the list of Chinese and Indian thrown silks:—

China (Tsatie) organzine.

The same, "boiled off"—i. e. after the gum is extracted.

The same, stained, for making lace.

China (Tsatie) tram.

China (Tsatie) sewings.

The same, "boiled off."

China (Taysam) hosiery, for making stockings.

The same, "boiled off."

China (Taysam) fine sewings.

China (Taysam) coarse sewings.

China (Taysam) hard sewings.

China (Taysam) sewings, "boiled off."

China (Yu-un-faa) lace cord.

China (Yu-un-faa) floss, or "no-throw."

China (Canton) sewings.

China (re-reeled Canton) sewings.

Bengal best floss, or "no-throw."

Bengal common tram.

Bengal organzine.

Bengal organzine, "boiled off."

Bengal sewings.

Bengal coarse sewings.

Bengal coarse sewings, "boiled off."

The general inquirer will receive some general idea of Indian silk cloths from the following specimens to be seen in the South Kensington Museum:—

Counter-case of manufactured Indian silks from the Mezankurree, Moongha, or Moorghie, Assam.

Tussah silk, bought in Calcutta in 1839.

Mezankurree, Moongha drab silk cloth, with red striped border, from Assam, 1839, from the Calcutta Museum.

Drab Moongha silk from Assam, 1837, by Captain Jenkins.

Finer white silk cloth, bordered with red stripe, from the Mezankurree Moongha silk of Assam, 1839. Presented by Captain Jenkins.

Cloth from the Moongha silkworm, in an embroidered state, manufactured in Assam in 1836; shown by Dr. Wallich, from the Calcutta Museum.

Moongha muslin silk cloth, from Assam; obtained by Captain Jenkins in 1837.

Moongha silk from Assam, 1836, Dr. Wallich.

The silk manufactures of India imported into England in 1856 amounted to 597,752 yards.

The fleeces and raw wools exported from India are more remarkable for their variety than for the magnitude of the commerce which is maintained in them. These commodities, although of Indian export, are frequently brought from Affghanistan, Cashmere, Thibet, and other Asiatic nations; they are, however, articles of Indian commerce, if not of Indian produce; indeed, it is impossible to form a full and clear estimate of the trade transactions between British India and the nations beyond, and the independent states within the boundaries of the territory called India. The following specimens of articles of Indian commerce in fleeces and raw wools may be seen in the compartment allotted to them in the museum of the Society of Arts:—

East Indian, first white quality.

Ditto, superior quality.

Common grey East Indian.

Good East Indian.

Coarse grey East Indian.

East Indian, worth about 7*d*.

Good yellow East Indian.

Middling white quality.

Ditto, white East Indian.

East Indian mixed, a hairy kind.

Low and kempy East Indian.

East Indian coarse wool, mixed.

Mixed kempy, black and white.

Bengal wool.

Wool of the Himalaya mountain sheep.

Calcutta sheep's wool, mixed.

Wool from one of Lord Western's flock, raised in Mysore.

Good white thorough-bred Merino, from Mysore.

Ditto, quarter-bred, from Mysore.

Good white quality, half-bred—Mysore.

Ditto, three-quarters-bred—Mysore.

Ditto, seven-eighths-bred—Mysore.

Good white coarse country wool—Mysore.

White cleaned, from Beckouret.

Clean black Gujerat.

Cleaned white Gujerat.

Uncleaned Gujerat.

Black and white Gujerat.

Wool from a yearling lamb, a cross between a Patna ewe and a Southdown ram.

Ditto, cross between a Cape Merino ram and a country ewe (eight bottles).

Highland sheep's wool, from Thibet.

Highland lamb's wool, from Thibet.

Bang Bal Valley wool, from Thibet.

Wool from black sheep of Thibet.

Black Highland wool, from Thibet.

Thibet wool, picked.
 Kula Yako Dorin.
 Wool from Spite.
 Wool from the Punjaub.
 Black Punjaub wool, from Kussore.
 Mixed Punjaubee wool, from Kussore.
 White Punjaubee wool, from Kussore.*
 Wool from Lahore.
 White wool, from Shung.
 Himalayan mountain wool.
 White Ferozepore, Loodiana district.
 Black wool, from Loodiana.
 White wool, from Cashmere.
 Cashmere shawl wool.
 Calmuck, Russian wool.
 Wool from Shanghai sheep, *viâ* Chittagong.

There are also some specimens of Indian broadcloths, which are unsuitable to Europe.

The woollen cloth carpet of Nepaul may also be seen in the museum, but it is not imported to Europe.

The hair of the Thibet goat, and of the Cashmere shawl-goat, are articles of export from India to Europe, as are the shawls manufactured from these materials. The hair of the Cashmere goat is also imported to France *viâ* Russia for the manufacture of shawls.

The skins of the tiger and leopard are to a small extent exported, chiefly to England. The chief supply of tiger skins is from Bengal. From Madras between two and three millions of goat skins are annually shipped.

Isinglass is exported to Europe, especially to England.

Leather is an Indian manufacture, for which a foreign market is found, but it is chiefly sent to the countries of Asia beyond India, or used by the natives themselves. The skins of the rhinoceros, cheetah, hyena, and antelope, are all tanned and dressed in different parts of our Indian empire. In Guntore, and other parts of India, the skins of the guana are tanned and curried for ladies' and gentlemen's shoes, and are also black grained. The tanning substances used are tanghedi, huldi, and myrabolans. The skins are thin, even, soft, tough, elastic, and granular or shagreen-like in external appearance. From the absence of gloss, the appearance of this leather is not much in its favour; but it bids fair to be a durable article for light slippers, and a good covering for the commoner kinds of in-

* Measures have lately been taken to improve the quality of the Punjaub wool, in which there is now a large export trade *viâ* Kurrachee, reaching from thirty to forty thousand maunds of about 75 lbs. It has increased about ninety per cent. over previous years. The wool-staplers of Khorassan, and the producers of wool on the hills north of Cabul, Ghuznee, and various parts of Central Asia, bring it down by caravans to the frontier; and as the navigation of the tributaries of the Indus becomes developed, a further increase of the produce brought down may be looked for.

strument boxes, such as are still done over with shagreen. The supply of the skins can never, however, be large. As covers for various Indian toys, curiosities, and carvings, it frequently comes to England.

Bone and ivory carved ornaments are favourite imports of Europe from the East. As shown in the chapter set apart to China, that country is the most famous for productions of this kind, but India also, more especially Bombay Island, has also obtained a superior reputation.

The horns of the Indian buffalo, the ox, the bison, and the antlers of various species of deer, are all important to commerce. About twenty-six thousand pairs of horns are annually shipped from Siam. The Bombay buffalo horns are very useful for the manufacture of handles of knives and dressing-combs, and fetch in the market from fifteen to twenty shillings per cwt. From Madras about a million buffalo horns were shipped in 1856. Both from Calcutta and Madras stag horns of a beautiful description have been exported, and also from the Island of Ceylon. The Calcutta buffalo horn is much used by the English opticians. The horns exported by the Siamese are excellent for combs and other useful articles.

The difficulty of giving definite information on this branch of Indian commerce with England, and the value of the commerce itself, is evident from the following statement:—"It is impossible to give very accurate details as to the import of the several kinds of horns, for since 1847, when the duty was abolished, they have been all aggregated together. The imports of horns and tips and pieces of horn in 1855 amounted to 3110 tons, valued at £88,386. The hoofs of cattle imported in that year were valued at £4183. The import of buffalo horns and tips was probably about 1400 tons (as 1869 tons of horns of all kinds were received from the British East India possessions). The value of buffalo horn varies from £25 to £35 per ton. From six to eight hundred tons are annually worked up in Sheffield, chiefly for cutlery handles and umbrella and parasol handle-tops, machete or cutlass-handles, scales, snuffboxes, horn-stirrups, sword-handles, drawer-handles, dressing-combs, &c. Taking the average at fourteen hundred horns to the ton, the mortality among buffaloes in the East to supply our manufacturing demands must be nearly a million a year, besides what may be required for continental and American use."*

The stag horns used in Sheffield for cut-

* *Catalogue of the Collection of Animal Products belonging to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.*

lery purposes are chiefly supplied by Hindoostan and the Island of Ceylon. Madras, Bombay, and Colombo (Ceylon), export to England annually over four hundred tons of stag-horn. These are much valued. The horns dropped on the hills and plains of India and Ceylon are very heavy, and almost as solid as bone. The horns shed by more than a quarter of a million head of deer are gathered in India for the manufactures of Sheffield. The value ranges from £25 to £50 per ton.

Tortoiseshell is brought to Europe chiefly from the Eastern Archipelago, and beautiful specimens of manufactured articles in that material both from India and China.

India sends to Europe great variety of shells and of marine animal products suitable for manufactures. Large quantities of the calcareous plate (commonly called bone) which strengthens the back of the cuttle-fish are brought from the Persian Gulf to Bombay, and thence shipped to Europe.

We receive from India about a thousand tons of cowrie shells (*Cypræa moneta*) yearly, chiefly for transmission to the west coast of Africa, where a string of about forty is worth 1*d.* or 2*d.**

Of black-edged mother-of-pearl shells about a hundred tons are annually shipped from Bombay.

There is a shell which, although not much sent to Europe, forms an important item in the coasting trade of India; and in the trade of Ceylon figures as an export to the Indian continent. It is called chanks (*Turbinella pyrum*), and is a solid porcellaneous fusiform shell, used for cutting into armlets, anklets, &c., known as "bangles" in the East Indies, which are often highly ornamented. More than 4,300,000 of these shells are sometimes shipped in a year from Ceylon to the ports of Calcutta and Madras. Chanks, also called *kauncho rings*, are cut out by means of rude circular saws into narrow slips, which, when joined very accurately, give the whole an appearance of being formed from the most circular part of the shell. There is a small process, or button, at the base of each shell, which is sawn off, and, after being ground to a shape resembling that of a flat turnip, is perforated for the purpose of being strung. When so prepared, these receive the name of *krantaks*, of which two rows, each containing

from thirty to forty, are frequently worn round the necks of sepoy in the East India Company's service as a part of their uniform—a substitute, indeed, for their stocks. The city of Dacca, so famous for its muslins, receives a large number of these shells, which are used for beating the finer cloths manufactured in that populous and rich emporium of cotton fabrics. The jawbone of the boalee fish is also used for carding cotton for the Dacca muslins.*

The Island of Ceylon is famous for its pearl fisheries, as has been shown in the chapter treating of that island. In the chapter on China the skill of the Chinese in producing artificial pearls has been noticed. These are articles of export to Europe. The pearl-shells, as well as their precious contents, are imported into England from Ceylon.

From the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf coral is chiefly procured. Bombay is the chief depot for this commodity for shipment to Europe. Large coral deposits have been lately found on the coasts of Oran, and a bank on the southern coast of the Island of Ceylon.

Wax is a valuable article of Indian foreign trade. From China the best description is obtained, but India is rich in this product, which is also of excellent quality. About 300,000 lbs. of beeswax are annually shipped from Madras.

It has already been shown that the vegetable dyes of India are valuable, especially indigo; pigments and dyes yielded by animals form also an important element of Indian export trade.

Cochineal is only exported in small quantities to Europe. India has not done justice to herself in this branch of trade, for the Punjab possesses the insect abundantly;† and certain writers allege that the dyers of Lahore have from time immemorial used the dye which it produces. This, however, is denied by naturalists in the service of the East India Company. From observations and experiments made in the Punjab, it has been established that the wild cochineal of that district will produce the most beautiful dye known under that name.‡ The supply of the English market is chiefly from America, but the Dutch have gathered the insect abundantly in Java;§ and although attempts to introduce the American insect to India failed, no proper attention was paid to that which was in-

* The shells of *Cypræa moneta*, *Cypræa annulus*, and some small white shells of the genus *Marginella*, were formerly employed occasionally in European medicine. In Scinde they are at the present day calcined, and the powder sprinkled over sores. Sixteen hundred and twenty-five hundredweight of cowries have been imported in one ship from Ceylon for this country.

* *Shells and their Uses.* By P. L. Simmonds.

† *Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, vol. vii. part i.

‡ *Observations on the Wild Cochineal of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces.* By Dr. Dempster.

§ Dr. McClelland, of the Botanical Gardens, Calcutta.

digenous to India.* The attention of the governor and secretary of the north-western provinces was directed to the subject in 1855-6, and the probability is that this article of commerce will be brought to command more attention in the European markets.

The lac dye is a product peculiar to India, using the term in the more extended signification. It reaches us from India in the various shapes of stick-lac (deposited round the branches of trees), seed-lac, thread-lac, melted down into a resin, forming the basis of sealing-wax and lackers or varnishes; and the red colouring matter, in cakes, known as lac-dye, which forms a dye-stuff. Lac is obtained chiefly on the hilly parts of Hindoostan, on both sides of the Ganges, and in Birmah. From the port of Calcutta upwards of 4,000,000 lbs. are annually shipped.

Lac insects (*Coccus lacca*) are found in enormous numbers in the mountain forests on the sides of the Ganges, and line the branches of various trees, as the *Ficus Indica*, *Ficus religiosa*, *Croton lacciferum*, and others. When about to deposit their ova, these insects puncture the young shoots and twigs of the various trees: the branches then become encrusted with a reddish-coloured resinous concretion, which consists of the inspissated juice of the plant imbued with a peculiar colouring matter derived from the insect: the insects, when attached to the branches of the trees, soon become enveloped in the layer of resinous matter, which hardens on exposure: this is the stick-lac of commerce. The insect dies, and the body shrivels into an oval bag, containing a minute drop of red fluid: this is extracted from the lac, and when formed into small masses becomes the lac-dye of commerce. It is extensively used as a substitute for cochineal.

Stick-lac, which is chiefly obtained from Siam and Bengal, is the basis whence lac-dye and shell-lac are manufactured. These are the stick-lacs of commerce, the resinous substance mentioned above.

After the lac-dye has been separated from the stick-lac, the preparation of which is usually carried on in India, the substances remaining are formed, and become articles of commerce.

Ruby, garnet, and orange shell-lac are exported from India; the darker qualities are used in the manufacture of spirit varnish or French polish, and all the three qualities are used in the stiffening of the bodies or shapes of hats. Ruby and orange button-lac are used by sealing-wax makers and hat manufacturers. The quality is similar to shell-lac, but stronger in body.

* Dr. M'Clelland.

Ruby seed-lac and orange seed-lac are also articles of commerce, being used in the manufacture of spirit varnishes, lac-wax, white and yellow. Bleached lac is extensively used in the manufacture of the finer sorts of sealing-wax, and the wax which separates during the purification of the lac is called lac-wax, and comparatively little known. This substance is readily fused, and may be well employed in taking casts, which it does with great sharpness. It is probable, also, that it might be advantageously used to mix with other and more fusible materials in the manufacture of candles.

Lac is found encircling the branches of many trees in India in the form of a tube, half an inch to an inch in diameter. The broken branches, with incrustations at various distances, is called in commerce stick-lac, and it ought to be semi-transparent. The lac is formed by the insect into cells, somewhat resembling a honeycomb, in which the insect is generally found entire, and owing to whose presence stick-lac yields, by proper treatment, a red dye, nearly if not quite as bright as that obtained from cochineal, and more permanent.

The colouring matter exhibited by grinding stick-lac, and then treating it with water, constitutes seed-lac. The crude resin is abundant in the jungles of India: the best is produced upon the koosumba (*Schleichera trijuga*), which yields the colouring matter twice a year.

We import upwards of 1500 tons annually of crude shell-lac and lac-dye, of the value of £88,000.

The native process of making the lac-dye in cakes* is as follows:—The lac having been carefully picked from the branches, is reduced to a coarse powder in a stone hand-mill, and is then thrown into a cistern, covered with two inches of water, and allowed to soak for sixteen hours. It is then trampled by men for four or five hours, until the water appears well coloured, each person having about ten pounds' weight of lac to operate upon. The whole is then strained through a cloth, a solution of hot alum water is poured over it, and the decoction is drawn off, remaining a day to settle. It is subsequently passed into other cisterns, the water is run off, and the colouring matter deposited is taken up, and placed in a canvas strainer to drain. It is then passed through a press to remove all remaining moisture, and the cakes

* Lac-dye usually comes into commerce in the form of small square cakes, or as a reddish black powder, and contains, in addition to a considerable quantity of resinous matter, a carmine-like pigment, employed in dyeing scarlet, for which purpose it must be dissolved in sulphuric acid or in a strong acid solution of tin.

of dye are made up with the distinguishing letter or mark of the manufacturer.*

The lac-dye imported into England during 1856 weighed 18,123 cwt. In 1857 the importation was less.

Various animal substances used in pharmacy and perfumery are exported from India.

Civet, the odoriferous substance produced by the civet cat, is brought from Calicut and other parts of the East Indies. Musk is derived from Eastern and Central Asia as well as from other places.

Bezoar is a name given to a concrete substance found in the stomachs of animals, and to which many valuable properties were formerly ascribed. It had the supposed virtue of being an antidote to poison, and was considered an absorbent.

There are several kinds of bezoar met with, but the oriental is most esteemed, which is brought from Borneo and some of the sea-ports of the Persian Gulf. It has a smooth glossy surface, and is of a dark green or olive colour. Varieties of this concretion are found in the stomach of the wild boar of India, in the gall-bladder of the ox, common in Nepaul, and in the gall-bladder of the camel; this last is much prized as a yellow paint by the Hindoos. The Persian bezoar is said to be procured from the chamois, or wild goat (*Capra gazella*). Cow bezoar will fetch about 40s. per lb. in the Indian bazaars, and bezoar stone from the ghauts 6d. per lb. According to Frezier, bezoars have been found in guanacoës.

Specimens of the Indian blistering beetles, *Mytabris pustulata*, and *Mytabris punctum*, a smaller species, were shown at the Madras Exhibition by Dr. Collas of Pondicherry, accompanied by a full interesting report on their blistering properties and careful researches into their natural history, which he published in the *Moniteur Officiel*, at Pondicherry, on the 2nd of March, 1854. Both insects are found in large quantities at certain seasons all over Southern India. Some other blistering flies are also met with in India, such as the meloe (*Mytabris cichorii*), the *tilini* of the Hindoos, common about Dacca and in Hyderabad. It yields, according to Dr. O'Shaughnessy, on an average, one-third more of cantharidin than the Spanish fly of the European shops.†

Of late fresh efforts have been made to make these insects articles of commerce for medical purposes, and with every prospect of success.

The following statement for 1856, in reference to Bengal alone, of the measure and value

of particular articles, the exportation of which are upon the increase, will set forth the importance of the export trade of the chief presidency:—

| | £ |
|---|-----------|
| Castor-oil, 12,435 maunds* | 16,748 |
| Raw cotton, 173,908 maunds | 173,853 |
| Lac-dye, 27,985 maunds | 81,591 |
| Lac (shell), 47,974 maunds | 43,458 |
| Lac (stick), 1,606 maunds | 1,263 |
| Gunny cloths and bags, 20,221,016 pieces | 430,732 |
| Hides and skins, 4,788,129 pieces | 368,888 |
| Jute, 1,194,470 maunds | 327,476 |
| Linseed, 2,538,225 maunds | 507,824 |
| Mustard-seed, 1,307,115 maunds | 261,541 |
| Poppy-seed, 1,14,526 maunds | 22,932 |
| Opium, 44,937 chests | 3,638,917 |
| Rice, 9,187,259 maunds | 1,047,133 |
| Wheat, 950,036 maunds | 100,469 |
| Other grain—including paddy, grain, dholl, and peas, oats barley, with flour and bran, 665,558 maunds | 59,420 |
| Safflower, 15,495 maunds | 30,765 |
| Saltpetre, 737,273 maunds | 423,406 |
| Silk, 18,229 maunds | 703,822 |
| Sugar, 1,221,393 maunds | 1,134,154 |
| Total | 9,374,392 |

The value of hemp from Bengal in 1855 was £38,000.

The export trade of certain non-regulation provinces in connection with the Bengal government has also greatly increased. Thus, Arracan was a swamp when, thirty years ago, it was wrested from Birmah. In 1856 its exports exceeded in value a million sterling, rice being the chief commodity. Its imports were almost exclusively silver.

The following is a view of the imports and exports of the three presidencies during the year 1856:†—

MERCHANDIZE.

| IMPORTS. | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| 1855-6 | British. £ | Foreign. £ | Total. £ | Treasure. £ |
| Bengal . . . | 6,692,294 | 1,664,523 | 8,356,717 | 6,011,225 |
| Madras . . | 981,231 | 1,132,156 | 2,313,387 | 1,371,669 |
| Bombay . . | 2,999,420 | 3,704,502 | 6,603,923 | 4,973,380 |
| | 10,672,945 | 6,501,181 | 17,274,027 | 12,356,274 |
| EXPORTS. | | | | |
| 1855-6 | British. £ | Foreign. £ | Total. £ | Treasure. £ |
| Bengal . . . | 4,943,547 | 8,689,483 | 13,633,030 | 255,361 |
| Madras . . | 975,221 | 1,941,869 | 2,917,090 | 441,875 |
| Bombay . . | 3,413,780 | 5,529,118 | 8,943,898 | 1,349,016 |
| | 9,332,548 | 16,160,470 | 25,494,018 | 2,046,252 |

The following is a memorandum of some of the items included in the trade from Bengal to other countries than Great Britain:‡—

* A maund is 80 lbs.

† The value is computed at the rate of two shillings the rupee.

‡ Bonnaud's *Commercial Annual of Calcutta*.

* Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum.

† Dr. Hunter, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society*.

MERCHANDIZE.

FRANCE.

| | Imports. £ | Exports. £ |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1854-5 | 139,494 | 437,975 |
| 1855-6 | 249,496 | 753,772 |

NORTH AMERICA.

| | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------|
| 1854-5 | 120,154 | 876,508 |
| 1855-6 | 89,548 | 1,033,840 |

CHINA.

| | | |
|------------------|---------|-----------|
| 1854-5 | 240,395 | 3,306,621 |
| 1855-6 | 201,562 | 3,284,884 |

NEW HOLLAND AND SYDNEY.

| | | |
|------------------|--------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 51,483 | 116,178 |
| 1855-6 | 34,796 | 148,786 |

SINGAPORE.

| | | |
|------------------|--------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 81,958 | 501,793 |
| 1855-6 | 80,830 | 572,158 |

ARABIAN AND PERSIAN GULFS.

| | | |
|------------------|--------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 75,136 | 106,457 |
| 1855-6 | 65,517 | 108,467 |

MADRAS AND COROMANDEL COAST.

| | | |
|------------------|---------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 125,510 | 221,282 |
| 1855-6 | 104,547 | 185,574 |

BOMBAY AND MALABAR COAST.

| | | |
|------------------|---------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 207,644 | 472,781 |
| 1855-6 | 210,576 | 456,657 |

PEGU.

| | | |
|------------------|---------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 102,064 | 305,926 |
| 1855-6 | 95,131 | 378,810 |

MAURITIUS.

| | | |
|------------------|-------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 5,377 | 202,279 |
| 1855-6 | 3,923 | 193,409 |

BOURBON.

| | | |
|------------------|-------|---------|
| 1854-5 | 5,097 | 87,206 |
| 1855-6 | 3,918 | 171,478 |

The importance of Bombay as a port of export has already been asserted. The following is a comparative view of the export of cotton during 1856 from the three presidencies : *—

MERCHANDIZE.

EXPORTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

| 1855-6. | lbs. | £ |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Bengal | 12,028,480 | 150,356 |
| Madras | 4,792,388 | 58,899 |
| Bombay | 165,380,930 | 2,320,454 |

Total Export.

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------|
| Bengal | 13,912,640 | 173,353 |
| Madras | 21,013,464 | 252,134 |
| Bombay | 217,487,413 | 3,074,089 |

Of the large quantity exported to other countries than Great Britain, the average export to China from Bombay alone in the last five years was 54,450,579 lbs., of the annual

* Mr. G. S. Porter.

average value of £812,380. Indeed, cotton to Great Britain, and cotton and opium to China, constitute a very large portion of the aggregate exports of Bombay. The opium exported in 1854-5 was valued at £2,540,000, and in 1855-6 at £2,560,000.

The *Calcutta Review* gives an elaborate statement of the imports and exports of each presidency up to 1856 inclusively from 1853. The following are extracted from these details. These estimates take no cognizance of re-exports, and state the import and export of each presidency to all places out of that presidency, whether in India or in places beyond its limits. The exports from port to port of the same presidency are not stated. The statement for 1855-6 is alone given in the extract.

BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

TRADE.

Imports, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| Merchandize | 8,186,162 |
| Company's ditto | 170,555 |
| Treasure | 6,011,225 |

Total 14,367,942

Exports, 1855-6.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Merchandize | 13,633,030 |
| Treasure | 255,361 |

Total 13,888,391

Total Trade.

| | |
|-------------------|------------|
| Imports | 14,367,942 |
| Exports | 13,888,391 |

Total 28,256,333

BILLS OF EXCHANGE.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Bills on Bengal by the court of directors | 1,232,633 |
|---|-----------|

SHIPPING.

Arrivals, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|
| Square-rigged | 1529 | 864,227 |
| Native craft | 514 | 56,005 |

Total 2043 920 232

Departures, 1855-6.

| | | |
|-------------------------|------|---------|
| Square-rigged | 1555 | 861,546 |
| Native craft | 593 | 61,958 |

Total 2148 923,504

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

TRADE.

Imports, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Merchandize | 2,313,387 |
| Treasure | 1,371,669 |

Total 3,685,056

Exports, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Merchandise | 2,917,090 |
| Treasure | 441,875 |
| Total | 3,358,965 |

Total Trade.

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Imports | 3,685,056 |
| Exports | 3,358,965 |
| Total | 7,044,021 |

SHIPPING.

Arrivals, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Square-rigged | 1221 | 356,641 |
| Native craft | 4439 | 213,918 |
| Total | 5660 | 570,559 |

Departures, 1855-6.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Square-rigged | 1633 | 463,736 |
| Native craft | 4875 | 231,829 |
| Total | 6508 | 695,565 |

PORT OF BOMBAY.

TRADE.

Imports, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Merchandise | 6,529,663 |
| Horses | 74,260 |
| Treasure | 4,973,380 |
| Total | 11,577,303 |

Exports, 1855-6.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Merchandise | 8,940,639 |
| Horses | 2,260 |
| Treasure | 1,345,016 |
| Total | 10,287,915 |

Total Trade.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Imports | 11,577,303 |
| Exports | 10,287,915 |
| Total | 21,865,218 |

SHIPPING.

Arrivals, 1855-6.

| | Vessels. | Tonnage. |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Square-rigged | 320 | 229,403 |
| Native craft | 5845 | 223,524 |
| Total | 6165 | 452,927 |

Departures, 1855-6.

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Square-rigged | 324 | 231,496 |
| Native craft | 4372 | 167,824 |
| Total | 4696 | 399,320 |

This return, however, thus far applies only to the port of Bombay. The returns for the other ports of the Bombay presidency are as follows:—Alibaugh, Bassein, Broach, Bulsar, Caringah, Dholarah, Gogo, Ghurbunds, Jum-

bosur, Kurrachee, Mahonu, Oolpar, Omergun, Panwell, Rajpooree, Rutnaghur, Soovendroog, Surat, Tarrapore, Tromboy, Unjunwell, Vin-gorla, Vizradroog, Waghra, Warree, exhibiting in detail the imports and exports, appear in the report of the external commerce of Bombay for 1855-6. The amounts given by these returns are:—

IMPORTS.

| | £ |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Merchandise | 286,930 |

EXPORTS.

| | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Merchandise | 285,643 |
|-----------------------|---------|

But we have not the means of presenting a comparison with former reports, and therefore will omit them in the aggregates which we shall have to present.

The report of the administration of the province of Pegu affords some considerable information of its external trade, both by sea and the rivers. The returns (deducting £200,000 annually, as the fair estimate of imported government treasure) may be stated as follows for the aggregate of the four ports of Rangoon, Dalhousie, Toongoo, and Thyat-Mew:—

PROVINCE OF PEGU.

TRADE.

Imports, 1855-6.

| | £ |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Merchandise | 1,267,071 |

Exports, 1855-6.

| | |
|-----------------------|---------|
| Merchandise | 663,783 |
|-----------------------|---------|

The following is the estimate of the review for 1857 (the statement does not exactly agree with the parliamentary returns):—

CALCUTTA.

TRADE.

Imports, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Merchandise | 7,841,730 |
| Treasure | 6,638,685 |
| Total | 14,480,415 |

Exports, 1856-7.

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Merchandise | 13,618,626 |
| Treasure | 1,003,676 |
| Total | 14,622,302 |

MADRAS TERRITORIES.

TRADE.

Imports, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Merchandise | 2,305,898 |
| Treasure | 1,613,515 |
| Total | 3,919,413 |

Exports, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| Merchandize | 3,717,380 |
| Treasure | 344,186 |
| Total | 4,061,566 |

PORT OF BOMBAY.

TRADE.

Imports, 1856-7.

| | £ |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Merchandize | 7,629,221 |
| Treasure | 8,248,361 |
| Total | 15,877,582 |

Exports, 1856-7.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Merchandize | 10,983,008 |
| Treasure | 1,588,873 |
| Total | 12,571,881 |

The parliamentary return for Indian commerce is as follows:—The total value of the merchandize and treasure imported into the several presidencies of India in 1856-7 amounted to 28.60.82.855 rupees, against 25.24.89.453 in 1855-6, and 14.77.09.286 in 1854-5. Bombay figured for 11.89.50.606; Madras for 2.54.07.396; and Bengal for 14.17.24.853. The exports from India in 1856-7 amounted to 26.59.18.811, against 23.64.04.451 in 1855-6.

Upon his own statements the reviewer makes the following observations:—

The foregoing results, it must be observed, are afforded (as to all but the Straits' settlements) by the official values. It then becomes an important and interesting question how far these official estimates are true criteria of the real value. That the official value, on the whole, affords a correct index in the case of the imports appears to be admitted: being, it may be, erroneous, in respect of some articles, by too high a valuation, and erroneous by too low a valuation in respect of others, but, on the whole, affording a fair estimate of the aggregate value of the imports, at least in Bengal. But this is not so at present in respect of the exports, as we shall proceed to show.

These results, too, recall Lord Grenville's most masterly and noble speech in 1813—the greatest speech ever delivered on Indian affairs. At that time the aggregate of the trade of India with Great Britain was not £2,500,000 a year (exports and imports), and the evidence given for the East India Company, by its witnesses, went to show the improbability of any extended demand for European goods. Such was the doctrine gravely propounded by eminent witnesses in defence of the monopoly—Warren Hastings, Sir

Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and others. But said Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, "To what extent this trade of India may be carried, presumptuous indeed would be the man who would now venture to pronounce. On what evidence, what conjecture, would he found his judgment? What present knowledge, what past experience of India, could possibly decide that question? 'No commerce,' Trebatius or Quintus Cicero, returning from a campaign in Britain, would probably have informed the Roman senate—'no commerce can ever be carried on with that uncivilized uncultivated island, divided absolutely from the whole world by tempestuous, unnavigable seas, and inhabited only by naked and houseless barbarians.'—'No commerce,' some sage counsellor of Henry and Elizabeth might, with equal authority, have assured those monarchs, 'can ever be opened with the dreary wild of North America, a land covered with impenetrable forests, the shelter only of some wandering tribes of the rudest and most ferocious savages.' Yet of these predictions the folly might be palliated by inexperience. In the defect of better knowledge, such conjectures might even pass for wisdom. But what shall we say to those who deny the possibility, not of opening new sources for the commerce of mankind, but of enlarging its present channels, who tell us that the trade we now carry on with India, must, in all future times, be limited to its actual amount? Strange and unprecedented necessity, which has thus set bounds to human industry and enterprise, arresting the progress of commercial intercourse, and by some blasting and malignant influence, blighted the natural increase of social improvement! With full and confident assurance may we repel these idle apprehensions. By commerce commerce will increase, and industry by industry. So it has ever happened, and the Great Creator of the world has not exempted India from this common law of our nature. The supply, first following the demand, will soon extend it. By new facilities new wants and new desires will be produced. And neither climate nor religion, nor long-established habits—no, nor even poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the benefits of such an intercourse to the native population of that empire. They will derive from the extension of commerce, as every other people has uniformly derived from it, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry, and new employments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise." So spake the statesman; and history records the begun fulfilment of his prediction, and encourages the confi-

dent belief that larger anticipations than even that illustrious man himself probably ever entertained will be realized before a century has past from his delivery of that magnificent oration. The point to which we have already reached will be now ascertained by an inquiry into the value of the exports of the year we have last reviewed, 1855-6. The question of gradual progress will then next engage our attention.

It is at all times difficult to fix the value of goods for duty, but of course particularly so in a fluctuating market, and when the articles to be valued vary much in quality. Probably the best plan in large ports is to issue, yearly or half-yearly, tariffs of values, based on fair averages. If this be not done, there must always be much uncertainty, and great loss to the revenue from under-valuation, or complaints of restrictions on commerce from excessive duties. In the one article of sugar, for instance, the prices of the various sorts of one kind ranged, in 1855-6, from nine rupees eight annas (nineteen shillings) a maund to five rupees four annas, and the combined average price for all sorts of that one kind of sugar was seven rupees, or fourteen shillings; for the various sorts of another kind the range was from seven rupees to four rupees, the general average being five rupees ten annas; and for the third kind the range for various sorts was from six rupees fourteen annas to three rupees twelve annas, the combined average for this kind being five rupees two annas. This was the range of market for Benares, Date, and Dummah sugar. But this affords very little guide in now estimating the real value of this article, which is exported free of duty. Much less will any returns of this description afford an accurate guide for articles on which there is a duty levied on the real value, it being evidently anything but the interest of the exporter to assist the custom-house in assessing the utmost value. Moreover, while the returns afford evidence of the gross quantities shipped,—and it is easy to ascertain the range of prices for any particular descriptions of an article,—it is almost impossible, when the fluctuation of prices has been considerable and frequent, when there is no mode of testing the relative amounts and proportions of the different sorts of such an article shipped, to determine absolutely what the real value of any past year's shipment has been. It is clear, however, that if there has been a decided general rise in prices, and that the chief activity in shipping prevailed at the time when prices were highest, then any return of values based on precisely the same data as to prices as were used under the lower standard of the previous year must be erro-

neous. And such was precisely the case with the Bengal exports of 1855-6. We have seen one calculation, by a very competent person, which makes the real value of the exports of 1856 to be £19,922,803, but this high estimate includes packing and shipping charges, duties, commissions, &c. &c.: this plan having been adopted in that table with reference to other calculations respecting the exchanges. Our own impression, from careful consideration and attentive examination of the subject, certainly is that the real Calcutta market value of the exports of the year 1855-6 (the official year), which were valued at £13,888,391, was nearly £16,500,000. But as the value of the imports is based on the invoices, which include the charges, insurance, and freight, the comparison between this 16,500,000 as our market value with the value of imports will be delusive. We need not, indeed, add the freight of exports, as it is not usually paid in India, but other charges, to the amount of more than ten per cent., must be added, making the aggregate value of exports, to be repaid in India by merchandize, or bullion, or remittances of the company's bills for our tribute, probably £18,000,000. But it is to be remembered that not all the imports can be set off against the exports, for some certainly come to this country for permanent investment. Such is the case with importations of railway materials.

A very brief examination of details will illustrate our position as to the market value as contrasted with the official. Taking linseed for example, the official value at two rupees for 2,538,225 Indian maunds (about 900,000 tons) was £507,824; but it may be questioned if four rupees a maund was too high an average for the whole of the linseed shipped in that year. This would give £1,015,648. The difference in saltpetre was not so remarkable, but still the real value exceeded considerably the official. In the case of jute the official value for 1,194,470 maunds was £327,476, at ten rupees a bale of three hundred pounds; but a very careful calculation gives an average of at least twelve rupees eight annas, or twenty-five per cent additional. In the case of rice the official value of 9,187,259 maunds (328,000 tons) was £1,047,133, but we believe that at least one rupee a maund may fairly be added to this estimate, giving a result of upwards of £900,000 additional. On this article there is a fixed duty of one anna and a half a maund, and there is consequently no reason for concealment of the value; and now steps are being taken, by monthly returns from the chamber of commerce, to ascertain the value accurately. In the case of raw silk the duty is three annas and a half per seer

(or two pounds), and in this case also the real value probably could henceforth be easily ascertained. The official value given for 18,229 maunds in 1855-6 was £703,822—that is, for 729,160 seers—an average of somewhat less than ten rupees (£1) a seer. It is difficult now to form an opinion on the subject with any confidence, from the varieties of silk that were in the market, but on the whole it may probably be stated with tolerable confidence that twelve rupees eight annas would be a fair average, giving in this case also an increase of twenty-five per cent. The proportionate increase in mustard seed, of which 1,307,115 maunds were shipped, and were valued (at two rupees a maund) at £261,541, may be taken to be equal to that in linseed, or a hundred per cent. In the case of opium 44,937 chests are valued officially at £3,638,917, and this is doubtless correct, and the official value of sugar may also be correct, if it does not indeed exceed the real value. But taking a long series of articles—indigo, cotton, wheat, and other grain, castor-oil, gunnies and gunny cloth, hides, lac, poppy seed, provisions, rum, safflower, tea, &c.—it may be fair to say that from twenty to twenty-five per cent. on the average might be fairly added to the official value. The rise of prices in the course of the official year was undoubtedly very great, and continued almost up to its termination. The news of the peace was entirely unexpected, and did not reach Calcutta in a definite and authentic form till March.

The rise in the prices in the other presidencies probably was not so great, and the consequent temporary disparity between the real and the tariff value, not so great as in Bengal. But if it be stated generally that the real market value of exports from the three presidencies, Pegu, and the Straits, was thirty-six or thirty-seven millions sterling, instead of £32,199,056, as previously calculated from the official returns, or nearly *forty millions*, with the duties and charges, few perhaps will question the accuracy of the supposition.

The general subject of prices in India is

one of much interest and importance, but at present it is too early to reach any definite conclusion. In the interior it is notorious that prices of produce, of labour, and of boat hire, have risen greatly. Shippers, the railway company, and the government, alike feel it.

In consequence of a return lately moved for in the British House of Commons by Mr. H. Baillie, the tariff now in force in British India has just been published as a parliamentary paper. The import duties are principally *ad valorem*. Coffee pays an import duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in all the presidencies; coral, 10 per cent.; cotton and silk goods, 5 per cent.; foreign cotton and silk goods, 10 per cent.; camphor and cassia, 10 per cent.; foreign books, 3 per cent.; alum, 10 per cent.; marine stores, 5 per cent., and foreign stores, 10; British metals, 5, and foreign, 10 per cent.; opium, 24 rupees a seer of 80 tolas (the export of the drug is prohibited); beer, ale, porter, &c., 5 per cent.; salt, 2 rupees, 8 annas per maund of 80 tolas per seer in Bengal, 14 annas per maund in Madras, and 12 annas per maund of 3200 tolas in Bombay (if not covered by a pass); spirits 1 rupee 8 annas per gallon; sugar (prohibited, if “not the growth of a British possession into which foreign sugar cannot be legally imported”); vermilion, 10 per cent.; British and foreign woollens, 5 and 10 per cent.; wines and liquors, 1 rupee per imperial gallon; tea, 10 per cent.; tobacco, 5 per cent. in Madras (export duty, 10), and 1 rupee 8 annas per maund in Bombay (the same export duty).

Some of these imposts are obviously made only for the purposes of revenue, but others are incompatible with the doctrines of free trade. It cannot be for the interests of India or England, or for the general advantages of commerce, to prop up the trade in sugar or in any other commodity by artificial means. The indirect operation must in such cases always be the restriction of the industry proper and peculiar to the country where such tariff regulations exist.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COMMERCE (*Continued*):—COMMERCE OF OUTLYING SETTLEMENTS.

THE commerce of what may be termed the outlying posts of our Eastern empire must receive much more attention from the public and legislature of Great Britain than has yet been given to it. The trade of some of these settlements has increased in a ratio greater than that of the old possessions on continental India; and others are adapted to a great commerce if the government of India, or the imperial government, only perform their duty. The neglect of the latter in some of these settlements has been such as seriously to reflect upon its credit and patriotism, and upon the intelligence and independence of a people who, being free, permit the like.

The settlement of Aden, from its geographical position, is one of the most favourable in the world. It is on the new highway between the East and West, formed by "the overland route." A carrying trade may be established from that port of a most extensive kind. From thence to Kurrachee, Bombay, Madras, the Island of Ceylon, Calcutta, the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, and the Straits' settlements, all goods which are not necessarily brought round the Cape may be borne, and an important passenger trade established. Aden may be pronounced, in travellers' phraseology, the "half-way house" between England and her Eastern empire. As at present governed it is a pest-house. The European troops die off in great numbers, and so do the sepoys. The Aden ulcer and a species of dropsy, both fatal, and alike arising from the impoverishment of the blood, carry off great numbers; many also die of scurvy. The chief causes of the horrible mortality which prevails, are want of vegetables, and the labour imposed upon the troops in a climate perhaps more enervating than any other where there is a British garrison, not even excepting Trincomalee. Vegetables are easily procured, and the relentless imposition of labour is unnecessary. Yet while so much is heard about the errors and misdeeds of the East India Company, here is a place under the direct control of the imperial government, where the neglect of human life amounts to atrocity. Of course these circumstances must bear upon the commerce of the place, as the ratio of deaths will give it a bad reputation as to health, and check all foreign enterprise there. The cruelty of the government is not confined to the soldiery under its care, who are permitted to "rot off"

at a fearful ratio. Coolies from the Indian continent have been employed on public works, and treated with the same inhumanity. In the *Bombay Daily Times and Journal of Commerce*, so recently as December 10, 1856, it is related that a vessel had ten days previously arrived from Aden, being a month on the voyage, and landed sixteen coolies, "the pitiable remains of a party of forty-one she had taken on board,—twenty-five of whom had died on board. True, they were only coolies who had gone in the public service, they had no status beyond that of children in the commonwealth, and therefore nobody minded them. But they were human beings not the less, whose lives and sufferings must be answered for by those who have been the means, directly or indirectly, of sending them from the world before their time." It appears that these coolies proceed in large numbers from Bombay for employment in Aden; they are the subjects of injustice from the time they embark for that purpose until they return, or are sent to their long home by the atrocious neglect and cruelty to which they are subjected. The advances made to them upon engagement are so regulated as to prove a snare and a mockery. On the voyage they are badly supplied with water, and rarely at all with vegetables. Their arrival at Aden is followed by the imposition of an amount of labour which is merciless, and under which many of them sink. They are supplied with food so inappropriate, that if the intention of government was to destroy them by rapid degrees, it could not be more effectually performed. Vegetables are seldom supplied because they are not produced on the spot; consequently scurvy, or the Aden ulcer, or the fatal *beri-beri*, a peculiar dropsical disease, soon set in and drain the life of the wretch left by his unpaternal government to die, or as is more usually the case, he is sent away to die on the passage, or, if he reach his home, there to perish. Hardly any of the poor coolies reach Bombay without scorbutic disease, aneurism, or affections of the heart, lungs, or bowels, if they are not dying of *beri-beri*, or Aden ulcer. When men are sent on board ship for Bombay in this deplorable condition no report is made of it, they are accounted for in the returns as having gone to their homes, although the officials know that they are sent away with death upon them, and in many cases destined to be thrown

overboard as rotting carcasses. Yet all this cruelty saves nothing in a pecuniary way, on the contrary, it is an expense as well as a reproach. The pension list is heavily encumbered by the want of humanity characteristic of the British government in Aden. There is no difficulty in procuring labour at Aden, but government humanity is very scarce. The character of the climate seems, however, adverse to extensive settlement, as well as local peculiarities. The author has been favoured with an original report on this subject, in a correspondence between Mr. Coles, the acting secretary of the Bombay medical board, and Dr. Collum, whose experience and intelligence peculiarly qualify him to offer an opinion on the subject. The publication of this opinion will be of use to travellers and commercial men, to officers of the army, and persons having either Europeans, sepoys, or coolies under their charge.

To the Secretary of the Medical Board, Bombay.

Aden, May 12th, 1856.

SIR,—In reply to your letter No. 1103 of the 25th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following information.

2. The climate of Aden consists of two seasons only, the hot and the cool, the former commencing towards the end of April, and terminating about the middle of October. These two periods correspond severally with the south-west and north-east monsoons, which distinctly mark their setting in and duration. Nevertheless it is to be remarked that for the space of a month between the two seasons the wind and weather are very variable, but the atmosphere is generally sultry, and not unlike the climate of Bombay in May and October.

3. With regard to the *hot* season it may truly be so called, the weather is then very hot; but the *cool* is only so termed comparatively, inasmuch as the sun appears to be equally powerful all the year round, and the only abatement to its effects during the day is produced by the wind, hence, sheltered from the wind, the atmosphere in Aden is always warm, and there is no period throughout the year when even gentle exercise does not produce profuse perspiration.

4. The effect of the wind in cooling the atmosphere is fully borne out by the meteorological statistics collected from the hospitals in camp, and that at Steamer Point, during the year ending March 31st, 1856. From these it appears that the average mean temperature on the lowest ground in camp, but which is quite open to the north-east monsoon, is from November to April 77°, whereas at the Hospital Steamer Point, which though on an eminence is sheltered from that wind, it reaches 80°. On the other hand during the south-west monsoon, *i. e.* from May to October, when the Point is open to the wind and the camp shut in, the average mean temperature is 80°, and at the latter 85°.

5. It is principally on account of this evident influence of the prevailing winds in keeping down the heat of the climate, and of the established superiority of an elevated position in effecting the same result, that I have lately recommended Marshag as the most eligible site for the proposed new barracks and hospitals at Aden. That promontory which is distant only about one mile from the present cantonment, and rises to an elevation of from five to six hundred feet, is open to the prevailing winds at both seasons of the year, and is decidedly the coolest

available locality, besides offering from its contiguity from the camp and town many other advantages not to be met with in any other part of the peninsula.

6. Strictly speaking there is no rainy season in Aden itself, though abundance of rain falls periodically in the interior and neighbourhood twice during the year, *viz.* during two or three months from the breaking out of the south-west monsoon, and again for a similar period, beginning from December. It is only rarely, however, that Aden partakes in this benefit, which I attribute mainly to the peculiar construction of the peninsula. It is observable that whenever rain falls the wind is always from the north-east, and consequently blows directly into the circle around the crater formed by the high hills of Shumshum, and its offshoots, finding no escape except through one or two narrow passes, the wind collects in the valleys, and rushes upwards in a compact volume, thus dispersing the clouds which had been attracted by the mountain peaks. Consequently it is only when the clouds are too heavily charged to be dispersed by this agency, or when the wind is very high, that any rain falls in Aden. This phenomenon, moreover, accounts for the great variation in the falls here in different years. Thus, some years the fall of rain has been excessive, whereas during the year ending March 30, 1856, it was only 1·50 inches. The descents, moreover, are very variable in these periods, but usually they occur in April and August, and again in November, December, and January. The falls during these latter months generally partake of the nature of showers, whereas in the former they are more like the heavy rains of the tropics, and huts and cattle have been washed away by the torrents which have descended furiously from the mountains.

No statistics of past years have been preserved by the civil or political authorities, nor in any of the medical establishments at this station, excepting the jail, and from the information supplied in my returns 3 inches 92 cents. appears to have been the average fall of rain for the last five years.

I have the honour, &c.,

R. COLLUM, M.D.,

Jail Hospital. Superintendent Medical Department.

When describing the Straits' settlements, notice was taken of their commerce, as some reference to it was inseparable from an account of those places, and the social condition of the people.

PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND.

Imports, 1853-4.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| | £ |
| Merchandise | 581,239 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 93,061 |
| Total | 674,300 |

Exports, 1853-4.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Merchandise | 689,002 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 179,945 |
| Total | 868,947 |

MALACCA.

Imports, 1853-4.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Merchandise | 84,162 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 956,144 |
| Total | 1,040,306 |

Exports, 1853-4.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Merchandise | 845,133 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 25,339 |
| Total | 870,472 |

In chap. x. a general account of these settlements will be found, and there certain statistics are given in connection with the commerce of Singapore, and the reason assigned for furnishing them in that place. The trade with countries using the dollar as a monetary medium, and also with those using the rupee, is respectively stated for the years 1852-3 and 1853-4. The following was the general value of the commerce of Singapore for 1853-4:—

| SINGAPORE. | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Imports, 1853-4.</i> | |
| | £ |
| Merchandize | 2,389,788 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 1,018,017 |
| Total | 3,407,805 |
| <i>Exports, 1853-4.</i> | |
| Merchandize | 3,191,546 |
| Treasure and Bullion | 956,144 |
| Total | 4,147,690 |
| <i>Total for the Straits' Settlements.</i> | |
| Imports | 5,862,296 |
| Exports | 5,147,215 |

This is exclusive of the intermediate trade. The report of the administration of the Straits' settlements, during 1855-6, does not give any detailed statement of the trade, but it contains the following remarks:—"While the trade of Penang and Malacca has but little increased since 1850-1, that of Singapore has experienced a very remarkable rise, and is now nearly seventy-five per cent. greater in amount than in 1850-1, showing an extent during the past year of ninety-five millions of rupees (£9,500,000)."

A caution is then added against entire reliance on the returns of trade, as the port being a free port, no check exists on the values and estimates of the traders; and it is then said:—"The position of Singapore, in a commercial point of view, is so admirable, that little surprise is felt at the great and annually increasing amount of trade that has there developed itself. Its harbour is open, accessible from all quarters, and free from all dangers of winds and waves. Every ship between India and China must, it may be said, go through the harbour, while it becomes a depot for the produce of the whole of the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago, of Borneo, of Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin China, which it attracts with double force, by its freedom from all the annoyances and vexatious interference of a custom-house and its myrmidons. Such freedom is peculiarly grateful to the sensitive and jealous Malay,

not on account of the absence of all money payments, but that he has no apprehension of being meddled with, cheated, and perhaps ill-treated; and so long as that freedom continues, so long may we look forward to a perennial augmentation of a trade that is already almost unexampled in its growth and magnitude."

A paper is then annexed, which, without distinguishing merchandize and treasure, gives us the following aggregate of exports and imports for Singapore alone:—

| SINGAPORE. | | |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Imports. | Exports. |
| | £ | £ |
| 1854-5 | 3,974,624 | 3,339,937 |
| 1855-6 | 5,144,167 | 4,427,229 |
| Increase | 1,169,543 | 1,087,292 |

It is stated in the report for 1853-4 that the total number of square-rigged vessels which had imported into the Straits in the preceding year was 1124 of 382,032 tons; the number that had exported was 1152 of 380,688 tons, exclusive of 1605 vessels of 189,115 tons, trading between the three stations. Of native craft, 4559 vessels, aggregating 115,619 tons had imported, and 5384 aggregating 112,187 tons had exported, exclusive of 1273 vessels aggregating 46,768 tons, trading between the three stations.

The following statement is given by the commissioner as an illustration of the value of these settlements to the mother country, and of their relations to the Dutch colonies, demonstrating "the judicious selection of Singapore, as an emporium, and its advantages as a free port":—

Trade of Penang with Great Britain.

| | £ | £ |
|------------------------------------|---------|--------|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 103,572 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 83,610 | |
| Increase | | 19,962 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 174,533 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 132,027 | |
| Increase | | 42,506 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 62,468 |

Trade of Singapore with Great Britain.

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 1,184,333 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 790,610 | |
| Increase | | 393,723 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 564,142 | |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 407,696 | |
| Increase | | 156,446 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 | | 550,169 |

Trade of Singapore with the Australian Colonies.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 118,249 |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 27,922 |
| Increase | 90,327 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 167,633 |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 115,809 |
| Increase | 51,824 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 . . . | 142,151 |

Trade of Singapore with Java, Macassar, Rhio, Bally, Sombok, and Sambawa.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Imports in 1853-4 | 491,552 |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 274,393 |
| Increase | 217,159 |
| Exports in 1853-4 | 347,535 |
| Ditto in 1852-3 | 211,856 |
| Increase | 135,679 |
| Total increase in 1853-4 . . . | 352,838 |

The articles principally imported in the last mentioned year were cotton goods chiefly from the United Kingdom, valued at about £850,000, grain, China petty goods, cheroots, silk and silk goods, opium, sugar, tea, tobacco, and spices; and the exports were cheroots, birds' nests, cotton goods, rice, gums, metals, opium, silk goods, spices, sugar, and timber.

Of the vessels that arrived at Singapore in 1853-4, the following is the list:—

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| Austrian | 1 | Native (Flag) | 20 |
| American | 47 | Portuguese | 14 |
| Arabian | 9 | Peruvian | 2 |
| Belgian | 3 | Prussian | 3 |
| Bremen | 8 | Russian | 2 |
| Danish | 9 | Siamese | 25 |
| Dutch | 179 | Swedish | 15 |
| French | 18 | Spanish | 6 |
| Hambro | 21 | British | 644 |
| Norwegian | 2 | | |

The cosmopolitan character of Malacca and of Penang (the port of Prince of Wales' Island) is very similar.

The use of opium in the Straits' settlements is very demoralising. This is especially the case at Singapore. Dr. Little states that in 1847 there was in Singapore a population of forty thousand Chinese, male and female, of whom about fifteen thousand of both sexes smoked opium: the average quantity being about twenty grains' weight per day for each person, although ranging from ten to two hundred grains (the latter in rare cases) per day. In the course of his investigations he visited eighty licensed smoking shops, and examined six hundred and three persons who smoked opium. The rate of wages for a labourer there is about six dollars per month, or one shilling per day, and this sum is also about the average sum daily expended on opium by the Chinese in that settlement: the poorer victims in some cases expending their whole earnings. Some of these had been

addicted to the vice for twenty-five years; but a much shorter period produced sickness and emaciation. He states, as the result of his experience, that "the habitual use of opium not only renders the life of the man miserable, but is a powerful means of shortening that life." He adds, "I cannot suppose, after what has been written, that one individual can be found to deny the evil effects of the habit, the physical disease it produces, with the prostration of mind and the corruption of morals."

In the *Singapore Bi-monthly Circular and Prices Current*, printed at the office of the *Straits' Times*, March 6th, 1858, there is the following statement of port regulation and of weights:—"The port of Singapore is free from import or export duties; the only dues levied being three cents. of a dollar per ton (for defraying the cost of the Horsburgh, Floating, and other lights in the Straits of Malacca), payable by all square-rigged vessels. The usual credit given is three months for European articles. Native produce is always sold for cash. Weights:—1 catty = $1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. avoirdupois; 84 catties = 1 cwt.; 1 picul = 100 catties, or $133\frac{1}{8}$ lbs.; 16 piculs 80 catties = 1 ton; 40 piculs = 1 coyan; a bunkal, or 2 dollars weight = 835 a 836 grains troy. The corge consists of 20 pieces." The prospects of this settlement, from the most recent commercial intelligence, is very encouraging. The British flag was hoisted at Singapore on February 1st, 1819, and ever since the place has grown in political importance and commerce.

Among the most important of the outlying settlements are those on the coast of Borneo.* Although a brief description has been already given in the appropriate place, it is pertinent here to observe that it is one of the most fertile islands in the world. It is crossed by the equator, and therefore the climate is very hot, but the geological peculiarities of the country mitigate the intensity of the heat, and in some places it is alleged to be as temperate as the south of Europe. The advocates of the settlement affirm that it is more important, rich, and salubrious than Australia, and altogether better adapted for a British settlement. Borneo is rich in animals, whereas Australia is in that respect deficient. There are not many plants proper to the tropics which do not grow in the former. Its minerals are more varied than those of Australia. A few years ago a diamond was found which it is asserted is the largest in the world. The gold gathered by the people amounts in value to half a million sterling yearly. It is reasonably presumed that Europeans would be able

* For description see chap. x. p. 203.

to obtain much larger quantities. In the geographical description of the country reference was made to its extensive coal mines; according to accounts which have reached the author since writing that chapter he has reason to believe that the coal-fields of Borneo, are even more extensively diffused than he then supposed. Both the commercial and political value of Borneo are increased by that circumstance more than if its gold regions were as productive as those of Australia or California.

In the historical portion of this work justice will be done to Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Saravak, to whose enterprise England is indebted for any interest she has at present in the island. The author of this history is aware, on the authority of that distinguished man himself, of his willingness to sacrifice his own interests to the interests and honour of his country, and to surrender the fine regions, over which he is the actual sovereign, to the queen of these realms. The apathy of the government of this country is unaccountable, unless some political game is to be played in the interests of Holland, as the Dutch are eagerly watching their opportunity to seize the island, and place it under the sovereignty of their flag. To permit this would be cruel and unjust to Sir James Brooke, impolitic on the part of our government, and injurious to the interests of the people of the United Kingdom generally, and especially in the great Eastern Archipelago. Now, in May, 1858, while these pages are passing through the press, Sir James Brooke is appealing to the people of England, to impress upon their government the folly and detriment of any longer dallying with this subject. It is to be feared that the prominent political members of the legislature are more intent upon party debates and victories than upon the assertion of their queen and country's interests and honour. Manchester, which, as a great commercial community, has so often taken the lead in questions of political economy, and of commercial policy, has already moved in this matter. Sir James Brooke has been welcomed to a public entertainment among the citizens, and a petition has been numerously signed by bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and public men of the liberal professions, for presentation to parliament, which will probably be attended to, as Manchester is generally heard in the legislature when the voice of justice and truth, unless thus supported, is unheeded. The petition of the Manchester citizens places this question, as a commercial one, upon grounds that are wise and discreet, and at the same time just and spirited; and it presents the commercial importance of

Borneo in its full proportions before the parliament and people of England:—

“That your petitioners are deeply interested in the development of the foreign trade of this country. That it is an essential condition to the progress of this trade that public faith should be observed and enforced on all sides. That, in seeking fresh fields for our commerce, and opening out new markets for our manufactures, the safety of the lives and properties of the British subjects concerned must be secured, and their rights protected against aggression, by the support of the home government. That the outlying dependencies of the present East India Company in the Indian and China seas are of the first importance to British commerce, and that it is the paramount duty of the government to secure such a hold in those distant waters as shall maintain an efficient control of their navigation, and guarantee the free working of our ships. That at present one link is wanting in the chain of British influence which shall attain those ends. That this desired position is to be found in the territory on the north-west coast of Borneo, now under the rule of the Rajah of Saravak. That the energy, enterprise, and administrative ability of that ruler—a British subject—have won this important position to England's use and benefit, if she chooses to avail herself of it. That, with the north-west coast of Borneo under the direct control of the crown, England would practically hold the gates of the only great highway to China, the trade with which empire, in your petitioners' judgment, is destined to be one of vast extent. That a grievous injury would be inflicted on this trade, and a blow be struck at England's supremacy, if, unfortunately, the position in question were allowed to pass into the hands of the Dutch, or any other European power. That it appears to your petitioners that the time for action has now come; that further delay will prove fatal to great interests involved, while it may jeopardize the lives and properties of Englishmen who have been induced to embark upon distant enterprises in full reliance upon the good faith and justice of England, and her respect for the obligations of treaties. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honourable house will adopt such measures as to your honourable house in its wisdom may seem most fit:—1. To bring the future government of the Straits' settlements under the direct control of the colonial department of her majesty's government. 2. To secure for the benefit of British commerce the manifold advantages, natural and geographical, of the Saravak country. 3. To urge upon the executive government

at once to conclude arrangements with Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., the present Rajah of Sarawak, for the cession of his rights and powers, either by making that country at once a British settlement, or by bringing it into direct dependency upon the new Straits' government."

Sir James Brooke must know more of the capabilities of Borneo than any other living man, and his opinion in reference to the desirableness of occupying it is before the public. The claims of the Dutch seem to stand in the way of any decisive action on the part of our government. The correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and M. Dedel, the Netherland's minister, in 1844-5*, will inform those desirous to look closely into the subject, how the case stands as to what Sir James Brooke properly and expressively describes as "British rights *versus* Dutch claims." The British rajah maintains that the Netherlands never exercised, and never had sovereignty on the north-west coast of Borneo beyond their present limits; the English have positively asserted their right to form settlements on that coast wherever their interests required. There can be, therefore, no delicacy on the part of the British government as to the conflicting interests of a friendly power, and no difficulty in the way of adopting Sir James Brooke's views. Labuan has been for ten years past a British settlement. Sarawak, which was once countenanced and protected by the British government, is now abandoned by it, and (in the opinion of all who know the circumstances) most faithlessly. The Europeans and natives there hold this opinion, and among the latter the prestige of British truthfulness and honour has been lowered. It remains to be seen whether the British people will uphold their government in thus acting, or compel a course consonant with integrity and justice to the intrepid and gifted rajah, to the settlements, and to British interests.

The *Sunday Times*, a journal better informed on oriental questions than probably any other in London, has put the arrival of Sir James Brooke, and the connection of Borneo with British interests, in a sound and intelligent point of view in the following article:—"Sir James Brooke, we are told, offers to put the sovereignty of the north-west coast into our hands. Sir James Brooke makes no such offer, for the very sufficient reason, that he himself is not the sovereign of the north-west coast of Borneo. He possesses upon that coast a splendid principality, and it is of that principality that he offers to cede the sovereignty to the British govern-

* Blue-books.

ment. It appears, meanwhile, to be forgotten, that for upwards of ninety years the whole northern division of Borneo has belonged to Great Britain, having been regularly made over to us by the Sultan of Sulu, in whose possession it was at that time. If the country would listen to Sir James Brooke, he would enable it to direct its commercial and political energies into several profitable and grand channels, in that distant part of the world, to which his genius, courage, and enterprise have forcibly directed the attention of mankind. We hear much of the cotton-mills of Lancashire working only half time, and of prodigious heaps of capital lying idle; but they who suffer from these circumstances richly deserve all the losses they sustain. Numerous and vast fields lie open before them, which they refuse to enter upon. If even a moderate portion of that capital were employed in developing the resources of Borneo, it would very speedily work wonders. There is scarcely any article of tropical produce which the plains and uplands of that immense island would not supply abundantly, together with numerous materials which are found nowhere else. We think the manufacturers of Manchester should form themselves into an association to work out the Indian Archipelago—to civilise its inhabitants, to give them a taste for shirts, chemises, trousers, and petticoats—to prove to them, practically, that, by employing themselves a few hours every day, they may render themselves masters of all sorts of fine things—swords, battle-axes, rifles, great guns, if they like; with houses, boats, beads, blue bottles, and turbans. At every step we take eastwards, the materials of opulence thicken around us; but we are timid—not through moderation, as some of our contemporaries would fain persuade the world, but through gross ignorance. The English are an ambitious people, fond of conquest, when it can be rendered profitable, commercially as well as politically. This, however, has been the case with all great nations. None has ever been so puerile as to desire to extend its dominions merely for the sake of extending them. All conquerors have had an eye to profit; if any one could be found who had not such an idea, he would, unquestionably, be the most ridiculous of them all. If the English conquer, or otherwise extend their dominion, they at once benefit themselves and the populations they receive within the circle of their rule. In Borneo there would be no need of war, since the natives are willing to become our fellow-citizens, and, indeed, would only be too happy to be protected from the evils of outrage and anarchy by our

strength. To explain what advantages would accrue to the British people, from admitting them into political fellowship with us, Sir James Brooke ought to deliver a speech like that which he delivered at Manchester, to the inhabitants of every great town in the kingdom. Whatever may be pretended, a majority of persons in this country, educated or uneducated, look upon Borneo as something very much like a myth. They see it, indeed, upon the maps, where it occupies a few inches of paper, and is scratched over with two or three uncouth names; but they do not realise to themselves that it is nine hundred miles long—that it contains mountains little inferior to Mont Blanc in height—that it abounds with great rivers, with extensive forests, with beautiful hills, with rich plains—that its bowels teem with gold, silver, diamonds, antimony, and coal, still more precious than all—that cotton, coffee, and a thousand admirable productions might be obtained from it, in exhaustless plenty—and that Sir James Brooke has it in his power peaceably to throw open to us the door of this magnificent country. But let us give Sir James himself a piece of advice, which is, that nothing is to be done in England without eternal repetition. What people hear every hour in the day they end by believing.”

The whole question of English interests in the Straits' settlements and the Archipelago must be thoroughly ventilated. The Dutch have done great injury to our commerce by their restrictive measures, and their aggressions are contrary to the treaty of 1824. The Java Sea, from Torres Straits to the Natunas, from Anjer to Sulu, is wholly in their power, and the telegraphic communication between Singapore and Australia, by whatever route it may ultimately be carried out, will be entirely in the hands of our astute neighbours, who will be able at any time to interrupt it. Acheen, and the greater part of Sumatra, have submitted to their rule, and from thence we are excluded; and the same may be said of the greater part of Borneo, Sambawa, Flores, Timor, the Spice Islands, and New Guinea. The Spaniards, on the other hand, have seized upon Sulu, abandoned by us to their rapacity, and they threaten still further irruptions on the north-east coast of Borneo; while the French openly covet the mineral riches of Cochin China; and the Americans do not disguise their inclination to annex, as best they may, some portion of the Archipelago. To the eastward and southward of Singapore, with the exception of the much-neglected colony of Labuan, no British settlement exists between it and China or Australia. The Honorable East

India Company, too much occupied with its vast possessions, has overlooked imperial interests in those most important seas. We find, therefore, our predominance everywhere undermined, if it can be said to exist; and if the present want of system is permitted to continue, we shall shortly find the Chinese Sea as closed to England as to the Javanese. This subject is certainly one which should be deeply interesting to the Singapore merchant, and one which should engage his earnest consideration; and now that the Straits' settlements are about to be placed under the crown, not only should their political position be determined, and the proposed form of government ascertained, so that their entire freedom of trade may be maintained in all its integrity, but British influence in the East should be resuscitated, and our national and commercial interests vindicated by a bold, straightforward, and liberal policy. The plan which the Singapore merchants urge upon the government are:—

1. The transfer of the Straits' settlements to the crown, including them and Labuan in one government.
2. The formation of a naval station at Singapore.
3. British influence maintained, so as to promote commerce, and check native misrule.
4. Authority vested in a proper officer to watch and report on the territorial extensions and commercial aggressions of the Dutch, Spanish, French, or Americans.
5. The suppression (effectual) of piracy.
6. A protectorate granted to Sarawak, or its annexation as a country of national importance, from its valuable supply of coal, and as commanding an influential position in the China Sea.

These points are of an importance which admit of no delay.

The reasons already adduced render Singapore far superior to Trincomalee, or any other place, for a naval station. It is undoubtedly the key of the Eastern seas politically and commercially, and its interests are in every way imperial, and not Indian.

The protectorate on the north-west of Borneo would connect Labuan with the other British possessions, and the rapidly increasing demand for coal, already exceeding 100,000 tons per annum, would be supplied from this settlement and the coast. Let any man of sense consider the consequences to our position, our communications, and our commerce, should an interruption of the supply of coal from England occur. And yet this is what we risk, and what will certainly happen from another war, another Australian emigration, or any other of the many causes which

may excite a large demand for tonnage. Why, then, are the ministry so blind to the vast national advantages offered for their acceptance? Why do they turn a deaf ear to the prayers of those resident on the spot, and to the voice of the influential classes in England, and refuse to entertain those simple measures by which alone British influence can be made complete and permanent in those seas, and our power and commerce placed upon a secure and prosperous footing?

Having described the general commerce of India, with many of its especial features, it is unhappily necessary to refer to some circumstances and transactions connected with the debt of India, which has an effect upon commerce not only in the indirect way with which it is affected by whatever shakes public confidence in government, but as directly influencing the trade in money, upon the soundness of which in any country the healthy operations of general commerce must much depend. Mr. Crawford moved in the imperial parliament, in the spring of 1858, for certain returns as to the debt of India, which were published on the 27th of April. These show the total liabilities of the territorial government up to the beginning of the present year. All the various notices issued by the authorities during the last twenty-four years in connection with the opening of new loans or the redemption or conversion of old ones are likewise included in the return. Among these the most important is the notification put forth for the reduction of the five per cents. into four per cents. in April, 1854, to which the holders were led to assent by certain flourishing representations of the condition and prospects of the treasury, and which was followed in less than twelve months (March, 1855) by a new proposal from the government to borrow £2,750,000 at the old rate of five per cent. This fresh loan was called the Public Works Loan, and is not redeemable until 1870. It excited great indignation, since the fact of the government again coming into the market to borrow on such terms of course caused a terrible depreciation in the property of those who had believed any such prospect to be far distant, and who, under that impression, had expected the four per cents. to be maintained at or above par. This transaction has been shown to have had a serious effect in damaging the financial prestige of the company; and although an attempt was made to repair the mischief in July last by an announcement that the four per cent. paper would be received to the extent of one-half in all subscriptions to a five per cent. loan, which was then and still is open, the recollection of it even at this time is

thought to exert a prejudicial influence. Annexed is an abstract of the aggregate debt:—

| | | | | | £ |
|--|--|--|--|--|------------|
| Loan bearing 10 per cent interest . . . | | | | | 715 |
| " " 8 " " . . . | | | | | 14,437 |
| " " 6 " " . . . | | | | | 345,725 |
| " " 5 " " . . . | | | | | 3,744,141 |
| " " 4 " " . . . | | | | | 39,392,844 |
| " " 3½ " " . . . | | | | | 530,730 |
| | | | | | 44,028,592 |
| Temporary loans | | | | | 219,656 |
| Treasury notes | | | | | 967,711 |
| Deposits, including the Carnatic and other funds | | | | | 5,267,410 |
| | | | | | 50,483,369 |

In addition to the above there have been loans opened since the 1st of May, 1856. One at four and a half per cent., which was opened on the 30th of August, 1856, and closed the 16th of January, 1857, to which—

| | | £ |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| The subscriptions were | | 368,137 |
| And one at 5 per cent., opened January 16, 1857, to which, up to the 20th of February last, there had been subscribed in cash | 3,788,788 | |
| And in paper of the 3½, 4, and 4½ per cent loans | 1,877,959 | |
| | | 5,666,747 |

This is exclusive of the £6,000,000 of India stock at home, as well as of the £7,000,000 which the company are authorized to raise here on bonds (an authority believed to have been exercised to within £1,000,000 of its full extent), and also of the £4,397,000 four per cent. debentures just issued. The company are likewise under guarantee to pay interest on the following amounts of railway capital, which raise their total liabilities to little short of £100,000,000:—

| | | £ |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| East Indian Railway | 10,731,000 | |
| Eastern Bengal | 1,000,000 | |
| Madras | 4,000,000 | |
| East Indian Peninsula | 8,333,300 | |
| Scinde and Punjaub | 2,500,000 | |
| Bombay, Baroda, and Central India . . | 1,750,000 | |
| | | 28,314,300 |

These statistics show the debt of India to be nearly £100,000,000, but it is necessary to remark that more than one-fourth of the whole, £28,000,000, consists of guarantees upon railways. This seems to be a safe source, for, according to present experience, the lines in course of formation are likely to yield a higher rate of interest than the guarantee, while they enrich the country through which they are instrumental in opening up communications, so as to enable it to pay an increased revenue, and still more increase the

value of the particular property concerned. Another amount of £6,000,000 consists of capital of the company, which in 1874 will be paid at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock by a sinking fund now in operation.

The policy of contracting a debt *in India* for the purpose of public works there is politic on the part of the government, as well as beneficial to the country, for the more extensively the natives of India subscribe to loans, the more hold the government has upon their loyalty. The subscriptions of the railway enterprises went upon another principle—that of securing to the people of the United Kingdom the property in those roads; the result is that should we be driven from the country, the people of India would have all the benefit of the outlay, and the money would be lost to the British subscribers.

There is rather an extensive impression that if the imperial cabinet assume the government of India, the people of England will become responsible for the debt. This will not be the case; the same security which now exists will continue, whatever form the government of India may assume, and with that security the holders of India stock must remain content. Since these lines were written returns have been made to parliament, which further illustrate this subject. A return to the House of Lords (in further part) shows that the total estimated net produce of all the revenues of India for the year 1856–7 amounted to the sum of £21,196,894, including £14,317,805 from the land revenue, subsidy, and tobacco; £1,961,124 from customs, £1,833,411 from salt, £3,177,242 from opium, £528,293 from stamps, and £157,418 from mint, &c., receipts. The charges of collection altogether amount to £7,137,501. Upon this net revenue of £21,978,364 there was an estimated total charge of £22,931,721, so that there would be a deficit in 1856–7 (the last year of the returns) amounting to £953,357. The charges include £3,288,819 for the civil and political establishments, £2,472,336 for judicial and police establishments, £10,945,224 for military and war charges, and £2,155,301 for the interest on the debt; there is also a charge of £2,623,744 for territorial payments in England.

As the progress of railways so much influences the state of the money market, and thereby indirectly the course of trade, as well as the development of the resources upon which commerce relies, it will also assist the reader in judging of the prospects of the trade of India to offer the following statistics of reports made since the foregoing lines were written. The report of the *East Indian* states that the works on the South Beerbhoom

district are making good progress, and that the first twenty-four miles will probably be opened by the 1st of June; the construction of the other parts of the line is also being actively carried on. Arrangements have been made for the immediate recommencement of the Soane Bridge. Beyond the Soane, nearly up to Allahabad, the state of the country in February has not permitted operations to be proceeded with to any great extent. About sixty miles of railway are open between Allahabad and Cawnpore for the conveyance of troops, &c., and every exertion will be made to complete the whole of the hundred and twenty-six miles in the course of a few months. From considerations arising out of the mutiny, it is contemplated by the government to change the route of the line above Cawnpore, and the terminus will probably be at Meerut instead of Delhi. The number of passengers during the past half-year was 522,360 (of whom 488,904 were third-class), and the tonnage of goods and minerals was 70,355 tons, showing in the latter case an increase of 25,660 tons over the corresponding period of 1856. The total receipts in 1857 were £132,434 against £96,100 in the previous year; and the interest paid or payable to the proprietors to the 31st of December last amounted to £349,417. The net profits for the past year on the portion open between Calcutta and Raneegunge are estimated to be equal to a dividend at the rate of six and five-eighths per cent. The sum of £1,881,426 has been disbursed by the government of India on account of interest upon railway capital from the commencement of operations in that country up to the present time—viz., £1,800,748 in England, and £80,678 in India. The capital raised by the six railway companies, and paid into the treasuries of the company, amounts to £16,073,584, and of this only £576,979 was raised in India.

Notwithstanding the struggle which rages in India while these pages are being written, all evidence concurs in leading to the belief that a brighter future awaits that wondrous land. Although such writers as Bayard Taylor, Train, and other correspondents of the American press, have decried the labours of missionaries and philanthropists, these high moral agencies are telling upon the community quietly and decisively wherever they are at work. It is not improbable that a perception of this urged many of the fanatics of 1857 to their war of extirpation against the English. But God does not work moral and social changes by direct moral agencies only; it pleases him to use material media for effecting the great moral revolutions which subserve his grand and benevolent designs.

There are no material changes which have not their moral relations and aspects. Commerce is not simply a material process, carried on under intellectual guidance; it is always associated with the inner life of communities. It creates and develops moral as well as intellectual tastes, and both as strikingly as it promotes material civilization. Man cannot meet man without interchange of thought. The products of one country cannot be spread upon the lap of another without exciting new desires, and suggesting trains of reflections which even the most thoughtless cannot wholly dismiss. The heart as well as the mind of a people is left upon the works of their hands. Every such work is a cardiophonia, by which those who look upon it are addressed. The good and evil that are in us spread with our commerce in proportion as the stronger mind and will obtain in all things mastery over the weaker. He must be little gifted with an observing habit and philosophic temper who cannot see that upon the hard mental and moral types of oriental character our intercourse and commerce are telling as well as our direct spiritual agencies; just as the most colossal and durable idol, exposed to the sun and the monsoon, will at last bear obvious and lasting impressions of their effects. The day of oriental seclusion is gone; the highway is open in the desert; the footfalls of the busy throng of traders, soldiers, and politicians, resound to far-off Eastern nations; and already the swarthy children of the sun are learning to descry other visitors, and to exclaim, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of those who bring the gospel of peace!" It were a blindness to the ways of Providence, and cowardice as to our own mission, not to hope for India, and for the honour of performing there a great and noble work; and among the bonds which shall bind that glorious region to this ruling country shall be the golden chain of commerce, graced and strengthened by the links of many a realm between.

The commerce of India, as well as of the Straits' settlements and Hong-Kong, will be promoted by the present satisfactory relations with Siam. There are various avenues of profit which a well-established and well-regulated trade with that country would open up. The hostility of the Indo-Chinese nations to the intercourse of strangers has hitherto shut up this field of enterprise even more than others in Eastern Asia. By a return presented to both houses of parliament, by the command of her majesty, in the session of 1857, the public have been put in possession of a treaty of friendship and commerce between her Britannic majesty and the kings

of Siam, signed on the 18th of April, 1855, the ratifications being exchanged on the 5th of April, 1856.

The first article of this treaty affirms perpetual peace and amity, and the reciprocal protection "and assistance" of Siamese and British subjects within their respective dominions.

ARTICLE II.

The interests of all British subjects coming to Siam shall be placed under the control of a consul at Bangkok. The consul, in conjunction with Siamese officers, to hear and determine all disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects; but the consul shall not interfere in any matters referring solely to Siamese, neither will the Siamese authorities interfere in questions which only concern the subjects of her Britannic majesty.

It is understood, however, that the arrival of the British consul at Bangkok shall not take place before the ratification of this treaty, nor until ten vessels owned by British subjects, sailing under British colours and with British papers, shall have entered the port of Bangkok for purposes of trade, subsequent to the signing of this treaty.

ARTICLE III.

If Siamese in the employ of British subjects offend against the laws of their country, or if any Siamese, having so offended or desiring to desert, take refuge with a British subject in Siam, they shall be searched for, and, upon proof of their guilt or desertion, shall be delivered up by the consul to the Siamese authorities. In like manner, any British offenders resident or trading in Siam, who may desert, escape to, or hide themselves in Siamese territory, shall be apprehended and delivered over to the British consul on his requisition. Chinese, not able to prove themselves to be British subjects, shall not be considered as such by the British consul, nor be entitled to his protection.

ARTICLE IV.

British subjects are permitted to trade freely in all the seaports of Siam, but may reside permanently only at Bangkok, or within the limits assigned by this treaty. British subjects coming to reside at Bangkok may rent land, and buy or build houses, but cannot purchase lands within a circuit of two hundred *sen* (not more than four miles English) from the city walls until they shall have lived in Siam for ten years, or shall obtain special authority from the Siamese government to enable them to do so; but, with the exception of this limitation, British residents in Siam may at any time buy or rent houses, lands, or plantations, situated anywhere within a distance of twenty-four hours' journey from the city of Bangkok, to be computed by the rate at which boats of the country can travel. In order to obtain possession of such lands or houses, it will be necessary that the British subject shall, in the first place, make application through the consul to the proper Siamese officer: and the Siamese officer and the consul having satisfied themselves of the honest intentions of the applicant, will assist him in settling, upon equitable terms, the amount of the purchase money, will mark out and fix the boundaries of the property, and will convey the same to the British purchaser under sealed deeds. Whereupon he and his property shall be placed under the protection of the governor of the district and that of the particular local authorities; he shall conform in ordinary matters to any just directions given him by them, and will be subject to the same taxation that is levied on Siamese subjects. But if through negligence, the want of capital, or other cause, a British subject should fail to commence the cultivation or improvement of the lands so acquired within a term of three years from

the date of receiving possession thereof, the Siamese government shall have the power of resuming the property upon returning to the British subject the purchase money paid by him for the same.

ARTICLE V.

All British subjects intending to reside in Siam shall be registered at the British consulate; they shall not go out to sea, nor proceed beyond the limits assigned by this treaty for the residence of British subjects, without a passport from the Siamese authorities, to be applied for by the British consul; nor shall they leave Siam if the Siamese authorities show to the British consul that legitimate objections exist to their quitting the country; but within the limits appointed under the preceding article British subjects are at liberty to travel to and fro under the protection of a pass, to be furnished them by the British consul, and counter-sealed by the proper Siamese officer, stating, in the Siamese character, their names, calling, and description. The Siamese officers at the government stations in the interior may, at any time, call for the production of this pass, and immediately on its being exhibited they must allow the parties to proceed; but it will be their duty to detain those persons who, by travelling without a pass from the consul, render themselves liable to the suspicion of their being deserters, and such detention shall be immediately reported to the consul.

ARTICLE VI.

All British subjects visiting or residing in Siam shall be allowed the free exercise of the Christian religion, and liberty to build churches in such localities as shall be consented to by the Siamese authorities. The Siamese government will place no restrictions upon the employment by the English of Siamese subjects as servants, or in any other capacity; but wherever a Siamese subject belongs or owes service to some particular master, the servant who engages himself to a British subject without the consent of his master may be reclaimed by him; and the Siamese government will not enforce an agreement between a British subject and any Siamese in his employ, unless made with the knowledge and consent of the master, who has a right to dispose of the services of the person engaged.

ARTICLE VII.

British ships of war may enter the river, and anchor at Paknam, but they shall not proceed above Paknam, unless with the consent of the Siamese authorities, which shall be given where it is necessary that a ship shall go into dock for repairs. Any British ship of war conveying to Siam a public functionary accredited by her majesty's government to the court of Bangkok, shall be allowed to come up to Bangkok, but shall not pass the forts called Pong Phrachamit and Pit-patch-nuck, unless expressly permitted to do so by the Siamese government; but, in the absence of a British ship of war, the Siamese authorities engage to furnish the consul with a force sufficient to enable him to give effect to his authority over British subjects, and to enforce discipline among British shipping.

ARTICLE VIII.

The measurement duty hitherto paid by British vessels trading to Bangkok under the treaty of 1826 shall be abolished from the date of this treaty coming into operation, and British shipping and trade will thenceforth be only subject to the payment of import and export duties on the goods landed or shipped. On all articles of import the duties shall be three per cent., payable, at the option of the importer, either in kind or money, calculated upon the market value of the goods. Drawback of the full amount of duty shall be allowed upon goods found unsaleable and re-exported. Should the British merchant and the custom-house officers disagree as to the value to be set

upon imported articles, such disputes shall be referred to the consul and proper Siamese officer, who shall each have the power to call in an equal number of merchants as assessors, not exceeding two on either side, to assist them in coming to an equitable decision.

Opium may be imported free of duty, but can only be sold to the opium farmer or his agents. In the event of no arrangement being effected with them for the sale of the opium, it shall be re-exported, and no impost or duty shall be levied thereon. Any infringement of this regulation shall subject the opium to seizure and confiscation.

Articles of export from the time of production to the date of shipment shall pay one impost only, whether this be levied under the name of inland tax, transit duty, or duty on exportation. The tax or duty to be paid on each article of Siamese produce previous to or upon exportation, is specified in the tariff attached to this treaty; and it is distinctly agreed that goods or produce which pay any description of tax in the interior shall be exempted from any further payment of duty on exportation.

English merchants are to be allowed to purchase directly from the producer the articles in which they trade, and in like manner to sell their goods directly to the parties wishing to purchase the same, without the interference, in either case, of any other person.

The rates of duty laid down in the tariff attached to this treaty are those that are now paid upon goods or produce shipped in Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks; and it is agreed that British shipping shall enjoy all the privileges now exercised by or which hereafter may be granted to Siamese or Chinese vessels or junks.

British subjects will be allowed to build ships in Siam on obtaining permission to do so from the Siamese authorities.

Whenever a scarcity may be apprehended of salt, rice, and fish, the Siamese government reserve to themselves the right of prohibiting, by public proclamation, the exportation of these articles.

Bullion or personal effects may be imported or exported free of charge.

ARTICLE IX.

The code of regulations appended to this treaty shall be enforced by the consul, with the co-operation of the Siamese authorities; and they, the said authorities and consul, shall be enabled to introduce any further regulations which may be found necessary, in order to give effect to the objects of this treaty.

All fines and penalties inflicted for infraction of the provisions and regulations of this treaty shall be paid to the Siamese government.

Until the British consul shall arrive at Bangkok, and enter upon his functions, the consignees of British vessels shall be at liberty to settle with the Siamese authorities all questions relating to their trade.

ARTICLE X.

The British government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in any privileges that may have been, or may hereafter be, granted by the Siamese government to the government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE XI.

After the lapse of ten years from the date of the ratification of this treaty, upon the desire of either the British or Siamese government, and on twelve months' notice given by either party, the present, and such portions of the treaty of 1826 as remain unrevoked by this treaty together with the tariff and regulations hereunto annexed, or those that may hereafter be introduced, shall be subject to revision by commissioners appointed on both sides for this purpose, who will be empowered to decide on and insert therein such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ARTICLE XII.

This article referred to formalities as to the time of taking effect, interpretation, signatures of plenipotentiaries, &c.

After the articles follow general regulations, under which British trade is to be conducted in Siam. The general drift of these is the protection of the Siamese government from the arrival of armed ships, under pretence of trade, nearer to Bangkok than Paknam, and the preservation of Siamese authority in reference to such vessels. Then follows a tariff of the export and inland duties to be levied on articles of trade, which shows the nature and variety of our commerce with Siam.

SECTION I.

The undermentioned articles shall be entirely free from inland or other taxes, on production or transit, and shall pay export duty as follows:—

| | Ti. | Sa. | Fu. | |
|-----------------------------------|------|-------|------|------------------|
| | cal. | lung. | ang. | Hun. |
| Ivory | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Gamboge | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Rhinoceros horns | 50 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Cardamoms, best | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| " bastard | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Dried mussels | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Pelicans' quills | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Betel-nut, dried | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Krachi wood | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Sharks' fins, white | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| " black | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Lukkraban seed | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Peacocks' tails | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 per 100 tails. |
| Buffalo and cow bones . . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 per picul. |
| Rhinoceros hides | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Hide cuttings | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Turtle shells | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Soft " | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Bêche de mer | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Fish-maws | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Birds' nests, uncleaned . | 20 | | | per cent. |
| Kingfishers' feathers . . . | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 per 100. |
| Cutch | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Beyché seed (<i>Nux Vom.</i>) . | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Pungtarai seed | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Gum benjamin | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Angrai bark | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Agilla wood | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Ray skins | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Old deer horns | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Soft, or young deer horns . | 10 | | | per cent. |
| Deer hides, fine | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 per 100 hides. |
| " common | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Deer sinews | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Buffalo and cow hides . . | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Elephants' bones | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Tigers' bones | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Buffalo horns | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Elephants' hides | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Tigers' skins | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 per skin. |
| Armadillo skins | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Stick-lac | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Hemp | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| Dried fish, <i>Plaheng</i> . . . | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 " |
| " <i>Plasalit</i> | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Sapan wood | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 " |
| Salt meat | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 " |
| Mangrove bark | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |

| | Ti. | Sa. | Fu. | |
|--------------------|------|-------|------|--------------|
| | cal. | lung. | ang. | Hun. |
| Rosewood | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Ebony | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Rice | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 per coyan. |

SECTION II.

The undermentioned articles being subject to the inland or transit duties herein named, and which shall not be increased, shall be exempt from export duty.

| | Ti. | Sa. | Fu. | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------|------|--------------|
| | cal. | lung. | ang. | Hun. |
| Sugar, white | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| " red | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 " |
| Cotton, cleaned and un- | | | | |
| cleaned | 10 | | | per cent. |
| Pepper | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Salt-fish, <i>Platu</i> | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 per 10,000 |
| Beans and peas | One-twelfth. | | | |
| Dried prawns | One-twelfth. | | | |
| Tilseed | One-twelfth. | | | |
| Silk, raw | One-twelfth. | | | |
| Beeswax | One-fifteenth. | | | |
| Tallow | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 per picul. |
| Salt | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 per coyan. |
| Tobacco (bundles) | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 per 1000. |

SECTION III.

All goods or produce unenumerated in this tariff shall be free of export duty, and shall only be subject to one inland tax or transit duty, not exceeding the rate now paid.

JOHN BOWRING.
(L.S.)

(Signatures and seals of the five Siamese plenipotentiaries.)

On the 13th of May, 1856, a supplementary agreement to this treaty was signed with the Siamese authorities, by Harry Smith Parkes, Esq., on behalf of the British. The object of this supplementary agreement was two-fold: first, that such articles of an old treaty, made in 1826, as were abrogated by the new, should be distinctly mentioned; secondly, that any clause of the new treaty, not sufficiently clear, should be fully explained. The only article of this supplementary agreement which need be stated is the following:—

ARTICLE I.

On the old treaty concluded in 1826.

The articles of the old treaty not abrogated by the new treaty, are I, II, III, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, and the undermentioned clauses of Articles VI and X. In Article VI the Siamese desire to retain the following clause:—

"If a Siamese or English merchant buy or sell, without inquiring and ascertaining whether the seller or buyer be of a good or bad character, and if he meet with a bad man, who takes the property and absconds, the rulers and officers on either side must make search and endeavour to produce the property of the absconder, and investigate the matter with sincerity. If the party possess money or property, he can be made to pay; but if he does not possess any, or if he cannot be apprehended, the authorities cannot be held responsible."

Of Article X, Mr. Parkes desires to retain that clause relating to the overland trade, which states:

"Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Birmese, Peguans, or descendants of Europeans, desiring to enter into and to trade with the Siamese domi-

nions, from the countries of Mergui, Tavoy, Tenasserim, and Ye, which are now subject to the English, will be allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates."

Mr. Parkes, however, desires that all British subjects, without exception, shall be allowed to participate in this overland trade. The said royal commissioners therefore agree, on the part of the Siamese, that all traders, under British rule, may cross from the British territories of Mergui, Tavoy, Ye, Tenasserim, Pegu, or other places, by land or by water, to the Siamese territories, and may trade there with facility, on the condition that they shall be provided by the British authorities with proper certificates, which must be renewed for each journey.

The commercial agreement annexed to the old treaty is abrogated by the new treaty, with the exception of the undermentioned clauses of Articles I and IV.

Of Article I the Siamese desire to retain the following clause :

"British merchants importing fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, are prohibited from selling them to any party but the government. Should the government not require such fire-arms, shot, or gunpowder, the merchants must re-export the whole of them."

Article IV stipulates that no charge or duty shall be levied on boats carrying cargo to British ships at the bar. The Siamese desire to cancel this clause, for the reason that the old measurement duty of 1700 ticals per fathom included the fees of the various officers, but as this measurement duty has now been abolished, the Siamese wish to levy on each native boat taking cargo out to sea, a fee of 8 ticals 2 salungs, this being the charge paid by Siamese traders; and Mr. Parkes undertakes to submit this point to the consideration of her majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the court of Siam.

In the treaty of Sir John Bowring, it was stipulated that British subjects should have the right to buy and occupy houses and lands, under the conditions specified, but their right to sell them again was oddly overlooked. Mr. Parkes inserted a clause in the new agreement giving them that right.

The Siamese government insisted on the powers of prohibiting the exportation of rice, salt, and fish, in seasons of famine. Mr. Parkes consented to this on the condition that a month's notice should always be given before the prohibition should be enforced. By the seventh article of the treaty, bullion may be exported or imported free of charge. With reference to this clause, the Siamese royal commissioners agreed, at the request of Mr. Parkes, that foreign coins of every description, gold or silver, in bars or ingots, and gold leaf, should be imported free; but manufactured articles of gold and silver, plated ware, and diamond or other precious stones, must pay an import duty of three per cent.

One article of the supplementary agreement was eminently absurd on the part of Mr. Parkes. The Siamese commissioners requested that whenever the Siamese government deemed it to be beneficial for the country to impose "a single tax or duty" on any article not then subject to a public charge

of any kind, it might do so without infraction of the treaty, so far as non-duty articles were concerned. Mr. Parkes considered that he had kept clear of this trap by adding, "provided that the said tax be just and reasonable."

The indefinite article of the treaty, allowing British residents to travel a journey of twenty-four hours' distance, was made more satisfactory by clear definitions of distance by actual measurement or mutual agreement.

Rates of assessment upon English plantations, established in Siamese territory, were to be the same as those paid by the native planters or gardeners.

The neighbourhood of Bangkok, especially some distance in the interior, is admirably adapted to the growth of valuable fruits and timber; such as betel-nut, cocoa-nut, siri vines, mango, maprung, darian, mangosteen, langsat, orange, jack-fruit, bread-fruit, mak-pai, guana, laton, and rambutan trees. Excellent pine apples are grown in every direction around the capital; also tamarinds, custard-apples, plantains, and pepper vines.

From various causes this treaty and the supplementary agreement, failed to give that satisfaction in India which, from its terms, generally might be expected. It was alleged that Sir John Bowring was outwitted; that a consciousness of this led to the mission of Mr. Parkes, to amend the treaty; that the mender had done no better than the original maker; that the treaty with Siam was practically a nullity; and that the opening up of the commerce of that country is yet a *desideratum*. It is certain that several of the stipulations are useless, and others mischievous, laying the foundation for future disagreements; but on the whole the treaty and its supplement must appear to those, not initiated in the tricks of Eastern trade and the subterfuges of Eastern diplomatists, as fair and reasonable. Better terms would have been desirable; but so far, something considerable was accomplished by her majesty's negotiators, which may lead, and is likely to lead, to more intelligent and liberal arrangements. It is well that some of the best organs of public opinion, both in England and in India, appreciate what has been done. One of the best edited publications in India, *The Bombay Quarterly** expresses its approval in no measured terms:—"It establishes a just and reasonable scale of duties, destroys monopoly, and offers every inducement to increased cultivation and enterprise on the part of the Siamese. It is very creditable to their present monarchy to have so freely overthrown the previously existing system of

* July, 1857.

taxation, and to have adopted a liberal policy before unknown to the country. The innovation was startling, and it required considerable foresight and faith in principles to introduce it without preliminary experience. In taking this step, the kings abandoned their former sources of revenue, and trusted entirely to the effect of a moderate tariff, and to the rapid increase of transactions under its fostering influences. The abolition of the corn laws, and the reduction to penny postage—measures forced out of our own government—in no way adequately represent the comparative magnitude of the reform now freely accorded by the sovereigns of Siam."

The same writer again expresses himself in his review of the treaty, and of the spirit and policy of the Siamese government, in these hopeful terms:—"We are inclined to believe that the measure, concluded by the moderation and good management of Sir John Bowring, may be but the first stride of a people rapidly and continuously proceeding up the scale of civilization." That there are good grounds for such a hope must be evident to all who look into the circumstances of that country, and who consider the spirit of its rulers. The climate is one of the finest in the East, although the mean temperature is as high as 84°. It is a healthy country, there being few places in the world where instances of longevity are so frequently met with. The American missionaries, who have been the benefactors of the country, say that it is not at all uncommon to meet with persons whose age exceeds a century.

The productions of the country may, as already observed, be seen from the list of commodities in the tariff appended to the treaty. The articles which form the grand staple of Siamese exports, are, sugar, pepper, cotton, hemp, rice, metals, gums, cardamums, gamboge, ivory, horns, hides, silks, sapanwood, &c. The cotton of Siam is of the finest quality yet discovered, and in the growing demand for this commodity, and the slowness of America and India in approaching the pace of that progress, Siam may become a grand mart for its production. Soil, climate, facilities of river navigation, and the enlightened character of the government, all combine to justify this prospect. There are other valuable productions capable of vastly enlarging its commerce: the finest and purest copper exists in great abundance; there are also tin, lead, zinc, antimony, and iron. It is alleged that there are auriferous districts in Siam rivalling any existing elsewhere; certainly gold has been obtained there by the natives in quantities which sustain such an opinion. Silver, it is supposed, will yet be

obtained there in sufficient quantities to readjust the relative value between it and gold. Precious stones are also abundant in districts much resembling those in which they are found in Ava. A French gentleman, travelling in a hilly district for a short distance, gathered in the course of his progress two handfuls of rubies, topazes, garnets, and sapphires.

The rice and sugar exports might be vastly increased by British merchants and capitalists settling in other places as well as Bangkok.

The chief import of Siam is, unhappily, opium. This, however, is consumed in a great proportion by the Chinese, who are very numerous at Bangkok and elsewhere, and who serve the country by their industry. The religious belief of the majority of the Chinese being identical with that of the Siamese, and the habits of the two people being similar in many respects, the Chinese are allowed to settle in the country, where, as usual, they work hard and thrive well.

The time which has elapsed since the signatures of the plenipotentiaries were attached to the agreement supplementary to the treaty has been so very short, that it is difficult to gather from its events the probabilities of the future. By way of China it is reported that the effect has been surprising. During a decennial period, previous to the treaty, the average number of vessels entering the river of Bangkok from foreign parts was *ten*; since the treaty the number has increased twenty-fold, a progress unparalleled in any part of the Asiatic world.

The area of the country is not less than two hundred thousand square miles, well watered by mountain streams and by undulating rivers, which enrich a large portion of country suitable for rice and other tropical commodities. Besides the great distance which the navigable rivers enable ships to pass to the interior, there are innumerable canals suitable to boat navigation, in which art the people are very expert. There is a very important consideration connected with the commerce between India and Siam, which has not yet sufficiently engaged the attention of engineers and scientific persons acquainted with the Indo-Chinese peninsula. It is alleged that water communication could easily be opened between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam across the isthmus, so as to save the comparatively long voyage round by the Straits of Malacca. By an examination of Wyld's maps, with scale, the reader will perceive how considerable a space might be saved by a ship canal, so as to avoid the *détour* of the Straits. The direct distance

across the isthmus is about fifty miles. A ship-canal would not be required for the whole of this distance, as there are navigable rivers which might be united by a few miles being cut for the purpose. The chief river, the Meinam, on the banks of which the capital is built, fertilises a vast extent of country, which is at once extremely rich and very beautiful. The area of the valley of the Meinam has been computed at upwards of twelve thousand miles. From such a country what may not be expected for British commercial enterprise? Should a ship-canal connect the existing water-ways, so as to open up a connection between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam, it would be important not only as to the trade of the latter country, but also with Cochin China and China. The expectations entertained as to the future commercial intercourse are justified by past experience. Calcutta and Canton were at one time the only superior ports to Bangkok in the Eastern seas—there were more than sixty British ships engaged in the trade.

The chief causes of the decline arose from the misgovernment of the monarchs and the tyranny of the nobles. The former adopted a policy exclusive and barbarous, and especially jealous of foreigners; the latter ground down the people by the heaviest oppression. This class is still inimical to all improvements as dangerous to its privileges; it regards foreign commerce with hostility, and those who profit by it, natives or strangers, with envy and dislike. The nobles are especially hostile to the settlement of European planters, or the travels of Europeans within the interior. It is a pleasing and encouraging circumstance that the kings* are opposed to the nobles in those illiberal ideas, and that the premier—who is the most influential man in the kingdom—is decidedly adverse to the policy of the prejudiced and selfish sections of the people. There is no Eastern country which presents three such men as the two kings of Siam and their vizier. The kings are brothers, the sons of the chief queen of a former monarch, and occupy the throne legitimately according to the laws and regal usage of Siam. A son of their father by an inferior queen possessed himself of the throne, and one of the present occupants was for twenty-seven years an inmate of a Buddhist monastery. There he devoted himself to the study of European science, and of the English language, of which he is master, but writes it quaintly, after the old models. The reception given by this monarch to Sir John Bowring, and afterwards to Mr. Parkes, was enlightened

and cordial. The second king is a more accomplished man than the first, and writes much more accurate and agreeable English than either her majesty's plenipotentiary Sir John Bowring, or his diplomatic adjutant Mr. Parkes. The second sovereign is, like the first, liberal and enlightened, and favourable to the English. Both are authors, and have written works, not only in Siamese, but in other oriental languages, and in English. These works are of a practical nature, such as geography, topography, Siamese history, law, and government. They have also written some modest scientific books. They are especially fond of astronomy, in which science they have made considerable progress, and when they dispatched, in 1857, two ambassadors to Queen Victoria, they especially enjoined upon them to procure them scientific instruments, models of steam engines, telescopes, and various optical instruments, &c. From such monarchs good government is to be expected, and a friendly feeling towards our merchants. The nobles are adverse to the policy of their sovereigns, on the ground that if the English gain a footing within their dominions they will increase their acquisitions of land until they become masters of the whole country. The kings entertain some timidity on the same ground. The missions of Sir John Bowring and Mr. Parkes were calculated to dispel this alarm, and the advent of the ambassadors here from their Siamese majesties, and the impressions they derived during their sojourn, are still more conducive to the like results. The chief minister, however, appears to be the mainstay of Sir John Bowring's hopes for the stability of his treaty, for in a work* recently published by the learned doctor and gallant knight, he represents this dignitary as one of the most remarkable men he ever met. In the journal of Sir John the following references relating to this minister occur:—"His excellency also pressed much the necessity of opening the trade with Cochin China. Again and again the *kalakon*† said he wished that the treaty should benefit the people; that the government could make the sacrifice of revenue for two or three years, and wait for the beneficial results which trade would bring with it. He insinuated more than once that if there were difficulties they would be from other quarters. He again and again told me that if my policy is to save the people from oppression, and the country from monopoly, he shall labour with me, and if I succeed my name will be blest to all

* *The Kingdom and People of Siam; with a Narrative of a Mission to that Country in 1855.* London, J. W. Parker.

† Designation of the minister.

* There are two—called First and Second, who, however, act together in one government.

ages. He unveils abuses to me without disguise, and often with vehement eloquence. If he prove true to his profession, he is one of the noblest and most enlightened patriots the world has ever seen. To him Siam owes her fleet of merchant ships. They* urged the conclusion of the treaty, so that the *Rattler* might get away by the next tide. They wished to have them one after another,† in the hope that the whole may be concluded to day. Inshallah! Such promptitude was, I believe, never before exhibited in an Asiatic court. It is mainly due to the Phra kalakon's energetic influence; he has a great work to accomplish, and he is working while it is day, aye, and by night as well." However excellent the dispositions of this friendly court and government towards the English, and however hospitable towards her majesty's representative, it is obvious that they were very desirous to see the last of the negotiator, and more especially of his war steamers. This desire may have been in part dictated by the impatience of the nobles, and even of the highest courtiers, at the presence of the plenipotentiary, and the vicinity of the men-of-war; and it is not impossible that more than a spark of oriental suspicion glimmered in the breasts of the monarchs and their ministers, that some evil purpose might lurk behind those British guns, for although Bangkok contains four hundred thousand inhabitants, a large portion of them are Chinese, and the city would probably prove even more helpless for defence than Canton.

As no description was given of Siam in the geographical part of this work, no portion of it being under British sovereignty, and it having never been a theatre of battle to our forces, it seemed desirable to dwell more at length, under the head of commerce, upon the resources of the country, and the character of its rulers, as connected with the prospects of future commercial intercourse with it.

The character of commercial men and commercial dealings in India have been the subject of much animadversion of late years. This subject might properly come under the head of the social condition of India, but it is still more appropriate in this place. The character of the East India Company as traders has already come up incidentally, and will in the historical portion of this work be frequently brought before the reader; it is therefore unnecessary here to point out in what respects the monopoly had a moral in-

fluence, favourable or otherwise, upon those who profited by it, or upon others. When the trade became free, and in proportion as it became so, speculators from England, especially from London and Liverpool, embarked in Indian commerce, which, through their instrumentality, soon assumed new features. Many of the adventurers had little capital, and their enterprises were undertaken upon the principle of making such an appearance as to gain credit, and so trade upon the capital of others. The nature of their resources gave a character to their dealings, which were a series of desperate risks, sometimes successful, far more frequently otherwise, bringing ruin upon all who had trusted to them. There was nothing in the nature of the trade essentially to make it perilous, but those engaged in it of the description here referred to were uneducated men, ignorant of the principles of political economy, and the laws of finance. and who, by sharp practice, specious appearance, and a thorough intimacy with the usual dodges of corrupt trade, were enabled to find creditors, and to impose upon them. The respectable capitalist and merchant was often robbed and sometimes destroyed by this class, in his personal dealings with them; besides, he sustained injury by a competition based upon capital extensively and fraudulently obtained; upon credit procured by the cleverly sustained-appearances of noted resources.

In the year 1830-1, a monetary and commercial crisis occurred in the great trading cities of India. The gambling which had taken place in all East Indian commodities, had reached a degree of desperation which precipitated a convulsion. There was a general crash. "Houses" had been trusted by old officers, civil servants, and their widows. Those establishments had been the banks of the non-trading classes for the custody of their savings; the poor soldiers, who had saved a little to purchase discharge, or send home to wife or child, had placed it in the hands of those "great merchants," whose philanthropy was as ostentatious as their benefactions were large, and their style of living magnificent. The hollowness of the system, and the faithlessness of those who, through its instrumentality, practised such extensive imposition, became at once apparent amidst the loss and pecuniary destruction of all the confiding classes who supposed that the mansions and charities of "the merchant princes" were indices of their wealth and magnanimity. It would be difficult for description to convey the extent of the disaster which the overthrow of the great Indian trading establishments caused at that time.

* The kings and minister, and the minister of foreign affairs, also an able and enlightened man.

† Sir John here refers to the articles of the treaty, but his style of writing is so loose and inaccurate, it is often difficult to determine his meaning.

Many begged their bread, whose deposits in the hands of the speculators had amounted to a handsome fortune. Upon them the desolation permanently rested; but the traders, after passing the ordeal of failure, of composition, or bankruptcy, began again, and soon lived in the same splendour, and easily found fresh victims—so credulous and ignorant were the respectable classes from whom this plunder was gleaned. Calcutta obtained an unenviable notoriety in this species of piracy. One house there failed for a sum which would have been incredible, if named beforehand—amounting to four millions sterling! The assets were a little more than a shilling in the pound. It must not be supposed by the astonished reader that this illustrious “house” stood alone; it was surrounded by others almost as great. One of these failed for only £300,000 less than the amount of the liabilities of the former; another for three millions six hundred thousand sterling; a fourth for three millions; a fifth for two millions and a quarter; but these houses paid on an average a fifth of their obligations. More than eleven millions sterling was lost to the community by the failure of six houses, after all their assets were valued and applied.

The individuals who entailed all this misery by means so palpably culpable, did not “lose caste” (as the natives would say); they were treated by the officers of government, and by the commercial world more particularly, as unfortunate; but the moral effect upon the European and native communities, as well as upon the character of English commerce, was soon obvious. The civil and military functionaries did not so generally leave their money in the custody of these houses. The native capitalists, themselves frequently dishonest, had been outwitted and lost much; they therefore became more timid of trusting their money in the hands of Englishmen. The traders succeeded in regaining the confidence of European officials, or at least of gaining new victims in that class, long before any considerable number of natives were caught in the same trap. Credit slowly revived; by degrees officers, and the families of deceased officers, civilians, and Europeans in the humbler walks of trade, were again ensnared, to form a renewed illustration of the fraudulent system which had so largely obtained in banking and commercial transactions in the East.

One of the consequences of these failures was the establishment by the civil and military servants of banks, in which they could have confidence. The first of these was at Agra, whence branches were formed in various other great cities and stations. This institution

was followed by the Bank of Bengal, which started with a capital, or nominal capital, of five hundred thousand pounds; other establishments of a like kind, on a great scale, were speedily placed in competition with the first two, and all appeared to prosper. The nature of these banks was very peculiar; they have been with propriety described as “Loan Societies,” as their business consisted in lending money, chiefly to civil servants, on personal security; in cases of large advances some collateral security was taken, but not generally of a more substantial nature. Many of the shareholders were unable to pay “the calls” when the great custom (for there were plenty of borrowers) of the banks rendered it necessary to make them. These shareholders being civil servants were allowed to hold over their shares, the amount of the calls being treated as debts to the banks, and as the shares were at a premium, the holders were soon able to dispose of them, and after remitting the debt thus incurred, enjoyed a profit. The progress of the new banking establishments was as iniquitous as that of the old; and, finally, as disastrous. The very classes who had been plundered by the bankers of a former period, became in their turn fleecers of others. All the disclosures in the case of the British Bank, and other banking institutions in England, in 1857–8, appear to those acquainted with Indian banking incidents, from 1847 up to a recent period, as a mere repetition of what was so well known in Calcutta. Planters and merchants were befriended, until the entire capital of the banks were absorbed; indigo factories were jobbed on private account with bank funds; bank post bills, at a heavy discount, were received from directors as cash; paper of all descriptions was floated; liabilities of presidents and secretaries were transferred to the bank in the company’s books; young civilians were accommodated with loans at a heavy interest; all ordinary precaution and proper management were neglected; bills sent them for sale and remittance, on account of others, were disposed of, and the proceeds applied to stop a momentary gap;—although the directors must have known that they were insolvent, and that a month or two at most would witness the termination of their fictitious existence. The new houses of business were unable to obtain credit on the same facile terms as their predecessors, and were obliged to lean almost wholly on the banyans, a native class described in a former page. Many sircars, or native accountants, who had saved or gained money were now lenders; and the business of Calcutta more especially fell, so far as the capital was concerned, chiefly into native hands. These men bear them-

selves with intolerable insolence ; they treated all Europeans, but especially those not engaged in the direct service of government, with most insulting contempt. They displayed the same spirit, in their own degree and opportunity, which the sepoy revolvers showed in 1857. The bitterest dislike and scorn for Europeans were openly avowed whenever the natives had a money power over them. The roguery of the banyans is more systematic and secure than that of his European customer, or servant, as he may almost be termed. The banyan cheats his English confederate in every conceivable way. He alleges that a higher price is paid for a commodity than is actually given, and he ships off an article inferior to the sample, entailing loss and financial and commercial disarrangement on the part of the English branch of the firm. The merchant in India in vain remonstrates, upbraids, denounces ; the banyan only reiterates his innocence, and alleges that the evil doing has been in England, not with him ; and, as he is a heavy creditor, disposes of the subject with one of those impudent and caustic sneers which the native has always at his command for a European in his power. A gentleman, well acquainted with the morality of Indian commerce, thus describes the course of trade as it proceeds in the present day :—

“Formerly all the London houses acting as agents for Calcutta and Bombay firms were possessed of ample means, and to a limited extent this is still the case. It was then the practice for these agents or correspondents to purchase or make advances against consignments of manufactured goods, either on their own account, or jointly with their Indian friends, who sold the invoice on arrival, and remitted home the proceeds in bills of exchange or in some article of produce. Under the new *régime* this is no longer the case. The London firm have a little credit and less money ; but they cannot accept bills drawn against goods to be shipped either on the manufacturers’ or their Indian friends’ account. This done, the bills are discounted, and so the manufacturer is reimbursed. The goods—grey cloths from Manchester perhaps—are shipped ; and then the London merchant, who has not paid a farthing for them, is enabled to draw against them on his India correspondent, through a bank, who takes the bill of lading for security ; and in this way the shipper obtains hard cash, with which he buys another parcel of goods—metals, possibly—ships these, draws against them, and with these fresh means repeats the operation, which, it is clear, may be thus carried on to a large extent. Before the first parcel of goods can be sold at Bombay or Calcutta, the manufac-

turer’s bill upon the shipper falls due, and is met by a renewal ; that is, by another bill drawn in a similar manner, and understood to be for the purpose of being discounted, to enable the acceptor of the first bill to take it up, in other words, to pay it when presented.

“Meanwhile the goods arrive at their destination. The agent of the London bank who advanced money upon them holds the bills of lading ; and to get these, and consequently the goods, the ‘Calcutta correspondent’ applies to his banyan, who at once does the needful, redeems the grey goods from their bondage, and sells them for his principal. The proceeds are now remitted home in sugar, or silk, or indigo, the bills of lading for which are forwarded to the London house, which at once draws against it, in order to meet the ‘renewals’ of the Manchester bills then falling due ; finally, the produce-broker in Mincing Lane makes an advance to the importer on the arrival of the sugar or indigo, which enables him to redeem the bills of lading from the strong box of the bank, and the goods are sold.

“So long as the selling prices at both ends leave a shadow of profit over and above the amount of commissions and other charges, all goes on well. The shipper, the banker, the correspondent, the banyan, the London broker, the Manchester manufacturer, all are content. The operations are extended considerably, the commercial wheel is kept moving, money is made, the houses at both ends obtain the reputation of doing a large stroke of business, the partners are looked upon as sharp, shrewd men, and although there may be a few bad debts, a few losses, and now and then a heavy year, the books show a large amount of commissions earned. Still the banyan is a large creditor, though by interest, per centage, &c., he has cleared off more than the amount of their liabilities to him. One or two bad seasons follow rather rapidly ; the house has invested largely in estates, an operation popularly termed developing the resources of the country ; the banyan becomes rather more troublesome and overbearing than of wont ; the senior partner takes alarm, withdraws with a hundred thousand pounds, and twelve-months afterwards the firm suspend payment for a million and a half sterling, at which nobody is in the least degree surprised, except the banyan, who wonders how they managed to keep up so long. This, reader, is a faint, and no doubt an imperfect sketch of the course of operations of an Indian commercial house of the present time ; and it deserves a place in these pages, as illustrative of that Saxon energy of character, that fine spirit of enterprise which so distinguishes the

men of Liverpool and Glasgow, and by means of which they rear gigantic fabrics out of literally nothing. Here we have seen how a fortune of a hundred thousand, and an insolvency of a million and a half, had their first origin in nothing more than a few bales of Manchester 'grey goods.' *"

It is alleged that within the last two or three years an improvement has taken place; that more capital is embarked in commercial undertakings; that the finance of commerce is conducted on sounder principles; and that the commercial morality of bankers and merchants stands higher than at any previous time.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SCIENCE AND ART OF THE HINDOOS.

LITTLE acquaintance can be had with the condition of any people, and a very imperfect opinion can be formed of their prospects, unless information be possessed concerning their progress in science and art. Of late years the state of the ancient Hindoos in these respects has been investigated with pertinacious inquisitiveness; their ancient writings have been ransacked for the purpose by scholars whose capacity was equal to the self-imposed task. The state of the people of Hindostan as to science, and to a great extent even as to art, is now what it was two thousand years ago, notwithstanding the invasions which have swept over portions of their country by peoples more advanced in these particulars. The colleges and schools established by the English for the advantage of native youth, both of the higher and lower classes, have effected but little,—except so far as the religious influence extended. The number of educated natives of the wealthy classes who have a knowledge of European science, and a perception of the fine arts as cultivated in Europe, is, however, steadily increasing.

The progress both of science and art among all ancient peoples seems to have run a similar course. The science of astronomy seems universally to have been the first cultivated; and the natives were familiar with the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, and philosophised concerning them, long before sublunary subjects of investigation engaged their attention. This is not difficult to account for. A philosopher, to whom economical science in Great Britain owes much, has thus given the rationale of the fact:—

"There are various causes which render astronomy the very first of the sciences which is cultivated by a rude people: though from the distance of the objects, and the consequent mysteriousness of their nature and motions, this would seem not to be the case. Of all the phenomena of nature, the celestial appearances are, by their greatness and beauty,

the most strikingly addressed to the curiosity of mankind. But it is not only their greatness and beauty by which they become the first objects of a speculative curiosity. The species of objects in the heavens are few in number; the sun, the moon, the planets, and the fixed stars. All the changes, too, which are ever observed in these bodies, evidently arise from some difference in the velocity and direction of their several motions. All this formed a very simple object of consideration. The objects, however, which the inferior parts of nature presented to view, the earth and the bodies which immediately surround it, though they were much more familiar to the mind, were more apt to embarrass and perplex it, by the variety of their species, and by the intricacy and seeming irregularity of the laws or orders of their succession. The variety of meteors in the air, of clouds, rainbows, thunder, lightning, winds, rain, hail, snow, is vast, and the order of their succession seems to be most irregular and inconstant. The species of fossils, minerals, plants, animals, which are found in the waters and near the surface of the earth, are still more intricately diversified; and if we regard the different manners of their production, their mutual influence in altering, destroying, supporting one another, the orders of their succession seem to admit of an almost infinite variety. If the imagination, therefore, when it considered the appearances in the heavens, was often perplexed and driven out of its natural career, it would be much more exposed to the same embarrassment, when it directed its attention to the objects which the earth presented to it, and when it endeavoured to trace their progress and successive revolutions." *

The admirers of everything Indian have praised the attainments of the Hindoos in the science of astronomy. Sir William Jones has given them credit for an amount of erudition in this direction, only to be accounted for by his kindly feeling to the people begetting a

* *Rise and Progress of the British India Possessions.*

* Dr. Adam Smith's *Essays*, pp. 97, 98.

generous credulity of anything alleged in their favour, and of their own pretensions to an enlightened antiquity. Mr. Mill, on the other hand, seldom credulous when the glory or greatness of the Indian race is concerned, unsparingly decrys the claims which their panegyrists urge on their behalf. Professor Playfair, of the University of Edinburgh, who, in his good opinion of early Indian science, was, according to Mill, a disciple of Monsieur Bailly, the distinguished French mathematician, gives the following estimate of the Indian astronomers of modern times :—

“The astronomy of India gives no theory, nor even any description of the celestial phenomena, but satisfies itself with the calculation of certain changes in the heavens, particularly of the eclipses of the sun and moon, and with the rules and tables by which these calculations must be performed. The Brahmin, seating himself on the ground, and arranging his shells before him, repeats the enigmatical verses that are to guide his calculation, and from his little tablets and palm-leaves, takes out the numbers that are to be employed in it. He obtains his result with wonderful certainty and expedition; but having little knowledge of the principles on which his rules are founded, and no anxiety to be better informed, he is perfectly satisfied, if, as it usually happens, the commencement and duration of the eclipse answer, within a few minutes, to his prediction. Beyond this, his astronomical inquiries never extend; and his observations, when he makes any, go no further than to determine the meridian line, or the length of the day at the place where he observes.”*

Professor Wilson of Oxford, reviewing the different opinions entertained, thus sums up the evidences adduced :—“As compared with the state of astronomical science in modern times, Hindoo astronomy, of course, is far from excellence, as Schlegel remarks, ‘Il n’est pas besoin de faire de gros livres pour le prouver;’ it is, perhaps, inferior to the astronomy of the Greeks, but it exhibits many proofs of accurate observation and deduction, highly creditable to the science of Hindoo astronomers. The division of the ecliptic into lunar mansions, the solar zodiac, the mean motions of the planets, the precession of the equinoxes, the earth’s self support in space, the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, the revolution of the moon on her axis, her distance from the earth, the dimension of the orbits of the planets, the calculation of eclipses, are parts of a system which

could not have been found amongst an unenlightened people. That the antiquity of the Hindoo astronomy has been exaggerated is no doubt true, but there is no reason to conceive that it is not ancient. Even Bentley himself refers the contrivance of the lunar mansions to B.C. 1424, a period anterior to the earliest notices of Greek astronomy, and implying a course of still earlier observation. The originality of Hindoo astronomy, if this era be granted, is at once established, but it is also proved by intrinsic evidence, as although there are some remarkable coincidences between the Hindoo and other systems, their methods are their own. ‘If there be any resemblances,’ says Professor Wallace, ‘they have arisen out of the nature of the science, or from what the Indians have borrowed from the Arabians, who were instructed by the Greeks, rather than from anything borrowed from the Indians by the Arabians or the Greeks.’* There is no occasion to suppose the Greeks were instructed by the Hindoos, but the Arabians certainly were. Their own writers affirm that Indian astronomers were greatly encouraged by the early caliphs, particularly Haroun-al-Reschid and Al Mamun; they were invited to Bagdad, and their works were translated into Arabic. The Hindoos were, fully as much as the Greeks, the teachers of the Arabians.”

The divisions of the zodiac among the Birmans, as well as among the Brahmins, are the same as among Europeans; and Dr. Buchanan, as well as Sir William Jones, ascribes to them a Chaldaic origin. Much of the reputation of the Hindoos for early astronomical knowledge, founded upon ancient writings, is accounted for by Dr. Buchanan by the fact of the necessity for renewing the writing at short intervals, because of the fragile quality of the paper. Upon every such renewal the learned doctor opines that such additional knowledge as had gained access into India would, by the Brahminical transcribers, be linked with the original, in order to support the authority of the caste for ancient learning, and so sustain their power over such portions of the people as would be likely to be reached through such media of influence. This view is reasonable, for the Brahmins arrogated the exclusive possession of learning; and, as Mr. Mill well observes, in promoting an admiration of it among the people, they were promoting an admiration of themselves.

Forming an impartial judgment upon the arguments of the Philo-Indians, and those who are unfavourable to the extravagant claims set up by them, it must be pronounced

* *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Playfair on the *Astronomy of the Brahmins*, vol. ii. pp. 138, 139.

* *An Account of British India.*

that astronomy was at a very remote period cultivated by the Hindoos, and that the probability is that they derived it, with the elements of their religion, from the Chaldeans. For very many centuries the Hindoo philosophers made no progress; and since the first settlement of Europeans on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, any scientific progression is due to what has been learned from them.

The works transmitted to the present time are scientific treatises and tables. The principal among the former is called the *Surya Siddhanta*, upon which those of the latter description have been based. The pretensions made for the extreme antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta* have vanished before proper investigation. Of the tables based upon this book there are four, known to Europeans as the *Tirvalore Tables*.

It has been observed that the Hindoos divided the zodiac, and designate those divisions, in nearly the same manner as the Arabs, from whom the European mode is derived. The signs are thus noted:—

Mesha, the Ram.
Mrisha, the Bull.
Mit'hunna, the Pair.
Carcota, the Crab.
Sinha, the Lion.
Canya, the Virgin.
Tula, the Balance.
Vrischica, the Scorpion.
Dhanus, the Bow.
Macara, the Sea-monster.
Cumbha, the Ewer.
Mina, the Fish.

The imperfect notion of the planetary system from which our days of the week were originally taken is the same with theirs, showing also a common origin of their ancient system and our own. *Addita*, the sun; *Toma*, the moon; *Brahaspati*, Jupiter; *Mangala*, Mars; *Bonta*, Mercury; *Soukra*, Venus; *Sanni*, Saturn. Their week begins on Friday, and the days are thus named:—

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1. <i>Soncravaram</i> | or day of Venus . . . | Friday. |
| 2. <i>Sanivaram</i> | „ Saturn . . . | Saturday. |
| 3. <i>Additavaram</i> | „ the Sun . . . | Sunday. |
| 4. <i>Somavaram</i> | „ the Moon . . | Monday. |
| 5. <i>Mangalavaram</i> | „ Mars . . . | Tuesday. |
| 6. <i>Bontavaram</i> | „ Mercury . . | Wednesday. |
| 7. <i>Brahaspativaram</i> | „ Jupiter . . . | Thursday. |

To find the latitude of a place, the Hindoos observe the length of the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon when the sun is in the equator, and compute the angle which their instrument makes with the line drawn from its top to the extremity of the shadow. The longitude is found by observations of lunar eclipses calculated from the meridian of Lanca, which passes through Ongein, in the Mahratta country.

A glance at the chronology of the Hindoos will appear in the opening chapter on their history. The claims made for their nation by the Brahmins, to an antiquity beyond the existence of man according to the Scripture account and the chronologies of Archbishop Usher, and Hales, are too absurd to require confutation. Those claims have been submitted to every test applicable to the subject, and the result has been irrefragable proof that they are spurious: the astronomical tests by which they have been tried have especially furnished a complete and obvious confutation, and a confirmation of the Christian Scriptures, wherever such could incidentally arise.

Closely connected with astronomy, mathematical science must of necessity be found; and accordingly the Hindoos, at a very remote period, had made progress in that science. They demonstrated the properties of triangles; they understood that of the area being expressed in the terms of the three sides; they were aware of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle. The *Surya Siddhanta*, already referred to, contains a treatise on mathematics as well as astronomy. Interwoven with many absurdities, this book contains a rational system of trigonometry, which differs entirely from that first known in Greece or Arabia. In fact, it is founded on a geometrical theorem, which was not known to the geometricians of Europe before the time of Vieta, about two hundred years ago. And it employs the sines of arcs, a thing unknown to the Greeks, who used the chords of the double arcs. The invention of sines has been attributed to the Arabs; but it is possible that they may have received this improvement in trigonometry, as well as the numeral characters, from India.*

The supposition of Professor Leslie (of the chair of moral philosophy in Edinburgh), that the Arabs derived their trigonometrical science and their numeral characters from India, is generally disputed; and some maintain, notwithstanding the high and well-grounded claims of the Hindoos to considerable attainments in geometry, that the Arabs had been their teachers, and that both had received their knowledge from a more ancient race. The invention of some signs by which to record and preserve the results of arithmetical computations seems almost as necessary as language itself, and would be undoubtedly coeval with, if not anterior to, written language. According to Prescott, the Mexicans had from time immemorial signs for numbers; Humboldt also affirms this. Algebraic signs have given rise to similar discussion, arising

* *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*—Geometry.

from the facts, that we have received these signs from the Arabians, and that their neighbours, the Hindoos, possessed the like from an extreme antiquity. It seems a palpable *non sequitur* to affirm that the Arabians derived this invention from the Indians; but the admirers of the latter very energetically maintain it on no better evidence. The algebraic forms which Europe obtained from Arabia were little better than signs for *words*; they were rather stenographic than scientific. Mr. Colebrooke, the great Sanscrit scholar, attributes to the Arabians a knowledge of algebra anterior to that possessed by the Hindoos, but he considers it next to certain that they derived it immediately from the Greeks. He, however, gives the Hindoos credit for an independent progress, displaying superior mental endowments, perseverance, and discriminating study, and indicating a high degree of very early civilization. Mr. Mill, who is extremely jealous of the claims of that race to any considerable civilization at a remote period, takes advantage of an admission of Mr. Colebrooke, that the object for which the Hindoos studied mathematics was to aid them in astrology, and that astronomy was pursued for astrological purposes. Upon this acknowledgment Mr. Mill founds a decision, so far as Mr. Colebrooke's evidence goes, that the civilization of the Hindoos must have been inferior when sciences of such value were prosecuted for objects so worthless and foolish. Professor Wilson, whose edition of Mill is more properly a confutation than a continuation of that work, makes the following remarks:—"The authority of Professor Wallae is recognised by Mr. Mill, and his conclusions from Mr. Colebrooke's publication are of a very different complexion from those of the text. The *Surya Siddhanta*, he states, contains a very rational system of trigonometry. In expressing the radius of a circle in parts of the circumference the Hindoos are quite singular. Ptolemy, and the Greek mathematicians, in their division of the radius, preserved no reference to the circumference. The use of sines, as it was unknown to the Greeks, forms a difference between theirs and the Indian trigonometry. Their rule for the computation of the lines is a considerable refinement in science first practised by the mathematician Briggs. However ancient a book may be in which a system of trigonometry occurs, we may be assured it was not written in the infancy of the science. Geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the *Surya Siddhanta*. The age of Brahmagupta is fixed with great probability to the sixth or beginning of the seventh century, a period earlier than the first dawn of

Arabian sciences. Aryabhatta appears to have written as far back as the fifth century, or earlier; he was therefore almost as old as the Greek algebraist Diophantus. The *Lilavati* treats of arithmetic, and contains not only the common rules of that science, but the application of these to various questions on interest, barter, mixtures, combinations, permutations, sums of progression, indeterminate problems, and mensuration of surfaces and solids. The rules are found to be exact, and nearly as simple as in the present state of analytical investigation. The numerical results are readily deduced; and if they be compared with the earliest specimens of Greek calculation, the advantages of the decimal notation are placed in a striking light. In geometry, though inferior in excellence to the algebra, there is much deserving of attention. We have here the celebrated proposition that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the squares on the sides containing the right angle, and other propositions, which form part of the system of modern geometry. There is one proposition remarkable—namely, that which discovers the area of a triangle when its three sides are known. This does not seem to have been known to the ancient Greek geometers. In algebra the Hindoos understood well the arithmetic of square roots, and the general resolutions of equations of the second degree, which it is not clear that Diophantus knew—that they attained a general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree—which it is certain Diophantus had not attained—and a method of deriving a multitude of answers to problems of the second degree when one solution was discovered by trial, which is as near an approach to a general solution as was made until the time of La Grange. Professor Wallae concludes by adopting the opinion of Playfair on this subject—'that before an author could think of embodying a treatise of algebra in the heart of a system of astronomy, and turning the researches of the one science to the purposes of the other, both must have been in such a state of advance as the lapse of several ages and many repeated efforts of inventors were required to produce.' This is unanswerable evidence in favour of the antiquity, originality, and advance of Hindoo mathematical science, and is fatal to all Mr. Mill's references and conjectures. We have also historical evidence that the Arabs derived their mathematical sciences in part from the Hindoos; and we have every reason, from the differences of method, and in some instances superiority of progress, as well as from the absence of all evidence to the contrary, to conclude that the

Hindoos were as little indebted to the Greeks. A people who had pursued for ages researches of this nature could not have been merely upon the threshold of civilization. The test of civilization proposed by Mr. Mill, and the school to which he belonged, 'utility,' will not be generally admitted in the restricted sense in which he employs the term; but even that is inapplicable, for in the estimation of those nations amongst whom astrology was credited what could, in their eyes, be more useful than rules of conduct derived from astrological calculation? It is not true, however, that the mathematical sciences of the Hindoos were applied to astrology alone, as the greater number of the results which their arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, and even their astronomy, afford, have no relation to that kind of knowledge, but are indispensable to the ordinary purposes of social life."

Although the bias of Colebrooke and Wilson, in common with nearly all the company's officers, civil or military, who have served in India, in favour of the Hindoos, is obvious throughout the arguments they maintain in favour of the early possession by that people of a civilization of a superior type, and although the jealousy entertained by Mr. Mill of the statements and arguments of the writers of that school however learned and honest, was wise and necessary—yet, in this case, the impartial reader cannot refuse the weight of evidence to be on the side of the Philo-Hindoos. The early mathematical knowledge of the Indians, wheresoever derived and whatever the objects for which they prosecuted it, was very extensive; so as to excite surprise when the little improvement made afterwards, through so long a period, is considered. Notwithstanding the allegation of Professor Wilson, in reply to Mr. Mill, as to the social and practical purposes for which the Hindoos studied mathematics, the assertion of the latter gentleman is not invalidated. The *main object* for which such studies were valued, was their supposed subservience to astrology; and upon this, in all its absurdity, the time, talent, and energies of the scientific Hindoos were wasted. There is little evidence of any extensive application of the science of Hindostan to practical and social purposes; while it must be obvious to Professor Wilson, that astrological practices and studies were intensely followed.

The ancient natives of India had made less progress in geography than in any other science. This surprises the student of Indian history, when he is told of a people so far skilled in mathematics and astronomy, as authorities quoted in the foregoing pages allege. So far as the geography and topo-

graphy of India were concerned, or at all events portions of India, there was an accurate knowledge, but beyond India little was known. Allusion is made to a people called Chinese, who resided in the north-west, who it is supposed were the early occupiers of the vast land to the east now called China, or who overrun that country, conquering an earlier race of inhabitants. The country of China was known to them, and something of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The Scythians and Greeks made themselves known on Indian soil, and are spoken of as the Sacæ, and the Yawans, or Javans. A very imperfect knowledge was formed of the direction of the countries from which these warlike intruders came. The Persians and Egyptians were known to the Indians from the connection maintained with India by these people, as noticed on other pages. Some have maintained that the Egyptians themselves are an Indian race.

In the eighth century a Hindoo writer, describing the different languages spoken in the world, says that there are four barbarian tongues. The Parasica (by which the Persians are evidently meant); the Yavana (intended for the Greek); the Raumaen (obviously the Roman or Latin); the Barbera, a generic name for the languages which they could not characterise.

Of chemistry, or any other of the natural sciences, they had no knowledge, but practised a rude alchemy, without appearing to have stumbled by its instrumentality upon any important discoveries.

Botany was less studied, and so far as it was studied, was less systematically and successfully pursued than would be readily supposed of an ingenious people, such as the Indians are represented to be, and in a country prolific in the produce of the soil.

The arts, and especially those most intimately connected with science, evidently did not flourish so much as the Philo-Indians love to represent, and are themselves so ready to believe, upon slender evidence.

Agriculture is not one of the earliest attainments of man, although the cultivation of the soil is a necessity to them, unless when the nature of their country, and the scantiness of the population lead rather to the wild and unsettled life of the hunter and fisher. Probably no ancient people equalled the Egyptians in the knowledge of proper cultivation of the soil, except the Jews, who acquired from them their knowledge. The institutions of Moses were much better adapted than the institutions of Menu to regulate the relations of classes, and secure the occupation of the land on a system the most enlightened. There

is great diversity in the present cultivation. Professor Wilson, in his vigilantly performed task of showing Mill to be in error, thus eulogises the present agriculture of India:—"That there is much slovenliness in Indian agriculture may be admitted, but Hindoo cultivators are by no means deficient in common observation and good sense, and are regulated in their proceedings by a knowledge of their soil and climate; in which the heavy implements and laborious culture of Europe would be wholly out of place. To say that the Indian farmer is ignorant of the fittest season for sowing is the contradiction of known facts; as nothing can be more regular than the periodical recurrence of the harvests. Nor is the Indian farmer unacquainted with the advantage of a rotation of crops; although, in general, the soil does not require it:—where, as in the case of sugarcane, the produce exhausts the soil, we have Dr. Roxburgh's evidence that the Indians 'do not attempt to rear a second crop oftener than every third or fourth year; allowing the land either to rest, or employing it for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil; of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge.'* Few persons had better opportunities of estimating the character of Indian agriculture than Sir Thomas Munro, and he calls it 'a good system.'"+

A gentleman who resided in India, and is certainly an impartial observer, gives an account which scarcely harmonises with that of the learned and amiable professor:—"With such a soil, and at the same time with so few inducements to exercise any agricultural ingenuity, the Hindoo raises most of his vegetable productions in a very imperfect and inferior condition. Indifferently grown, often taken from the ground before reaching maturity, imperfectly cured, badly housed, and taken to market in a slovenly and dirty condition, the agricultural productions of Hindostan are all highly susceptible of improvement. That this is so, there cannot be a greater proof than in the vast changes effected in some articles which have been taken in hand by Europeans. Wherever their skill and capital have been brought to bear, we find a perfect revolution effected in the quality and value of the productions grown or manipulated; and, although in the article of cotton not nearly so much has been accomplished as in other produce, an improvement is still visible in that valuable staple."‡ Again the same author describes the general appear-

ance of the country as to its agricultural aspect:—"An agricultural district in the East bears but small resemblance to such a tract in England. No hedges mark the boundary of every field, or the possessions of each cultivator; no stacks of corn greet the eye; no well-filled barns stud the country. A row of stones,* or a small ridge of earth, defines the extent of the ryots possessions; while rice, cotton, fine grain, and tobacco, may be seen growing in close proximity, as though the seed had been scattered over the land by the merest caprice."

The character of the agricultural implements given by the author of the *Three Presidencies of India*, is precisely that given by Mr. Mill, with whose strictures upon Indian agriculture Professor Wilson is so much displeased. Mr. Capper, with the desire evidently of describing things as they are and have been, and without any reference to disputed questions of ancient Indian civilization, observes:—"There is little doubt that in their agriculture as in many other matters, the Hindoo pursues identically the same system as was followed by his ancestors at the commencement of the Christian era. The agricultural implements of the natives of India are simple to rudeness. Their ploughs are usually of a light and fragile description, only calculated, and indeed only required, to make a slight entrance into the friable soil. These are of hard wood, and drawn by one or at most two bullocks or buffaloes. A heavier iron-shod plough is occasionally employed on ground that is rather stiff, or which has perhaps become weedy or less fruitful, and therefore requires somewhat deeper ploughing. Their harrows consist of a mere board pierced with rough pegs, or more frequently a tree, upon which a weight is set, or some children are seated, to give it the necessary pressure. These, and a hoe and mattock comprise the entire stock of farming utensils." This passage not only gives a picture of the present, but past, life of agricultural India for thousands of years. This photograph of the Indian cultivator agrees with the representations presented of other oriental nations in remote ages. Dr. Jahn, in his *Biblical Antiquities*, gives the following account of the agricultural instruments of the Jews, in the earliest and in advanced periods:—"The culture of the soil was at first very simple, being performed by no other instruments than sharp

* *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1802; *Tracts*, p. 8.

† *Evidence*, 1813.

‡ *The Three Presidencies of India*, by John Capper, F.R.A.S.

* "The custom of marking the boundaries of lands by stones, although it prevailed a long time before (Job xxiv. 2) was confirmed and perpetuated in the time of Moses by an express law, and a curse was pronounced against him who, without authority, removed them."—*Biblical Antiquities*, by JOHN JAHN, D.D.

sticks. By these the ground was loosened, until spades and shovels, and not long after ploughs, were invented. All these implements were well known in the time of Moses. (Deut. xxiii. 13; Gen. xlv. 6; Job i. 14.) The first plough was doubtless nothing more than a stout limb of a tree, from which projected another shortened and pointed limb. This being turned into the ground made the furrows; while at the further end of the longer branch was fastened a transverse yoke, to which the oxen were harnessed. At last a handle was added, by which the plough might be guided. So that the plough was composed of four parts; the beam, the yoke, which was attached to the beam, the handle, and what we should call the coulter. (1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21; Micah iv. 3.)* It was necessary for the ploughman constantly and firmly to hold the handle of the plough, which had no wheels; and that no spot might remain untouched, to lean forward and fix his eyes steadily upon it. (Luke ix. 62.)† The staff by which the coulter was cleared served for an ox-goad. In the East, at the present day, they use a pole about eight feet in length, at the largest end of which is fixed a flat piece of iron for clearing the plough, and at the other end a spike for spurring the oxen. Hence, it appears that a goad might answer the purpose of a spear, which indeed had the same name. (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Judg. iii. 31.) Sometimes a scourge was applied to the oxen. (Is. x. 26; Nah. iii. 2.) There seems to have been no other harrow than a thick clump of wood, borne down by a weight, or a man sitting upon it, and drawn over the ploughed field by oxen; the same which the Egyptians use at the present time. In this way the turfs were broken in pieces. At a later period wicker-drags came into use, which Pliny mentions. (N. H. xviii. 43.) All the ancient vehicles were moved upon two wheels only.‡ Those used for agricultural purposes were extremely rude in construction.

The spirit of patient industry manifested by the natives is worthy of the highest praise. Were they not so wedded to their customs, and prejudiced against even the most advantageous changes, lest innovation should in any way affect their religion, or their injurious social distinctions, they are capable of carrying out improvements, originated by others, to ultimate success. Mr. Capper says that where irrigation has not been provided on a large scale by the local governments, it is throughout many parts of the country per-

formed by the villagers themselves. "For miles the patient Hindoo will carry the tiny stream of water along the brow of mountains, round steep declivities, and across yawning gulfs over valleys, his primitive aqueducts being formed of stones, troughs, and hollow bamboos. Sometimes, in order to bring the supply of water to the necessary height, a bucket-wheel is employed, worked by oxen."

The following description of the dangers and difficulties of the poorer Indian agriculturist excites sympathy and interest, as well as furnishes information of the state of the ryots:—"Harvest-time is a season of anxiety to the Indian cultivator; for there are many destructive foes ready at this time to prey upon his little field. His sugar-canes may be swept away in one night by the ravages of the elephant, the wild boar, or the porcupine; his tobacco may be uprooted or trampled down by herds of wild swine; and his grain may be devoured in the ear, in open day, by flights of birds, which are everywhere most numerous and harassing. To guard against all these calamities, the ryot is compelled at the critical season to mount guard over his little tract of produce, which he usually does perched up in a sort of jungle-stage, open on all sides but covered at the top, whence he is able to watch the whole extent of his field, and by dint of cries and sundry artificial sounds, he is enabled to scare away all unwelcome intruders. The harvest being secured, the grain is trodden out by the feet of buffaloes, and the little that may remain, if indeed it be any, is carefully stored in deep pits lined with straw; but in too many cases all that the ryot retains possession of will be just sufficient for seed for his little tract of land at the next sowing time." With the above statements the accounts given by all modern travellers in India agree, who are not committed to some particular theory, religious, philosophical, or political, in connection with the character of the people, the country, or the government.

The art of weaving has been referred to when treating of the commerce of the country, the perfection to which the natives of India have for ages brought their manufacture of cotton and silk is notorious. In this the Indians share a reputation common to Asiatic nations from time immemorial. Some have attributed the art of weaving to the Hindoos, but it is certain that the Persians attained high eminence in it as far back as history can trace their usages. Pliny attributes the invention to Semiramis. According to Mr. Bryant it was in the city of Arachne that the art was first carried to any degree of perfec-

* Pliny (N. H. xviii. 47) speaks of ploughs constructed with wheels, which in his day were of recent invention.

† Pliny, N. H. xviii. 49, No. 2.

‡ Ward's *Library of Standard Divinity*.

tion. Mr. Mill describes the process of the manufacture in India as extremely rude:—“That ingenuity is in its infancy among the Hindoos, is shown by the rudeness still observable in the instruments of this their favourite art. The Hindoo loom, with all its appurtenances, is coarse and ill-fashioned to a degree, hardly less surprising than the fineness of the commodity which it is the instrument of producing. It consists of little else than a few sticks or pieces of wood, nearly in the state in which nature produced them, connected together by the rudest contrivances. There is not so much as an expedient for rolling up the warp. It is stretched out at the full length of the web, which makes the house of the weaver insufficient to contain him; he is therefore obliged to work continually in the open air, and every return of inclement weather interrupts him.”

Dyeing, and printing on cloths, were arts as ancient probably as weaving; it appears to have been so with the Hindoos, for in all ages of which we have any record, their dyers were celebrated. Tennant, in his *Indian Recreations*, describes the beauty of “the painted cloths,” which he appears to designate as painted because the dye was applied to them instead of the cloth being dipped in a vat. Staining by application of the colouring matter to the fabric was the most ancient form of dyeing. Tennant attributes the richness, brilliancy, and durability of the colours to the climate and the clearness of the water; but in many places the rivers of India, especially the large rivers, hold much earthy matter in solution, and are rendered opaque or discoloured by the substances which they carry in their current: the Brahmapootra and Ganges are so through a large extent of their course. It is more likely that the patient and ingenious method of preparing the dye stuffs, and the length of time taken in the processes of their application, will account for the purity and permanency of colours in Indian textile fabrics.

The fine arts never flourished in India, although instances of genius and taste in this department have not been wanting there in either ancient or modern times. Those arts, however, which, without being classed with the fine arts, border on their domain and partake of their character, were much better known.

The jewellery of the Bengalees has been referred to in previous chapters. At the museum of the India-house magnificent specimens of the skill and taste of the Indian jeweller attest the talent of the natives in polishing gems and precious stones, and the chasing of gold and silver. These works are

accomplished by the simplest tools, two or three of the rudest kind serving the purpose of numerous instruments of ingenious and scientific construction, which would be used in European processes. The time consumed by the oriental workman is, however, in proportion to the common construction of his tools. The rose chains of Trichinopoly exemplify the skill displayed in working the precious metals. The inlaid-work of Benares rivals most executions of Indian skill. Although the setting of precious stones is a work on which the Hindoos pride themselves, and for which many English writers demand large praise on their behalf, others impugn their taste in this particular occupation:—“Scarcely equal to their other productions are the works of the Indian jewellers: the setting of precious stones forms an exception to the general good taste and high finish of Eastern artificers. There is invariably a heaviness and total absence of propriety in the jewelled ornaments of India, which, despite the rare beauty of the gems, and the richness and profusion of the ornamental work lavished upon them, cannot fail to strike an European eye as singularly in contrast with their other mechanical productions, whether of the loom, the forge, or the crucible.”*

The pottery of the Hindoos assumes the character of artistic excellence. In its general features it resembles the pottery of Egypt, and ancient specimens of the former rival in beauty the best specimens of the latter. Bengal is the chief seat of this art. In the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851, the Indian department was rich in specimens; and in the South Kensington Museum, and in the Museum of the India-house, specimens are to be seen of kindred character.

Marble and petra dura vases, garden seats, ornamental vessels, and figures, are executed by the Indians with much delicacy and propriety of style. Specimens of such works may be seen in the London museums above-named.

The architecture of the Hindoos has of late years engaged much attention, and, like everything else connected with India, excited much discussion. There are two classes of architectural remains in India, which are very distinct: one class is of constructions cut in rocks, or formed in caves, the other of raised buildings. The notices of both have been so numerous when describing the various districts and cities in which they are, that it will not be necessary to dwell long on the subject here. The cave temples of Ellora, Ajunta, Elephanta, and Cashmere, are wonderful for their number. The mountains of Cashmere

* *The Three Presidencies of India.*

are said to contain twelve thousand, a number which is probably an exaggeration. Their magnitude is in some cases vast, and their peculiarities most striking. Perhaps there are none more celebrated and truly magnificent in their solemn vastness than the caves of Ajunta. They are situated in a wild and picturesque part of the peninsula, excavated from a portion of the huge ghauts, which, to the south of the valley of the Tapti, rises some hundreds of feet, and supports the great table-land of the Deccan. The entrance to the caves is through one of the many narrow and winding ravines which exist in various parts of these ghauts. They are twenty-seven in number, and vary as much in their size as in their form and degree of ornament. A few of them are vaulted without cells; but by far the greater number are monastic in construction, having cells and flat roofs. In one or two of these caves there exist no ornaments whatever beyond a reeded course over each of the cells; whilst in shape they are square, and about thirty-six feet each way. In others pillars are found; and here they have been used standing on the sills for the purpose of dividing the windows into three lengths. On the walls are sculptured various figures of lions, antelopes, and boys in attitudes of prayer, executed in the very best style of the Hindoos. It would appear that in more than one instance the walls have been stuccoed and painted; but of these works of art little now remains, not more than sufficient to determine their nature. The largest of these cave temples had at one time as many as twenty-nine pillars surrounding the nave; they are simple octagons, without either capital or base, and have been at one time elaborately decorated. The aisles in this cave are of stone, whilst the nave had evidently been ornamented with wood, which has now disappeared, with the exception of some of the pins and battens which served to fasten it to the rock, as also the fastenings of the ribs, which, having been sunk to some depth in the solid rock, still remain. The whole of the walls appear to have been covered with ornamental stucco-work; and on some of the pillars, as well as in the panels of the roof of the aisles, a few of the paintings still remain in tolerable preservation. There are also the remains of several inscriptions, but, with the exception of one on the exterior of the cave, high above the entrance, they are too imperfect to be of service. The external inscription alluded to is of some length, and in the Lath character, from which it may be inferred that these excavations were the work of the first or second century before our era.*

* *The Three Presidencies.*

The walls of some of the cave temples are covered with human figures; and Mr. Capper, no indiscriminate admirer of the Indians, thus describes them:—"Many are fully armed, and illuminated with scrolls and wreaths of flowers, whilst the pillars are gracefully and artistically formed. Some of these groupings are executed with a high degree of art, bearing in mind the age in which they must have been executed; they certainly leave the works of Europe of the same period far behind in perspective, grouping, and general details. The human figure is especially well executed. The character of all these caves is Buddhistical, the figure of that deity being found in several of them."

In the manipulation and laying on of their colours they were very successful—so much so, that at the present time many of the paintings to be found in these rock-cut temples appear as fresh and brilliant as though but the work of a few years since, whereas many of them must have existed for little less than two thousand years. In the paintings alluded to, especially those in Ajunta, there has been far more attention bestowed on the grouping than is usually met with in Hindoo works of art, and, at the same time, a nearer approach to modern notions of perspective.

There existed remarkable facilities for these extraordinary constructions such as few countries—if, indeed, any country—could present. A gentleman who has rendered large services to art, and has brought a more correct estimate of Indian art before the British public, says:—"The whole cave system of India is composed of horizontal strata of amygdaloid, and other cognate trap formations, generally speaking of very considerable thickness and great uniformity of texture, and possessing, besides, the advantage of their edges being exposed in perpendicular cliffs, so that no rock in any part of the world could either be more suitable for the purpose or more favourably situated than these formations are. They were easily accessible, and easily worked. In the rarest possible instances are there any flaws or faults to disturb the uniformity of the design; and when complete they afford a perfectly dry temple or abode, singularly uniform in temperature, and more durable than any class of temple found in any part of the world."* In India proper (without passing into the boundary of Cashmere, Scinde, or the Punjaub) there are about fifty groups of caves, and the number of distinct caves is about a thousand. Those which are of Jain and Brahminical origin, taken together, do not exceed a hundred; all the rest are Bud-

* *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture.* By James Fergusson, M.R.I.B.A.

dhist temples or monasteries, the temples not exceeding thirty in number.

About nine-tenths of the caves known are on the western side of India. The oldest are those of Bahar, supposed to have been excavated B.C. 200. These are without decoration, square, with a sloping jammed doorway, narrower at the top than the bottom. The style is commonly called Egyptian; and similar constructions exist in Ethiopia, Etruria, Asia Minor, and Greece. Some of the Bahar caves were obviously temples, and these have decoration of form, but are gloomy and heavy. From the date at which these were constructed up to nearly the era of the Mohammedan conquest, the habit of forming cave temples and monasteries existed in India. It is, however, believed that the taste, skill, and zeal for their formation began to decline a few hundred years after the Christian era.

The group which is probably next in antiquity to that at Bahar is the Oodaygeeree, near Cuttack. The rocks were peculiarly adapted to excavation, and accordingly an opportunity was afforded to the excavators for more taste, variety, and grandeur of design and decoration. This group affords examples of all varieties of these residences, from the simple cell of the solitary ascetic to the rich and populous monastery. The small cells consist of rooms not more than ten or twelve feet square, with a porch of two pillars protecting the single doorway. The caves, however, were gradually extended in length, verandahs were formed in front of them, wings were projected at right angles with the principal façade, and, lastly, second stories were added to the height, so that the larger residences were capable of accommodating from forty to fifty monks. No shrine, nor any position in which one could be placed, is discoverable; and the probability therefore is, that these caves were attached to some sacred edifice which has long since disappeared.

In Western India the simplest form which the cave assumes is that of a square hall, surrounded by small cells. As the hall grows longer, first four, then twelve, and eventually a larger number of columns are introduced, to afford the necessary support to the superincumbent rock. At length, the worship having by this time degenerated considerably from its original purity, a sanctuary is added, which contains an image of Buddha, and sometimes two side chapels, with images of subordinate saints, sometimes male, sometimes female. The extreme depth of excavation required by the square arrangement offers an obstacle which appears to be perceived when the caves have attained a large size. A more oblong form is therefore subsequently adopted,

and the sanctuary projected forward assists with the pillars in supporting the roof; by-and-bye it is even pushed out into the centre of the hall, and made to form the only real support. The decadence of the style has, however, here been reached, and the dignity and beauty of the composition have almost entirely disappeared.*

In their ornamentation the cave architects employed with great skill that system of equal distribution of both form and colour, the introduction of which to European notice was one of the successful results of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and which has since that time become the fashionable object of Western design, though the oriental artists to whom its invention is due are still without rivals in its employment. As regards the cave-pillars, where ornament is employed at all, it is not confined merely to the base and capital, but is spread nearly equally over the whole surface of the pillar, thus not only giving singular richness, but also, paradoxical as it may appear, greater simplicity, because the grand outline is thus undisturbed, and the attention undistracted, by patches of too great brilliancy. The general mode of embellishment adopted in the caves is painting in some sort of distemper.* "In some of the older caves," says Mr. Fergusson, "not only the walls and roof, but even the pillars, are wholly covered with stucco, and ornamented with painting. This painting is divided, generally speaking, according to the following rule:—On the walls are extensive composition of figures and landscapes; on pillars single detached figures, representing either Buddha or Buddhist saints; while the paintings on the roof are almost invariably architectural frets and scrolls, often of extreme beauty and elegance, rivalling many of those at Pompeii and the Baths of Titus. This threefold division is in fact the only one admissible in good taste, or only with the slightest possible modification where figures and conventional ornaments are to be combined. At a later period many of the ornaments which had been painted on the earlier pillars came to be carved on them in relief, as happened in Europe on the transition from the Norman to the Gothic style. The pillars were naturally the first to undergo this transformation, but it was extended in some instances to the walls, and even to the roofs. In some cases there still exist traces of painting on these engraved ornaments, but it seems that in the last ages of the style, the architects were satisfied with the effect produced by the light and shade of bold reliefs, and abandoned

* *Bombay Review*, vol. v. No. II.

† *Ibid.*

colour to a considerable extent at least, if not altogether."

The cave temples date in the first century after Christ, and in the eight or nine following centuries; the best example is that of Karlee, and the other principal specimens are at Ellora and Kanari. They vary in dimensions from about a hundred and twenty-five feet in length by forty-five feet in width, to forty-five by twenty-three. The first objects which strike the visitor are two lion-pillars, resembling in some degree the lats described on another page. The outer porch is considerably wider than the body of the building, and is closed in front by a screen composed of two massive octagonal pillars, which support a plain face of rock ornamented by a wooden gallery. Above is a dwarf colonnade of four pillars, with pilasters, which, with a wooden cornice, complete the façade. Within this porch is the entrance, placed under a gallery, exactly corresponding with the rood loft of a Gothic cathedral, and consisting of three doorways, one leading to the centre, and one to each of the side aisles. The whole end of the hall above the gallery forms itself into one great horse-shoe window, through which all the light is admitted. The interior of the cave temple corresponds to a great extent with that of an early Christian basilica; it consists of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The pillars which separate the nave from the aisles have tall bases, octagonal shafts, and capitals, whose rich sculpture supplies the place occupied by frieze and cornice in Grecian architecture. In other examples plain painted surfaces occupy the same space. Above the columns springs the semicircular roof, ornamented either by a series of wooden ribs, or by imitations of them in stone. The aisles are dark, and the nave itself in comparative obscurity, but one undivided volume of light, passing through the single-arched opening overhead, falls directly upon an altar under the apse, which is the principal object in the temple, and which recalls the more ancient Buddhist tope or dagoba. "It certainly is," says Mr. Fergusson, "as solemn and grand as any interior can well be;" and when to the general mysterious gloom and the brilliancy of the sacred object are added the solemn associations of a mountainous and secluded situation, and the sound of the royal drum, whose rich tones reverberate from the rock-hewn dome, an effect is obtained which may well induce in the half-civilized worshipper every sensation of superstitious awe.

Intermediate, as it were, between the Buddhist caves and the structural edifices are the

rock-cut Shaivite temple of Kylas, at Ellora, and the raths of Mahavellipore. The Kylas belongs to the ninth or tenth century; its general form is extremely similar to that of the southern Hindoo structural temples, externally as well as internally; for in this case the excavators were not satisfied with the more natural design of cutting away a chamber, like the Buddhists, in the rock, but aspired to the formation of a complete temple such as might have been erected in the plain. For the purpose of providing an exterior they were compelled to dig down into the rock, thus placing the temple "in a pit," and giving it much of the appearance of an exhumed edifice. At Mahavellipore, on the contrary, the carvers escaped this dilemma by the employment for their purpose of seven massive boulders of granite protruding from the sands on the edge of the ocean. The raths were excavated probably about A.D. 1300. Mr. Fergusson discovers in them close copies of the monasteries and temples of the Buddhist style of architecture—transition specimens in fact—which link that style with the architecture of the south of India. They are particularly valuable in reference to the older style, as rendering intelligible the external forms of buildings, of which the rock-hewn caves were probably merely internal copies. One of the raths "represents with great exactness all that we know and all that we read of the Buddhist monasteries;" a second exhibits to us the form of a cave temple such as that of Karlee, with the side aisles, however, open externally; a third displays an approximation to the many-pinnacled pyramidal roof, common afterwards in Hindoo styles. The raised structures do not attest so much industry, nor so singular and original a character of mind on the part of their builders.

The admirers of everything Indian are extremely lavish in their praise of Indian architecture; and it is obvious that there is a disposition to decry it on the part of some who deemed it a duty to check the incessant praise of all things connected with the Hindoos, fashionable a short time ago. Mill, always on this side of the dispute, quotes with elaborate industry an array of authorities unfavourable to the architectural genius of the Hindoos. Sonnerat informs us "that the architecture of the Hindoos is very rude, and their structures in honour of their deities are venerable only from their magnitude." "Mailcotay," says Dr. Buchanan, "is one of the most celebrated places of Hindoo worship, both as having been honoured with the actual presence of an avatar, or incarnation of Vishnu, who founded one of the temples, and also as being one of the principal seats of the

Sri Vashnavam Brahmins, and having possessed very large revenues. The large temple is a square building of great dimensions, and entirely surrounded by a colonnade, but it is a mean piece of architecture, at least outwardly. The columns are very rude, and only about six feet high. Above the entablature, in place of a balustrade, is a clumsy mass of brick and plaster, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches, in which are huddled together many thousand images, composed of the same materials, and most rudely formed. The temple itself is alleged to be of wonderful antiquity, and to have been not only built by a god, but to be dedicated to Krishnu, on the very spot where that avatar performed some of his great works." Of the celebrated pagodas at Congeveram the same author remarks that "they are great stone buildings, very clumsily executed, both in their joinings and carvings, and totally devoid of elegance or grandeur, although they are wonderfully crowded with what are meant as ornaments." Elphinstone in the main agrees with Mill, but praises the tall columns as graceful. According to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Hindoo architecture is characterised by a profusion of columns, sometimes of slender construction, and raised to considerable elevation, sometimes massive, square at the base, octagon in the second division, having sixteen sides in the third architectural division, and round at the top. Various other columnal forms are described, and so various in their descriptions, that it would require a separate treatise to give the detail.

The interior temple ornaments are various and original, although some of the mouldings resemble these known in Europe. Frequently the walls are covered with representations of the gods, especially in their wars. A people whose ethical taste surrounds the glory of their deities with the enmities and havoc of war, are not likely to remain themselves at peace longer than their interests or weakness constrain. It should be no matter of surprise to those Europeans who have stood within these temples, that India has been a land of civil feud and foreign war throughout its history.

The chief defects of Hindoo architecture are want of boldness, grandeur, and proportion, with too minute attention to minor excellences, and an exuberance of ornament.

According to Mr. Fergusson, the architecture of the Hindoo temples differs in style in different parts of the country, that of the south more especially being well defined in its difference from the north. The southern Hindoo temple is enclosed in a rectangular

court, the walls of which are high and plain externally, but internally ornamented by colonnades and cloisters, or buildings of various sorts adapted to the service of the sacred edifice. In the centre of the front wall, and in the corresponding position in the rear, are two gateways with lofty pyramidal roofs. A second inclosure succeeds the first, which exhibits, however, but one gate pyramid; within this again is the temple itself. The sacred building consists of two porches, or *mundups*, an ante-temple, or *pronaos*, and the *veeman*, which contains the object of worship. Each *mundup* is a square building, with a flat or pyramidal roof, and having a door on each of its four sides. The porches are sometimes detached from each other. When they are joined together the outer porch is open in front, so that it does not materially obstruct the passage of light to the interior. One of the principal objects of the architect is that of shrouding the adytum of the temple in mysterious darkness: he effects this partly by the ante-temple, which is usually of the same width as the cell, and about half as deep as it broad, and partly by excluding all light except such as is admitted by a single door. In addition to the principal shrine itself, the inclosures contain smaller temples, tanks of water, gardens, and colonnades or *choultries*. These last are of all grades, from the little pavilion supported on four pillars to the magnificent "hall of one thousand columns." "Their uses, too," says Mr. Fergusson, "are most various: in ancient times they served as porches to temples; sometimes as halls of ceremony, where the dancing-girls attached to the temples dance and sing; sometimes they are cloisters, surrounding the whole area of the temple; at others swinging porches, where the gods enjoy at stated seasons that intellectual amusement. But by far their most important application is when used as nuptial halls, in which the mystic union of the male and female divinities is celebrated once a year."

The details of these buildings can hardly be made intelligible without the aid of models. The *veeman* is square in plan, the perpendicular part of it is decorated with pilasters and niches, and supports a pyramidal roof, in small temples one story in height, but in the larger examples sometimes fourteen; the whole is invariably covered with a small dome-like termination, deriving its origin probably from the Buddhist *tope*. The gate-pyramid, or *gopoor*, is identical in form with the *veeman*, except that it is oblong instead of square in plan; its longer side is pierced with a gateway, and the circular crowning ornament is lengthened out to suit

the general shape of the building. In some cases the pillars of choultries are placed at equal regular intervals, and number as many as twenty-four in the width, but in others the central aisle is wider than the outer ones, and a space is thus presented which is too wide to be simply roofed by flat stones as in the smaller examples. A slender shaft is then added to the usual square pillar, and from thence a system of bracketing is carried up until the central space, remaining to be roofed, has been sufficiently diminished in size.*

Mr. Fergusson expresses himself in terms of high admiration of the Southern Indian temples, which he affirms bear a striking similarity to the Temple of Jerusalem, as rebuilt by Herod, and described in the pages of Josephus. The great choultry Mr. Fergusson represents as corresponding with the Stoa Basilica, and the outer court with that of the Gentiles.

The style of temple architecture in Northern India, according to Mr. Fergusson, begins abruptly upon the line within which that of Southern India flourishes. Examples are found in Orissa. The temple and superstition of Juggernaut, at Orissa, were described in a former page. The northern temple is in plan nearly identical with its southern neighbour. It is surrounded by a square court, enclosed by high walls, perfectly plain externally, but on the interior ornamented by cloisters or colonnades. A square mundup, with a door on each face, stands in front of the great tower which contains the object of worship. There are sometimes two porches, but when this is the case, the foremost one is either wholly detached, or connected only in a slight and temporary manner. The door-ways of the porches project, and are very richly ornamented, and the whole walls are covered with sculpture of elaborate minuteness. Above the perpendicular part rises a roof divided horizontally into three stages; the lower portion of each face is adorned with a range of caryatides, the upper portion is formed by five or six projecting ledges of stone. The whole is crowned by a termination of singular grace and beauty, which resembles an inverted lotus, and upon which rests the finial, called in modern temples a *kulus*, and probably deriving its origin from the umbrella ornament of the Buddhist style. The lower part of the tower corresponds exactly with that of the mundup, except that only the door opening into the porch is pierced, the others being filled in with sculpture. That which forms the distinguishing feature of the style is, however, the *shikur*, or spire, which rises above the cell containing the sacred object:

* *Bombay Quarterly*

it is no longer pyramidal in outline, but always curvilinear or bell-shaped; the divisions are vertical instead of horizontal, as in Southern India; and the summit is crowned by the *kulus* just described. In advance of this style is that of the now desecrated temple at Barolli, in Upper India, situated in a wild and romantic spot near the falls of the Chumbul, whose distant roar in the still night is the only sound that breaks the silence of the solitude which surrounds them. This is also a temple of Siva, and it was erected, in Mr. Fergusson's opinion, "probably in the eighth or ninth century." Its general outline is identical with that of the Orissan temples, but the porch, instead of being essentially astylar, or devoid of pillars as heretofore, is now columnar; and in front of it is a detached porch, called—perhaps from its having been employed in similar festivals with those to which we have seen the choultries of Southern India were principally dedicated—a *choree*, or marriage-hall.* Another style kindred to that of Northern India is called by Mr. Fergusson the Jain style, but by other and still more recent writers the Gujerat style, for the reason that it was not confined to the objects of the Jain religion. It would appear, however, to have originated with the professors of that creed. A description of the difference of this style from the styles of Northern India generally would be too technical for a popular and general work. There is a representation of one of these buildings in a work called *Ras Malá, or Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gujerat*,* which will afford the general reader a good idea of their character. The dome in this description of temple is extremely elegant. Colonel Tod, comparing its mode of construction with that of the domes of sacred buildings in the Western world, observes:—"One of the consequences of this mode of construction was, that all the decoration of the Indian domes was horizontal, or in other words, the ornaments were arranged in concentric rings one above the other, instead of being disposed in vertical ribs as in Roman or Gothic vaults. This arrangement allows of far more variety being introduced, without any offence to good taste, and practically has rendered some of these Jain domes the most exquisite specimens of elaborate roofing that can anywhere be seen. Another consequence deduced from this mode of construction was the employment of pendants from the centres of the domes, which are used to an extent that would have surprised even the Tudor architects of our own country. With them, however, the pendant

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*.

† Richardson Brothers, Cornhill, 1856, vol. ii, p. 183

was an architectural *tour de force*, requiring great constructive ingenuity and large masses to counterbalance, and is always tending to destroy the building it ornaments; while the Indian pendant, on the contrary, only adds its own weight to that of the dome, and has no other prejudicial tendency. Its forms, too, generally have a lightness and elegance never even imagined in Gothic art; it hangs from the centre of a dome more like a lustre of crystal drops, than a solid mass of marble or of stone. 'It appears,' says the annalist of the Rajpoot clans, speaking of one of these pendants, 'like a cluster of the half disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought, that it fixes the eye in admiration.'

The Gujerat temple, however professional architects from Europe may enter into minute disquisitions as to the distinction of style, is very like that of Northern and Southern India, which also resemble one another in great national characteristics, notwithstanding the distinctions noticed. The temples of the province which gives its name to this peculiar style, consist of one or two mundups or porches, and a square tower containing the idol, and surmounted by a curvilinear spire. An enclosure containing pools, triumphal arches, and pillared halls, surround the temple proper, or *sanctum sanctorum* of the idolatry. The porch is sometimes detached, and it is then, as under similar conditions in other parts of India, called a choree or marriage-hall. In front, and on either side of the temple, is placed an ornamental frontispiece, called a *keerttee-stumbh*, or triumphal pillar. It is formed of two columns, with upper columns or attics, and double capitals. A *torun* of the circular form is placed between the columns, and touches at its upper point the centre of the entablature. Above is a cornice and curvilinear pediment, ending in a kulus. The whole frontispiece is covered with sculpture, from the base to the apex. The *torun* is a sort of truss placed between columns, which is skilfully used both to afford strength and decoration. The name was originally applied (and is still so used), to the garland of leaves, and the drapery festoons which are hung up at the doors of Hindoo houses on occasions of marriages and festivals. The application of the term to this particular feature of architecture is happy, and tastefully conceived. Frequently a koond or oblong reservoir of water is placed before the temple. It is surrounded on all four sides by flights of descending steps, with landings at intervals, and is ornamented with small niches placed chequer fashion. At the central points, with the exception of that nearest the temple, and

at the four corners, are placed small shrines, with shikurs or spires. Some of these temples were two or three stories in height, but almost the only remaining example of this class—the Roodra Mala of Sidhpore, is too much mutilated to afford us full information upon the subject. The defect is partially supplied by the minarets of Mohammedan mosques, which follow most faithfully the old Hindoo forms, and afford—if for their arched and foliated panels we substitute idol-sculptured alto-reliefs—perfect representations on a small scale of the two stories of a shrine tower, to which the imagination may easily add the curvilinear spires.

The edifice thus described stood within a square or rectangular court, the enclosure of which was formed by numerous small temples similar in form and style to the principal building, but of considerably smaller dimensions, and possessing each but a single columnar mundup. In some cases a small distance was allowed to intervene between these, but in most they were actually connected. The towers and shikurs were always placed on the outside, and the porches towards the great temple. In the centre of the rearmost side of the enclosure three small temples were pushed somewhat backwards, so as to form a break in the line, and the other central points were occupied by three pillared halls pierced for gateways. If, as at Sidhpore, the temple was placed on the bank of a river, the front gateway opened upon a *ghat*, or flight of steps, which was carried for some distance along the edge of the stream. These portraiture are of the Gujerat temple in its most complete form. The shrines commonly met with are, however, rarely complete; some want the enclosure, or the reservoir, or both; others possess but one columnar mundup; and not a few dwindle down to the simple idol-tower and spire.

The temples hitherto described belong to the Brahminical faith; those of the Jain religion are, however, nearly identical in form, but the reservoirs being unadapted to its ceremonies, are always omitted. In Jain temples, and in those dedicated to Shree Krishn also, there are not unfrequently three spire-covered idol cells instead of one, and the central shikur is raised higher than the other two.

Gujerat contains several of the sacred mountains of the Jains. Mount Aboo, Girnar or Joonagurh, Shutroonjye or Paleetana, Taringa, and Tulaja. It is amidst the sublime natural scenery and romantic associations of these consecrated spots, that the architecture of the Jain faith is exhibited most impressively. The temples are here clustered

together in greater or less numbers, and the whole mass is surrounded by a fortified wall. At Paleetana especially, where, arranged in street after street, and square after square, and interspersed with subordinate buildings of a palatial character, with terraces, with reservoirs of water, and with gardens, they cover the rocky summit of the mountain, they impress the beholder with some such vivid ideas of sanctity, of beauty, and of power, as those with which the Jew of old must have contemplated, in her prime, the holy fortress-city of Mount Zion.

Perhaps the choicest examples of the style are those marble edifices which were erected about the middle of the eleventh century after Christ, upon Mount Aboo, and at Khoombhareea, upon the not far distant hill of Arasoor, by Veemul Sha, the viceregent of Bheem Dev I., King of Unhilpoor. At Khoombhareea the general features are almost identical with those of the Brahminical temples. At Aboo the temple of Veemul Sha has but one mundup, which is composed of forty-eight pillars, and is immediately connected with a double colonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells, fifty-five in number, which enclose the principal temple on all sides, exactly as in a Buddhist veehar. Externally, this temple is perfectly unadorned, and as the subordinate cells are without spires, there is nothing to indicate the magnificence within, except the shikur of the great temple peeping over the plain wall.

This system of connecting the central temple with the surrounding buildings, so as to form a more complete whole, is carried to perfection in the edifice which Koombho Rana, of Odeypore, erected at Ranpore, near Sadree in Mewar, "in a deserted glen running into the western slope of the Arauallee, before his favourite fort of Komulmer." "It is nearly a square," says Mr. Fergusson, "200 feet by 225 feet, exclusive of the projection on each face. In the centre of this stands the great shrine, not, however, occupied as usual by one cell, but by four, or rather four great niches, in each of which is placed a statue of Adeenath or Rishub Dev, the first and greatest of the Jain saints. Above this are four other niches similarly occupied, opening on the terraced roofs of the building. Near the four angles of the court are four other smaller shrines, and around them, or on each side of them, are twenty domes, supported by about 420 columns; four of these domes, the central ones of each group, are three stories in height, and tower above the others; and one, that facing the principal entrance, is supported by the very unusual number of sixteen columns, and is 36 feet in diameter, the others being only

24 feet. Light is admitted to the building by four uncovered courts, and the whole is surrounded by a range of cells, most of them unoccupied, each of which has a pyramidal roof of its own. The immense number of parts in the building, and their general smallness, prevent its laying claim to anything like architectural grandeur; but their variety, their beauty of detail—no two pillars in the whole building being exactly alike—and the grace with which they are arranged, the tasteful admixture of domes of different heights with flat ceilings, and the mode in which the light is introduced, combine to produce an excellent effect. Indeed, I know of no other building in India of the same class, that leaves so pleasing an impression, or affords so many hints for the graceful arrangement of columns in an interior."

In their religious buildings the Mohammedans borrowed largely from the Hindoos, although bringing with them a style of architecture peculiar to themselves. The *Builder*, a professional periodical published in London, and celebrated for its architectural lore, has suggested that the derivation of western religious architecture from the East is more easily traceable than many suppose, and, *apropos*, relates the following anecdote:—"I remember once standing before the magnificent west front of Peterborough Cathedral, in company with an old Indian officer, when he said, 'Why, this is just what we see throughout the East; huge pointed portals running up to the top of the building; spires, pinnacles—everything like the minarets—the aspiring character of Mussulman architecture.' And this style came into general use very shortly after the great crusade. We do not say that the dogma *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* is always correct, but surely it is in this instance."

It should be remembered that the oldest architectural monuments in India are religious, and were not erected by the Brahmins, but by the seceders from the Brahminical religion, who adopted the Buddhist creed. The *lots* are the oldest of these, and are undoubtedly of an antiquity which can be traced for nearly two thousand two hundred years. They are pillars, technically called monoliths, very slender and graceful, and apparently erected for the purpose of receiving superscriptions. They are generally about forty feet high, and are surmounted by capitals crowned with seated lions. There are ornaments upon them which connect them with the architecture of Western Asia and Eastern Europe. These *lots* were placed before buildings set apart for worship, serving in this respect as "the keertlee stumlehs and deep malas" of mediæval and modern Hindoo architecture;

and as the two pillars—Joachim and Boaz—which Solomon placed before the temple in Jerusalem. The lats were placed before the buildings called *topes*. In Central India, at Sanchi, near Bhilastone, of the best preserved of these is to be seen, although its antiquity is very great, dating more than a century before the Christian era. “The *topes* were domed structures, rising from a circular and sloping base, and crowned by a square terminal with projecting cornice. A broad double ramp, or sloping platform, such as that which conducts to the summit of the Campanile of St. Mark, Venice, afforded access to the top of the base, and at this level there ran round the foot of the dome a balustraded terrace, which was probably employed in the circumambulations commonly used in the Buddhist ceremonials, as in those of the nations of classical antiquity, of the British Druids, and of the disciples of the Poorans. The *topes* sometimes contained relic chambers called *dagobas*, at other times they were mere solid mounds of brickwork faced with stone, over which was laid a thick coating of cement, adorned either with painting or ornaments in relief. The terminal, which was called a *tee*, consisted of a square box, probably at first of wood, and afterwards copied in stone; around the upper part of it was a frieze of horse-shoe-shaped window heads, and the cornice was formed by three horizontal slabs projecting one beyond the other. There can be very little doubt that it was, or at all events represented, a *chasse*, or relic box, and it is more than probable that originally the relic was placed not in the *tope*, but on the top of it; a supposition which would account for the absence of relic-chambers in one class of these structures. The terminal appears to have been frequently surmounted by one or more umbrellas—the common symbols of regal state—which, originally of wood, but afterwards copied in stone, assumed at length a strictly architectural character, and very nearly resembled the *kulus*, or water-vessel, which forms a common feature in temples of Vishnu or of Siva. The *tope* was enclosed by a balustrade of stone posts, connected by horizontal cross-pieces, and at regular intervals in the circle thus formed were four gateways. These consisted each of them of two square pillars richly sculptured, and terminating in bold elephant capitals; they rose above the balustrade, and were continued upwards beyond the capitals, forming, with three cross lintels, and the uprights inserted between them, frontispieces of a peculiar and striking character. In the immediate vicinity of the *tope*, caves and *tumuli* presented themselves to view, the former being the residences of

priests, the latter for the most part burying-places, perhaps in some instances smaller relic shrines. The *tumuli* of India now remaining have no features which would entitle them to be regarded as architectural objects, but are remarkably analogous to the barrows of Europe and other parts of the world; it is probable, however, that many of them, like the tombs of Ceylon, Thibet, and other Buddhist countries, were decorated similarly with the *topes*. The *dagobas*, or copies of them, occupied the sanctuaries of the cave temples.”*

The same authority supplies us with the following description of buildings for warlike purposes in the province where the style of sacred architecture just referred to is most generally found:—“The fortresses of Gujerat, such at least as are situated in the plains, are square, or nearly square, in form, with large gateways in the centre of each side, and outworks or barbicans in front, and second gateways in the sides of the outwork. At each corner is a bastion of the ‘broken square’ form, and four rectangular bastions intervened between each corner tower and the central gateway. The walls are of solid mason work, ornamented at intervals with sculptured bands, and completed by semicircular *kangras*, or battlements, screening the platformed way in the interior, along which the warders passed. The gateway resembles the nave of a southern choultry: there are six engaged pillars on either side, from which springs large brackets, or rather systems of three rows of bracketing, and upon these is laid a flat stone roof.† A colonnade follows the line of the walls on the inside, forming a lengthened covered portico, with a broad platform above. Each fortress contains reservoirs of water of two kinds: the first tank, the *surowur* or *tulow*; the second is the well, the *wav* or *bowlee*. Besides the sacred edifices and fortresses of the Hindoos, there are various other architectural remains.

The tanks may be considered not only as great and useful public works, but as affording in many cases opportunities for architectural skill and taste. These works were stupendous, covering frequently an area of several miles. Temples were built round their edges, and shrines were placed on the steps leading to them. This, however, was not so generally the case when they were constructed for irrigation, as when intended for religious lavations. At Veerumgaum there is a tank, which is crowned with three hundred shrines. At Unhilpore Puttem there is a tank, the shrines and other archi-

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*.

† For a view of one of these gateways, see *Ras Mâld*, vol. i. pl. i. For plans and elevation of corner towers, see figs. 1 and 2, vol. i. pp. 251, 252, of the same work.

tectural designs connected with which have long ago disappeared, which bears a name, meaning, "The reservoir of the thousand temples of Siva." The Mohammedans paid much attention to the preservation of these tanks, and frequently erected in the centre a mound, connected with the edge of the reservoir by a viaduct. These mounds were sites of tombs or garden palaces. It is likely that the Mohammedans derived this custom from the Buddhists, for in purely Buddhist countries, where large tanks are used, the habit of erecting small garden palaces on islands in the centre still exists.

The wells are broad and deep. Galleries pass round the walls, and flights of stone steps, admirably constructed, descend to the water.

The bridges were once numerous, but have fallen into decay; the remains of some are interesting in an architectural point of view. They are generally composed of stone posts, held together by beams of masonry, some of which are surmounted by small gothic arches.

The houses of the wealthy Hindoos are often mean and clumsy, but generally they are well adapted to the requisites of a private or palatial residence, as the case may be. In some places, as at Bombay and Serampore, considerable taste and much opulence is displayed by the more powerful natives. There is, however, a disposition to imitate the style of the English, whose dwellings are not erected in much better taste in India than at home.

The tombs are magnificent, especially those founded by Mohammedan princes. Several of them have been described in the chapters set apart to the subjects of provinces and chief cities. The mausoleum of Sheik Selim, at Futtehpore Sikree, is one of the finest, of which no description is given in previous pages. The celebrated Akbar, led by superstitious feelings, took up his residence at Sikree, and erected numerous edifices for religious and civil purposes. Captain Stocqueler gives the following account of them:—"The quadrangle, which contains a mosque on the west side, and the tomb of the old hermit in the centre, is perhaps one of the finest in the world. It is five hundred and seventy-five feet square, and surrounded by a high wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within. On the outside is a magnificent gateway, at the top of a noble flight of steps, twenty-four feet high. The whole gateway is one hundred and twenty feet in height, and the same in breadth, and presents beyond the wall five sides of an octagon, of which the front face is eighty feet wide. The arch in the centre of this space is sixty feet high by forty wide. The gateway is ex-

tremely grand and beautiful, composed of red sandstone, with inlaid decorations of marble; but the beholder is struck with the disproportion between the thing wanted and the thing provided. There seems to be something quite preposterous in forming so enormous an entrance for a poor diminutive man to walk through; and walk he must unless he is carried through on men's shoulders; for neither elephant, horse, nor bullock, could ascend the flight of steps. 'In all these places the staircases, on the contrary, are as disproportionately small. They look as if they were made for rats to crawl through, while the gateways seem as if they were made for ships to sail under.' The tomb of Sheik Selim, the hermit, is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of the quadrangle. It once boasted a great deal of mosaic ornament." The same author describes certain erections attributed to the Jats in the following terms:—"At Deeg is a noble quadrangular garden, constructed by the Jats during their ascendancy. It is four hundred and seventy-five feet long by three hundred and fifty feet wide; and in the centre is an octagonal pond, with openings on four sides, leading up to four buildings, which stand in the centre of each face of the garden. These buildings are justly accounted the most beautiful Hindoo edifices for accommodation ever erected. They are formed of a very fine ground sandstone, brought from the quarries of Roopbas, which are eight or ten miles south-west of Futtehpore Sikree. These stones are brought in in flags, some sixteen feet long, from two to three feet wide, and one thick, all sides as flat as glass, the flags being of the natural thickness of the strata. The openings spoken of above have, from the centre of the pond to the foot of the flight of steps leading from them, an avenue of *jets d'eau*."

The architectural remains of the Mohammedans are necessarily more modern than those of the Hindoos, but only a few of their religious buildings are of remarkable pretension. Palaces, tombs, and halls of justice, of great beauty, built by the followers of the prophet, are found in Upper India. In the pages which described these provinces, notices have been given of several of them. Captain Stocqueler, whose admiration of these buildings is excessive, says:—"India abounds with monumental remains, and when all that England has accomplished in the architectural way shall have crumbled into dust, those majestic remains will remain to attest the superiority, in this respect, of Hindoos and Mussulmen."

Mr. Fergusson, who looked upon the ar-

chitectural works of India with the eye of an accomplished artist, gives a more sober and judicious estimate, and yet one highly creditable to the Hindoo race:—"It would be as reasonable to compare the Indian epics and dramas with those of Homer and Sophocles, as to compare the Indian style of architecture with the refined elegance and intellectual superiority of the Parthenon and other great works of Greece. Probably a nearer comparison might be instituted with the Gothic styles of the middle ages; yet, while possessing the same rich irregularity and defiance of all rule, it wants that bold manliness of style, and loftiness of aspiration, which distinguishes even the rudest attempts of those enthusiastic religionists. Though deficient in these respects, the Indian styles are unrivalled for patient elaboration of the details, which are always designed with elegance, and always executed with care. The very extent of ornamentation produces feelings of astonishment, and the smaller examples are always pleasing, from the elegance of the parts, and the appropriateness of the whole. In no styles is the last characteristic more marked than in those of India; for whether the architects had to uphold a mountain of rock, or the airiest domes, or merely an ornamental screenwork, in all instances the pillars are exactly proportioned to the work they have to do, and the ornaments are equally suited to the apparent strength or lightness of effect which the position of the mass seems to require. No affectation, and no imitation of other styles, ever interfere to prevent the purpose-like expression of every part, and the effect consequently is always satisfactory and pleasing; and when the extent is sufficient, produces many of the best and highest modes of expression of which the art of architecture is anywhere capable."

To the architecture of Western Europe Mr. Fergusson assigns a place inferior to that which the art in India is entitled to occupy in the general estimation of the educated. He bases this estimate upon a principle: he affirms that the architecture of Europe generally, for some hundreds of years, has been a servile copying of ancient styles, and under circumstances where utility and appropriateness to the purpose of the building have been excluded from consideration; and he opines that by this means improvement has been rendered next to impossible, and the creation of a style suitable to modern genius and European ideas, entirely so. In the first period of the progress of the architectural art, he avers that development arose by the constant maintenance of the principle, that the character of the structure should be in keep-

ing with its intended use. His words are:—"In the first period the art of architecture consisted in designing a building so as to be most suitable and convenient for the purposes it was wanted for, in arranging the parts so as to produce the most stately and ornamental effect consistent with its uses, and applying to it such ornament as should express and harmonise with the construction, and be appropriate to the purposes of the building; while at the same time the architects took care that the ornament should be the most elegant in itself which it was in their power to design. Following this system, not only the Egyptian, the Greek, and the Gothic architects, but even the indolent and half-civilized inhabitants of India, the stolid Tartars of Thibet and China, and the savage Mexicans, succeeded in producing great and beautiful buildings. No race, however rude or remote, has failed, when working on this system, to produce buildings which are admired by all who behold them, and are well worthy of the most attentive consideration." It is from the want of the principle here insisted upon, and the prevalence of an absurd and servile imitation, that in Mr. Fergusson's opinions the architecture of Europe suffers in comparison with India, notwithstanding the faults by which the latter is characterised. Mr. Mill, in his History, instances the success of the Mexicans and other nations, reported rude in works of architecture, as proofs that nothing favourable to the early civilization of India can be inferred from the admirable public edifices which adorn that land, or tell of its architectural glory in ages remote. The philosophy of the facts that people of an inferior civilization in many respects are capable of great things in this, is fairly stated by Mr. Fergusson. He regrets that India has not advanced to perfection, but still more deplors that Europe has retrograded, and, on the whole, puts forward a high claim for the renown of the former.

In the nations contiguous to India proper, such as the Punjaub, Cashmere, Affghanistan, and which, although generally, are not specifically, included in the term India, very early progress was made in architecture. Traces of Greek style have been found in the remains extant, which some have attributed to the influence of the invasion of Alexander, but which others affirm have an anterior origin. Important and skilful investigations have been made as to the architectural remains of Cashmere. It is alleged that these evidence the influence of Grecian art, and the style has received the designation "*Arian*," from the Greek term in architecture—*Araiostyle*, which is applied to the intercolumniation of four

diameters, a feature of the architecture of Cashmere. The Cashmerian is distinguished by graceful outline, massiveness, suitable ornament, "lofty roofs, trefoiled doors surmounted by pyramidal pediments, and wide intercolumniations." The Cashmere temples are of three kinds—oblong, square, and octagonal; which are again subdivided into the closed and the open, the latter having doors on four sides; the former but one entrance. In their proportions the architects appear to have generally made the height of the temple equal to twice its breadth. These basements are divided into two kinds, the massive and the light, according to the character of their mouldings. The walls of the Cashmerian temples are made of huge blocks of grey limestone, secured together by iron clamps; their dimensions vary considerably, the older ones being shorter than those of more modern origin. The roofs of these Cashmerian temples are of pyramidal shape, sometimes broken into two equal portions, divided by a broad moulding, and occasionally into three or four such divisions. The height of the portico varies in different localities; sometimes it reaches only to one-third of the height of the roof; in others it extends to the top of the roof. The pillars in the Cashmerian temples are of two kinds, round and square; and, unlike the many varieties of Hindoo pillars, are always divided into the three distinct parts of base, shaft, and capital. The square pillars are only employed in corner positions; whilst the round pillars are used throughout the colonnades, and in porches. These are always fluted with from sixteen to twenty-four flutes; the numbers decreasing with the diameter of the column. The shafts were usually three or four diameters in height. The capital seems to have been nearly always equal in its height to the upper diameter of the column. The heights and breadths of the bases do not appear to have been formed by any fixed rule. The distances between the columns were nearly always equal to two-thirds of the total height of the pillars.*

In the Punjab, especially on certain portions of the frontiers of Affghanistan and Cashmere, there are very ancient and interesting remains. The province of Peshawur, although its more perfect buildings, especially around the city of Peshawur, are Mohammedan, contains various ruins of a remote antiquity. A British officer† published in 1852, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, an account of this province very general in its character, but more particularly as to its geographical and topogra-

phical peculiarities, and the traces of ancient peoples and their works. He travelled in the Eusufzai country. In describing the neighbourhood of Kathamar, he relates that a stone or slab was regarded with reverence by the people, and called by them *Lang-i-Newishtah*, or "the inscribed stone." The characters inscribed were unknown to the people, but from their description he supposed it to be Greek. The lieutenant had been refused, by his superior officer, leave of absence for the purpose of visiting it, on the ground of the danger he would incur. He says: "I tried to get a copy of the character of the stone, but without success. There is no doubt but that there are numerous remains of antiquity in this part of the country; and it is here we must search for the rock of Aornos, and the cities of Ora and Beziza, mentioned by the Greek historians." Writing of the hill of Chechar, he observes:—"Its summit consists of a space of ground four hundred yards long by a hundred yards in breadth, and is covered with the remains of buildings built on platforms. One in particular, the largest, consisted of a raised platform of about eighteen feet in height, and sixty square. On this stands what appears to be the remains of a temple, and the whole place was strewn with the carvings of men and elephants in different positions. The buildings are constructed of a bright yellow-coloured soft stone, whilst the carvings are all in slate. Since I saw the place several figures, as large as life, and extremely well executed, have been dug up. They are of a white composition, something similar in appearance to plaster of Paris. One of these figures has, I believe, been forwarded to the governor-general. The ruins are evidently Buddhist. The plain at the base of this hill is covered with a forest of wild tea and other trees." On the Koh-i-Rama Mountains, near the summit, the lieutenant saw a cave called the *Ismus-i-Kashnir*, which is said to lead into Kashmir (Cashmere). Within the cave were numerous images; but Mr. Raverty found entrance difficult, in consequence of the extraordinary number of flying foxes.

West of Suyedabad there is a range of hills, the summits of which are "covered with ruins of various sorts and dimensions; but they are so fresh and sharp in appearance, that one would suppose they had not been erected for a year. The southern part, which is the highest, is covered with an extensive ruin, called by the country people *the throne of Behee* (one of the sons of a celebrated rajah). About the centre of the hills to the west there are the ruins of a temple, or something of the kind, on a very large scale; and

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

† Lieutenant H. G. Raverty.

the remains of a great number of pillars, of a curious shape, and hollow inside, the stone of which all the ruins are composed, is of a bright yellow colour, soft, smooth to the touch, and breaks into flakes. The blocks of stone are merely squared on the inside and outside, the interstices being filled up with fragments of the same kind of stone, but so exquisitely, that it would almost lead one to suppose that the stone had been used in a melted state, and had turned into stone exact in appearance with the other blocks. From what I have said of the stone being only squared inside and out, it must not be imagined that the work was clumsily executed, for the workmanship is beautiful; and the whole seems to have been the work of a people as well versed in the science of architecture as we are, if not better. The hills round Pallai were covered with similar ruins. The architecture bears no similarity to the Greek style; and the inhabitants say they are the ruins of Caffre cities, with which the whole of the surrounding country is covered, more particularly Suwat. I have no doubt that important discoveries might be made here at very little trouble and expense."

The painting of the Hindoos may be described very much as in the chapter on China that of the Chinese was represented—accurate in imitation, the colours skilfully manipulated, but deficient in taste, originality, and perspective. Mr. Capper says:—"The Hindoo paintings are generally accurate, but they seldom evince much attention to light and shade. Some of their walls are ornamented by mythological representations, others by battles, figures of human beings, and animals, sometimes accompanied by an awkward attempt at a landscape. They have also pictures and illustrated manuscripts, but with the figures of these they were not very happy. The portraits executed by the Mussulmen are far superior to those of the Hindoos."

During the spring of 1858 a very interesting collection of paintings, which had been brought from India by Mr. G. P. White, C.E., was exhibited in the Strand, London, at the shop of Mr. Bone, silversmith. It consisted of miniatures done on ivory by the native artist of the King of Delhi, likenesses of that personage, and of members of his family. There were also views taken in and around Delhi, executed with delicacy, and highly finished. In the museum of the India-house there are specimens of pictures executed by native artists.

Although in sculpture the people of India made some progress, and their talent for carving figures in hard wood and pith is admirable, the statuary of the Hindoos is far inferior to that of the nations in Europe least

famed for that department of the fine arts. None of the figures executed by the Hindoos, whether of men or deities, objects of common life or mythological subjects, bear a comparison with the works of the Greek and Roman, or modern Italian, British, and French artists. Some of the facts here recited appear somewhat contradictory to the statements of a very recent and credible writer.

In Yule's *Ava* an estimate of Indian pictorial art, as compared with that of the Indo-Chinese, is worthy of remark, as bearing on this subject. Captain Yule acted as secretary to the mission of Major Phayre to Ava in 1855, and was well qualified to pronounce an opinion on this subject. "The Birmese took much interest in the pictures which Captain Tripe, Mr. Grant, and the sketching members of the mission, produced; and even the photographs, though all remaining in the negative stage, appeared to be understood, and in some degree appreciated by them; while they were gratified, and perhaps somewhat surprised, at the interest and admiration expressed by us for many of the buildings which formed the subjects of pictorial representation, especially the highly-carved monasteries. It was very striking to see this capacity for the appreciation of views and sketches on the part of the Birmans, for the organ of such appreciation is absolutely wanting in all the people of India with whom we are accustomed to deal. The fact is singular; but I believe all who have lived in India will bear testimony to it, that to natives of India, of whatever class or caste, Mussulman, Hindoo, or Parsee, 'Arryan or Tamulian,' unless they have had a special training, our European paintings, prints, drawings, and photographs, plain or coloured, if they are landscapes, are absolutely unintelligible. If portraits, they may know them to represent humanity; but the most striking *likeness* they scarcely ever recognize. Maps rarely can be made intelligible to them. I have been asked in good English by a Parsee, who looked over my shoulder at a print of Kensington Palace, whether it did not represent a steamboat! A learned pundit has been known to inquire, on being shown a print of the winner of the Derby, 'Is that *London Khas*!' (Royal London). The memory of every Anglo-Indian will suggest such anecdotes. As to rough pencil sketches, they convey to the natives of India as little intelligible meaning as the graven edicts of Asoka did to the world before James Prinsep. This defect is the more strange, because found so universally among those Indian races whose features and language seem to class them as kindred with our German ancestry, while among the Indo-Chinese nations, so far as my

experience goes, including the people of Bir-mah and Arracan, and ruder tribes of our Eastern frontier, the faculty of appreciating the meaning and accuracy of drawings and resemblances in portraiture, even when of a very sketchy character, is never altogether absent. Of the objects and meaning of a map also they have generally a very fair idea. I present this to the ethnographers as an interesting distinctive feature, which I do not remember to have seen noticed before." *

The rage for panegyrising ancient Indian art so prevalent among the Philo-Indians has been unscrupulous, certainly much of the praise bestowed is not founded in the merits of the works themselves. The arguments employed by these panegyrists, to prove the derivation of Western art from India and Egypt, are refuted by modern investigation. The mental peculiarities and taste which accompanied the Arryan invasion of India were not superior to the qualities by which other families of men were distinguished among the ancient wanderers, who, departing from the Armenian tableland, sought permanent settlements in every direction. This might be proved by a great variety of facts and illustrations. Choosing one not likely to be thought of by the majority of readers,—the ancient civilization of Ireland,—demonstration is afforded. At a period quite as remote as any fixed upon by Anglo-Indians for the development of taste in works of art in India, the Irish had attained great proficiency. There are no specimens of Indian art extant which can compare with the remains of ancient art in Ireland. The execution in metals, especially in the precious metals, attained among the Irish to a very high point of perfection. The caligraphy of ancient Irish manuscripts far surpasses anything that has ever been seen in India. The illuminated Irish manuscripts now in Trinity College, Dublin, in the British Museum, London, in Paris, and other cities of the continent, are superior to any ever known either in the Eastern or Western world. The engravings on stone yet remaining on the Irish crosses are exquisitely artistic—so much so, that persons unwilling to concede an early civilization to Ireland have represented them as the work of Italian artists, and sent from Italy to that country, or at all events the work of Italian artists there. The answer is that the style in which these gravings are executed was unknown to Italy; the materials are not Italian, but Irish; and the inscriptions are

invariably in that language, and in a style identified with the period to which the works executed are attributed. In another chapter—that on the religious of India—the origin of various Christian superstitious customs was shown to be Eastern, traceable to Babylon. There is reason to believe that while Ireland did not receive her art thence, she did receive certain superstitions, which have left their impress upon her Christian remains. The form of the ancient crosses, upon which elaborate carvings are found, is not Christian, but pagan, and evince a style of art older than Christianity, and which had existed from a period near to that when the Deluge subsided, and the progeny of Adam went forth again to people the earth. It would not be pertinent to the subject of art in India to follow this theme farther than to quote a few authorities, showing that Europe is indebted to Ireland, not to remote Asia, for her early knowledge of various departments of art, and for much of her civilization. Geraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied Henry II. of England as chaplain, thus refers to what is commonly known to antiquarians as the *Book of St. Bridget*:—"This book contains the four gospels, and is adorned with almost as many illuminated figures as it has pages [after a minute description of the figures, he proceeds], which, if carefully surveyed, seem rather blots than intertwined ornaments (*ligaturæ*), and appeared to be simple where there was in truth nothing but intricacy. But, on close examination, the secrets of the art were evident; and so delicate and subtle, so laboured and minute, so intertwined and knotted, so intricately and brilliantly coloured, did you perceive them, that you were ready to say they were the work of an angel, and not of a man." Of the *Book of Kells*, another illuminated work of ancient Ireland, Mr. J. O. Westwood writes:—"Ireland may justly be proud of the *Book of Kells*. This copy of the gospels, traditionally said to have belonged to St. Colomba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence." The same writer says:—"At a period when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and other parts of the continent—namely, from the end of the fifth to the eighth century—the art of ornamenting manuscripts had attained a perfection almost miraculous in Ireland. Another circumstance equally deserving of notice is the extreme delicacy and wonderful precision, united with an extraordinary minuteness of detail, with which many of these ancient manuscripts are ornamented. I have examined with a magnifying glass the pages of the *Gospels of Lin-*

* *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-general of India to the Court of Ava in 1855, with notices of the Country, Government, and People.* By Captain Henry Yule.

disfarne and the *Book of Kells*, without detecting a false line or irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to have been impossible to have been executed by a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments, they could have been executed. The invention and skill displayed, the neatness, precision, and delicacy, far surpass all that is to be found in ancient manuscripts executed by continental artists." Sir William Bentham, in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, says, speaking of various ancient illustrated books, "They are monuments which Irishmen may exultingly produce as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, produced at an age when other nations of Europe, if not in utter ignorance and barbarism, were in their primers, their very horn-books." Henry Noel Humphreys, in his work entitled *Illuminated Works of the Middle Ages*, observes:—"It was in the West that the extraordinary variety and fertility of invention that distinguished the art of the illuminator arose." The style appears to have arisen among our British and Irish rather than among our Saxon ancestors, although such manuscripts are generally termed Anglo-Saxon. M. Digby Wyatt, a name well known to British art, avers:—"In the practice of art the Irish were in advance of all Europe. The zeal of the Irish missionaries, and their peculiar creed and art, were not confined to the British Isles. In the seventh century the Monastery of Bobbio, in Northern Italy, was established by Columbanus, and that of St. Gall, in Switzerland, by Gallus, both Irish missionaries. Of the same period and country was St. Kilian, the apostle and martyr of Franconia, St. Fridolin, founder of the Monastery at Seckingen, and St. Fenden, of that of Rheinau. Pelagius, the propounder of the celebrated Pelagian heresy (*circa*, A.D. 400), had set an example of Irish vigour of thought and activity of body which appears to have been lost on the later missionaries. Abuin, the friend and instructor of Charlemagne, calls them *gloria gentis*; whilst another writer observes that travelling appears to be their prevailing passion. In the seventh century especially, Ireland was celebrated for its illuminated books, its authors, its music, and its academies. That its influence extended much farther than is generally supposed would appear to be certain; and not only did Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, the north of England, and Scandinavia, adopt its peculiar system of ornament, but some of the most celebrated illuminated works in the various

libraries of Europe are now discovered to have emanated from that school."

Among the beautiful remains of Irish art, her sculptured crosses must stand as the most remarkable. The reader who has leisure to peruse the work of Henry O'Neil, on the *Ancient Crosses of Ireland*, will find abundant proof of this assertion.

The same author in another of his works * shows that Irish workmanship in metals arrived at distinguished perfection in a far remote age.

If these statements be correct, then it follows that from an age anterior to any of which we have clear proof of the existence of art in India, to a period when the early art of India had long sunk into decay, Ireland had maintained a high, and in some respects the highest, place, although she never attained to the perfection of Greece in executing representative figures. The extravagant assertions of the highest and most ancient place in art for the race which now chiefly peoples Hindostan, is confuted by the facts which research in Irish antiquarian lore has brought to light. It is probable that many other ancient races have also surpassed the Hindoos in this respect, as has been repeatedly asserted by those who, unconnected with India, have no fascination or prejudice for what relates to it.

According to the *Asiatic Researches*, the Hindoo music consists of eighty-four modes, each of which possesses a different expression; they are capable of exciting emotions of as many different kinds. These modes receive their name from the seasons of the year, and the hours of the day, with which it is believed they have some mystical or occult connexion. The melodies are often plaintive, and a resemblance to old Celtic music has been recognised, although distinguished by a wild cadence altogether peculiar. Some distinctive peculiarity will be found in all national music, the soul of a people is breathed in their native melodies; the joy and sorrow of their history, and the aspirations of their hopes, are all made vocal in their song. It is to be expected that this would be the case with so original a race as the Hindoos; and it is therefore, as well as on other grounds, to be regretted that so little attention has been paid by the musical doctors of Europe to this department of Indian art. The musical instruments employed are rude: the vecca, or Indian lyre, the fiddle, drum, tom-tom, and some others coarse and most dissonant, are sources of delight to the people. It is said that there are many among the educated

* *A Descriptive Catalogue of Illustrations of the Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland.* Collected by Henry O'Neil.

natives who appreciate good music; the masses of the people, and a large majority of the higher classes, certainly do not. On occasions of their festivals, the thumping of drums with their hands, the strange commingling of other instrumental sounds, with a hubbub of screaming voices, constitute an uproar of the most unendurable discord to the European, but a means of entertainment to the native that greatly conduces to his enjoyment. The finest military bands fail to awaken similar sensations. The singing by a native woman of one of their planxties would attract the roughest marauder, and detain the most time-bound traveller among the natives. The sepoys became accustomed to British tunes, and during the mutiny caused the captured European drummers and fifiers to play *Cheer, boys, cheer*, and other tunes which served as marches. In the chapter on Ceylon it was shown how formidable to Europeans the beating of tom-toms, and screeching of dissonant pipes, constantly maintained day and night during the seasons of Buddhist religious ceremonies; along the coast of Coromandel and Malabar a similar din is kept up during certain seasons devoted to Brahminical or Mohammedan devotion.

The medical science of the natives of India, like most other of their attainments, has been a subject of discussion in Europe. Some have contended that the medical knowledge of the ancient Hindoos was derived from the Greeks; others have strenuously maintained that the Greeks derived all their knowledge of medicine and the healing art from oriental sources. The most ancient book on medical subjects extant in India is the *Ayur Veda*, this work is attributed by the Brahmins to Brahma himself; from the notices which oriental scholars afford of it, the ancient state of medical science in India was extremely rude. Certain other works, those of Susruta and Charaka, contribute some little additional knowledge of early Hindoo medical knowledge. From all the records we possess, it appears that anatomy formed the basis of the medical and surgical arts. The laws of caste do not appear to have interfered materially with the study of anatomy, the end, in the eyes of the Brahmins, sanctified the deed. From their anatomical researches they obviously understood the danger of wounds inflicted upon various parts of the person inducing tetanus; their ideas of the nervous system were confused and contradictory, but the existence of such a system was known. According to Wise's *Hindoo System of Medicine*, life consists of the soul, mind, physical senses, and the moral qualities of meekness, passion, and

goodness. The vital principle is supposed to reside in the centre of the man, which, according to "the system," is in his chest, and is believed to be a mingling of all the human qualities.

Death is the separation of the soul from the body. It occurs naturally from old age, but it happens also in a hundred other ways, chiefly caused by sin either in the present or a former state of existence. Disease has its origin from sin, from derangement of the humours of the body, or from both those causes together. From the first and third of these sources, mortal diseases originate; those derived from the second medium are curable by skilful treatment.

The number of diseases attributable to these media are exceedingly numerous. Measles and small-pox were well known to the Hindoos in remote antiquity, and there are proofs that the latter was propagated from Asia to Europe, and some writers say from India. Inoculation was resorted to at an early stage of Hindoo civilization, but it seems rather to have spread the disease, although in a less virulent form. The beri-beri, a dropsical disease, prevalent in both Western and Eastern India,—although not common on the highlands of the Deccan, nor in Hindostan proper,—is an ancient disease. Rheumatisms prevail after the monsoons, and among those who work in the paddy-fields,—and this appears to have been the case as far back as can be traced. Leprosy prevailed in ancient India as in other Asiatic nations; and epilepsy, so common to northern and western Asia, has been also common in India from remote ages. "We find, in their medical treatises, mention made of sixty-five diseases of the mouth, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, eleven qualities of headache, besides an infinity of disorders of the throat. Mention is likewise made of consumption, as though it were not only of frequent occurrence, but oftentimes fatal in its result. The study of poisons and their antidotes formed by no means an insignificant portion of medical study among the Hindoo practitioners of all ages; a fact which, considering the oriental fashion of getting rid of an enemy by this means, is not to be wondered at. There was also the study of animal poisons; the dissertations upon the bites of snakes, poisonous insects, &c., are numerous, and at the same time in accordance with the practice of experienced surgeons of the present day. Hydrophobia was also known, and prescribed for in a variety of forms." It appears that the Hindoos possessed some herbal agency specific in that disease.

The general mode of treatment was influenced by superstition,—forms and ceremonies, as various as they were useless, were prescribed for the physician as well as the patient; and when the disease was incurable, the object seems to have been to hasten death by abstinence, mental excitement, or even suicide.

There is a striking resemblance in the treatment by the physicians in India to that relied upon by those of Ceylon and China. The medical system became at once more complicated and at the same time more superstitious after the introduction of Buddhism, although, according to the Institutions of Menu, very absurd obligations were laid upon the patient in cases of hopeless malady; thus, one article of that famous code ordains, "If a disease be incurable, let the patient advance in a straight path towards the invisible north-eastern point, feeding on air and water until his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul become linked with the supreme being."

The *Materia Medica* of the Hindoos embraces not only a vast number of drugs and vegetable simples abounding in their country, but a variety of chemical compounds, as well as acids and some of the oxides, with the uses of which they appear to have been conversant from an early period. Their pharmacy, although embracing many matters of value, and in some parts much in accordance with European practice, is nevertheless so overcrowded with innumerable substances as to bewilder and perplex the student. They employed in their pharmacy preparations of mercury, gold, zinc, iron, and arsenic to a degree that could scarcely have been expected from people who blended so much of the fabulous and the absurd in their practice. In their measures of time they commenced with fifteen winks of the eye; and their apothecaries might begin with four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as they enter a dark room. The rules laid down for the administering of medicinal doses are minute to tediousness; and among other things it is expressly stated that the patient must not make faces when taking medicine, as by doing so he would be like Brahma and Siva, and therefore commit a great sin.

However deficient we find the present race of Hindoo practitioners in the science of surgery, there is no doubt but that their ancestors possessed a skill in the performance of delicate and dangerous operations scarcely to have been expected in those days. The treatises still extant on these subjects are good proof of the state of their surgery, which, however, was evidently, as in other

branches of the art, mixed up with much puerility and childish superstition. Certain times were to be selected for the performance of operations; devils were to be driven away from the wound by burning certain sweet-scented flowers; the patient and operator must be placed in certain relative positions, and other observances equally frivolous and absurd.*

The philosophy of the Hindoos was speculative rather than practical. Their speculations were *de natura deorum*, or concerning the ultimate destiny of man, and the best means of promoting in this world a desirable condition in a future state of existence. Their philosophy and their theology are identical, and both, as has been shown in the chapter on the religions of India, are derived from the most ancient forms of the Chaldean and Persian, and are corruptions of both. In the system of Zoroaster, and that of the Brahmins, we find the same lofty expressions concerning the invisible powers of nature; the same absurdity in the notions respecting the creation; the same infinite and absurd ritual; the same justness in many ideas respecting the common affairs of life and morality; the same gross misunderstanding in others; but a striking resemblance between the two systems, both in their absurdities and perfections. The same turn of imagination seems to have belonged to the authors of both; and the same aspect of nature to have continually presented itself; the deformities, however, of the Hindoo system being always the greatest.†

That the Hindoos at a very early period cultivated metaphysics, Doctor H. Hayman Wilson,‡ and M. Cousin,§ have conclusively showed; but that their attainments were entitled to the praise bestowed by those eminent persons may well be denied.

The love of metaphysical and ethical speculation, so characteristic of the ancient Hindoos, has descended to the modern inhabitants of India, whether Brahmin or Mohammedan. Gibbon says that "metaphysical questions on the attributes of God, and the liberty of man, have been agitated in the schools of Mohammedans as well as those of the Christians;" and that this remark will apply to India Mr. E. Elphinstone confirms, for he says that, "if the rude Affghan is ever stimulated to any degree of literary activity, it is when pursuing the subtleties of metaphysical speculation."

The philosophical theory of materialism in

* John Capper, F.R.A.S.

† Mill's *British India*.

‡ *Notes on Mill's British India*.

§ *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*. Par M. V. Cousin.

its grossest forms existed among the early Hindoos, and was revived by the Buddhists. The doctrine of immaterialism, as it may be called, which the unbelieving Hume and the amiable and orthodox Bishop Berkeley laboured to revive in our country, had also a place in the philosophy of the Hindoos. The materialism of the Hindoos, as a religious doctrine, has been described to the reader in the chapter which treated of their theology; the opposite theory was embraced more as a philosophical than a theological doctrine, although it also, with certain sects of both Brahmins and Buddhists, became a religious tenet.

Dr. Dugald Stewart, to whose labours modern metaphysics—especially in Scotland—owes so much, records an expression of this theory, related to him by Sir James Mackintosh, from the conversation of a Brahmin. “He told me, that besides the myriads of gods whom their creed admits, there was one whom they know by the name of Brim, or the great one, without form or limits, whom no created intellect could make any approach towards conceiving; that, in reality, there were no trees, no houses, no land, no sea, but all without was Maia, or allusion, the act of Brim; that whatever we saw or felt was only a dream; or, as he expressed it in his imperfect English, thinking in one’s sleep; and that the re-union of the soul to Brim, from whom it originally sprung, was the awakening from the long sleep of finite existence.” The comment of Sir James himself upon this passage was as follows:—“All this you have heard and read before as Hindoo speculation. What struck me was, that speculations so refined and abstruse should, in a long course of ages, have fallen through so great a space as that which separates the genius of their original inventor from the mind of this weak and unlettered man. The names of these inventors have perished; but their ingenious and beautiful theories, blended with the most monstrous superstitions, have descended to men very little exalted above the most ignorant populace, and are adopted by them as a sort of articles of faith, without a suspicion of their philosophical origin, and without the possibility of comprehending any part of the premises from which they were deduced.”

Sir William Jones takes a much more favourable view of this philosophy than Dugald Stewart or Sir James Mackintosh. He defends it in the warm, earnest, and eloquent language in which his apologies for the Hindoos are so often expressed. In defending this school (commonly called the *Vedanti* by Indian scholars) he thus writes:—“The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school con-

sisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearance and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion which Epicharmus and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little public applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness, are the basis of the Indian philosophy. I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedanta, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither, fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be further removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion.”

Upon this passage, Dugald Stewart makes the just critique, that the philosophy of Berkeley and Hume, to which Sir William refers, was misunderstood by the great orientalist, and Mr. Mill exposes with just severity the hyperbolical eulogies which Sir William bestowed upon this philosophical school. Professor Wilson, whose vast oriental scholarship enabled him to detect the errors of fact into which Mr. Mill so frequently fell when treating of Hindoo antiquities, pursues him with his usual unsparing severity in this case, and describes him as reasoning unfairly concerning the Vedanti philosophy, the professor referring to the various authorities from which, since Mr. Mill’s day, a correct knowledge of the matter may be obtained.* A fair investigation of these authorities will generally bear out Mr. Mill’s opinions, and deliver him from the caustic censure of his learned but too stern critic. There can be no doubt that the ideal or immaterial theory of Berkeley was held by a philosophical sect of ancient Hindostan, but so modified by the polytheistic doctrines recognised by its disciples, as to present it in a very different aspect.

As far as one can judge from the scraps

* Colebrooke; Dr. Taylor; Ram Mohun Roy; Sir Graves Haughton; Colonel Van Kennedy. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; Translation of the Prabodha Chandradaja; Translations from the Vedas; Asiatic Journal, &c.*

and opinions afforded to us by ancient Sanscrit scholars, there was a school of ancient philosophers who rejected the immaterial theory, reasoning from the starting-point of Descartes; *Cogito ergo sum*. From all that can be gathered, the early Hindoos appear to have cultivated general and abstract speculations, and to have imported into their theology their metaphysical theories, more and more corrupting the earliest system of religion which prevailed among them. Their metaphysical studies, instead of aiding religion, obscured it; instead of unfolding the constitution and operations of the human mind, made man more a mystery to himself; instead of laying the foundation for a pure theory of ethics, "darkened counsel by words without knowledge," set up false standards of practical guidance, and influenced unfavourably and lastingly the intellectual and social life of India.

The science of politics has been always at the lowest point throughout India. The people are highly gifted with diplomatic talent. The mental constitution of the Hindoo is subtle, and in a certain sense refined; but as a people they are deficient in directness of mind, always preferring the arts and devices of political intrigue to the manly honesty of avowing and maintaining broad and determinate principles. The condition of India throughout its whole history has fostered this spirit of underhand expertness. Divided into a great number of small states, perpetually making territorial encroachments upon one another, artifice was as important as arms. A perpetual struggle for land engaged all classes. Village communities, feudal chiefs, and princes, contested with one another, and each class strove within its own circle for aggrandizement of land—those took who had the power, those kept who could. Never, in any part of the world, were treaties made with less intention of keeping them, or more faithlessly and scandalously broken. The military art was cultivated purely for aggressive purposes, and never was brought to any high degree of attainment. The incidents of the Greek invasion proved how superior, not only the genius of Alexander, but the knowledge of arms on the part of his followers. The Mohammedan warriors also showed more acquaintance with the management of armies. The wars of native princes with Europeans revealed an inferiority in strategy and tactics, which cannot be disputed. Gibbon's description of the military weakness of Asiatic nations generally, and of the Persians more particularly, describes as graphically as if meant especially for it, the state of the martial art in India, until the

example of the British, and the instruction derived from them, modified the system of the native chiefs. But notwithstanding the improvement made under English influence, the language of Gibbon in the main applies to the armies of the rajahs, and the mode of warfare adopted among them:—"The science of war, that constituted the more rational force of Greece and Rome, as it now does of Europe, never made any considerable progress in the East. Those disciplined evolutions which harmonise and animate a confused multitude, were unknown to the Persians. They were equally unskilled in the arts of constructing, besieging, or defending regular fortifications. They trusted more to their numbers than to their courage: more to their courage than to their discipline. The infantry was a half-armed, spiritless crowd of peasants, levied in haste by the allurements of plunder, and as easily dispersed by a victory as by a defeat. The monarch and his nobles transported into the camp the pride and luxury of the seraglio. Their military operations were impeded by a useless train of women, eunuchs, horses, and camels; and in the midst of a successful campaign, the Persian host was often separated or destroyed by an unexpected famine."

The general mind of the better classes in India is more favourable to the study of modern science, although there are still difficulties in the way. The Brahmins are extremely jealous of instruction conveyed to the people from a European source; the Musulman teachers are still more so, as any views of science different from those contained in the Koran is contrary to religion. The Mohammedan clergy know well that modern science is at variance with the scientific doctrines of the Koran; and while on the one hand they make efforts to reconcile the discrepancies, on the other their exertions are incessant to prevent "the faithful" from obtaining "infidel knowledge."

But even where religious prejudices do not bar out the instructions of English literature and science, there exists an extreme hindrance in the inability of Europeans to converse in the languages of India on subjects of politics, history, philosophy, or science. It is well known that there are native gentlemen desirous to glean information on such subjects from the English with whom they meet, and that the want of facility on the part of the latter in speaking the languages of the country impedes the gratification of a desire so much to be encouraged and commended.

Lieutenant-colonel Sleeman, an officer who has spent a long life in India, and is considered an oriental scholar, writes:—"The

best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Mohammedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of life. A Mohammedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or as they call him, Boosalee Shena; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so, and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have, and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Mohammedan gentlemen of education upon the subject of the character of the governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people; the arts and sciences; the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the thousand other things which are subjects of every-day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my own ideas. But these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can, but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant; this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it. We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their sepoys and native officers about anything but arms, accoutrements, and drill, or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field; and as long as they are understood they care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrass-

ment to native princes on the most ordinary subjects of every day's interest in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspires us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speaking to them. We must learn their language better, or we must teach them our own, before we can venture to introduce among them those free institutions which would oblige us to meet them on equal terms at the bar, at the bench, and in the senate. Perhaps two of the best secular works that were ever written upon the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the duties of men in their relations with each other, are those of Imamod Deen, Ghuzzalee, and Nuscerod Deen, of Thons. Their idol was Plato, but their works are of a more practical character than his, and less dry than those of Aristotle."

Indophilus, so well known by his recent popular contributions to the diurnal press on subjects connected with India, observes as follows upon the efforts of the government to promote in that country the literature and science of Europe by public educational establishments, and the willingness to learn of certain portions of the natives, both Brahminical and Mohammedan:—"The first step taken by our government in native education was the foundation of the Mohammedan College at Calcutta, by Warren Hastings, in 1781, and of the Sanscrit College at Benares, by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792. The object was to make a favourable impression upon the natives by encouraging their literature, and to train moulvies and pundits to assist the European judges; but, as the literature and the law of the Mohammedans and Hindoos cannot be separated from their religion and morality, the entire *corpus* of these systems was taught in the new colleges. The next step had its origin in a voluntary movement of the Hindoo gentlemen and pundits of Calcutta to form an establishment 'for the education of their children, in a liberal manner, as practised by Europeans of condition.' Christianity was carefully excluded; but 'general duty to God' and the 'English system of morals' were comprehended in the plan. The government of the college was vested in a body of native managers, by whom the teachers were appointed and removed. The line taken by the Calcutta government, and the effect of it, will be seen from the following extract

from a letter from Sir E. H. East, the chief-justice, dated May 21, 1816:—

“When they were told that the government was advised to suspend any declaration in favour of their undertaking, from tender regard to their peculiar opinions, which a classical education after the English manner might trench upon, they answered very shrewdly, by stating their surprise that any English gentleman should imagine that they had any objection to a liberal education; that if they found anything in the course of it which they could not reconcile to their religious opinions, they were not bound to receive it; but still they should wish to be informed of everything that the English gentlemen learnt, and they would take that which they found good and liked best. Nothing can show more strongly the genuine feeling of the Hindoo mind than this clinging to their purpose under the failure of direct public encouragement in the first instance. Better information as to their real wishes, and accumulating proofs of the beneficial effects of an improved system of education among them, will, I trust, remove all prejudices on this subject from among ourselves, with some of whom they actually exist in a much stronger degree than among the Hindoos themselves.”

The importance of inculcating the truths of science upon the natives of India, is not confined to the advantages derivable to their own minds, and to their temporal condition; their whole character, moral and religious, is influenced, because of the essential connection between religion and science in their creeds. No people professing any form of Christianity could be influenced to a similar extent by education, literary or scientific.

It is sometimes made a matter of reproach to the government of India, the company in Leadenhall Street, and all who have had any power in India, that earlier efforts, more commensurate with the need of the people, and with the importance of the object, were not made to let the light of true science beam upon the mind of the higher classes. This reproach is unthinkingly made: the government had not the power to do as they pleased. Any step taken to teach science at variance with Hindoo and Mohammedan theories, would have been regarded by their professors as an underhand and treacherous attack upon their religious rights. The government, therefore, proceeded slowly and carefully, but erring on the whole by proceeding faster than the mind of India was able to bear, as is manifest by the outcry raised by a large party, notwithstanding the conviction felt by all Hindoo gentlemen, that some knowledge

of European science and literature is an indispensable requisite for government employment. A popular but anonymous writer put this subject in its true light when he said:—“We may feel some indulgence even for those who hesitated to give the sanction of the government to the experiment of the Hindoo college, when we recollect that the reaction of the less advanced portion of the native community has severely tried our strength after an interval of forty years, and that it would probably have nipped improvement in the bud if it had taken place in those early days when the state of the native mind and of our own power was much less mature. Is it a small thing that we strangers from the other side of the world, differing from the people of India in colour, manners, language, and religion, have obtained their confidence; that we are recognized by them as teachers of all truth, human and divine; and that they flock by thousands to our schools and colleges to receive such instruction as we are willing to offer? When Warren Hastings founded the Mohammedan college at Calcutta, the question was, whether the natives would allow us to have anything to do with the education of their children. After this starting-point had been secured, a natural craving arose in the native mind for education of a better sort than could be furnished by their own systems. If we had taken the initiative at this critical stage, a spirit of suspicion would have been arrayed against us; and when the pundits, who co-operated in the formation of the Hindoo college, afterwards discovered to their dismay that they had evoked a power beyond their control, and that they had barred out Christianity in vain, because the truths of physical science taught in their new seminary were subversive of the untruths woven into the substance of Hindooism, we should certainly have been charged with bad faith, and the storm which the native managers had to bear, as they best might, would have burst upon us, and upon the new system advocated by us. The spontaneous character of native improvement is the natural fruit and just reward of our consistent caution. The natives, left to the natural working of their own ingenious and speculative minds, became impatient at being left behind, and took the matter into their own hands. This is the sure guarantee of further progress. If Hastings, the elder Thomason, or Bentinek, had transgressed the limits prescribed by the circumstances of their respective periods, we should not now be in so advanced a position. The day of small things is to the day of great things as cause is to effect, and those who despise weak and timid beginnings only display their own

want of foresight. The influence of the existing government system of education upon the moral character and religious belief of the natives has been much discussed. The first result is the destruction of the Hindoo system in the minds of the pupils. It did not occur to the ancient Indian legislators, when they placed fetters on the human intellect, by binding up their false theories of physical science with their false religion, that the whole fabric might one day be brought to the ground by the removal of the imported material. There is no subject of conversion so hopeless as a Hindoo who has been taught according to the perfect manner of the law of his fathers. There is no morality so bad as the sanctification of every evil propensity of our nature, and its being recommended by supposed divine example; all which the Hindoo religion involves. The youth of India are not only rescued from this state by the government system of education, but they are advanced one stage further: they are taught to think, and their thoughts are inclined towards Christianity by a literature which has grown up under its influence, which always assumes its truth, and is deeply imbued with its spirit. A new standard of morality is presented to them. 'The law is a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ;' and the study of the writings of Bacon, Milton, Addison, Johnson, and Locke, establishes this 'law' in their minds. It does not give the effectual motive which a firm belief in Christianity would impart; but it creates a conscience which will continually act upon them. According to the old unmitigated native system, the Mohammedans regard us as infidel usurpers of some of the finest realms of Islam, and the Hindoos as impure outcasts, with whom no communion ought to be held; and the sole idea of improvement of both classes is to sweep us off the face of the earth. The effect of a training in European learning is to give an entirely new turn to the native mind. The young men educated in this manner cease to strive after independence according to the original native model, and aim at improving their institutions according to English ideas."

Viewed as this writer presents the subject, the importance of diffusing a knowledge of western science in India may be regarded as important to ourselves, and bearing upon the religious future of that country in a manner the most salutary; but the author of the quotation just made, places too much reliance upon the *immediate* benefits of correct scientific attainments, upon the loyalty of the Hindoo gentry, and also upon the prospect of evangelising the country. Many of those

most indebted to the Anglo-Indian colleges have proved themselves no less treasonable than the most inveterate devotees of Siva, or the most virulent followers of Mohammed. The success of true science in shaking the minds of such men loose from the influence of Brahminism and Islamism, is indisputable, but the prejudices of their former creed long linger about their hearts, as a disagreeable odour hanging upon the vessel that has been cleansed from the matter which produced it. In giving up the theories of the Hindoo Pantheon, they obeyed the command of science, plainly and authoritatively spoken, but the teacher, although a true one, instructs only within a limited province, and while it sweeps away boldly the theogonies of the heathen, its instructions as to the true God are rather to be inferentially deduced. As every phase and form of truth has its own determinate influence, and its measure of affinity to the whole region of the true, our duty is to preserve in teaching, as we best may, truth in all its phenomena, giving to the precise and beautiful, in art and science, their own useful and ennobling place. This done with fidelity, sooner or later the beneficial results to India and to the empire will be seen, and rich fruit will be gathered where good seed has been sown.

Even in the arts European instruction cannot fail to impress the mind of the Indian people with ideas of our power, and of our moral power. Whatever be the delicacy of manipulation for which the Indian workman is famed, and however in his slow processes he arrives at a degree of perfection in the departments of manufacture for which he has obtained celebrity, the appliances used by Europeans, and the results produced, cannot but shape the mind of the native from his old usages, and his old trains of thought, and consequently, to some extent from his old beliefs. The wonderful power of the steam engine in manufactures, in navigation, and in locomotion, has already produced such effects, and laid the foundation for far more decisive influences of the same kind. The electric telegraph had scarcely been introduced in India, when it suggested to the natives the certain ultimate victory of a people thus possessed of such marvellous resources of scientific, or, as the more ignorant regarded it, magic power. One of the results of these indications of superior wisdom, and a scientific knowledge beyond that contained in the sacred books of both Brahmins and Mohammedans, was to inflame the fanaticism of the Brahmins, priests, fakeers, and other interested religionists. They foresaw that those who wielded such extraordinary agencies, and proved the exist-

ence of laws and resources of nature unknown to the gods and to Mohammed, must revolutionize the religion of both, and eventually cause them to vanish before superior intelligence and power. Hence the maddened reaction of recent years in favour of blind and relentless religious bigotry among all concerned in supporting the old order of things. The teaching of the arts was thus expressed by Lord William Bentinck:—"Every indigo

and coffee plantation, the Gloucester mills, the works of every description that are moved by steam, the iron foundries, the coal mines, worked after European fashion, and the other great establishments that we see around us in Calcutta, are so many great schools of instruction, the founders of which are the real improvers of the country; it is from the same sources that we must expect other schoolmasters of new and improved industry."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA.

THE social condition of India, both ancient and modern, is a subject deeply interesting and important. The ancient social state of that country is full of philosophic interest to the antiquarian and the scholar, and its present state proposes to the statesman and the Christian the most difficult problems, and opens up to them the most serious and eventful prospects. Although employed by one of the heartiest friends of India, the following language can hardly be regarded as exaggerated:—"India is wedged into the heart of Asia, with the Mohammedan regions on one side, the Buddhist on another, and the ocean open to us on the third. She is rich in actual wealth, and still richer in undeveloped resources. The existing revenue of British India alone is £30,000,000, two-thirds of which are derived from the unimproved rent of land; and, with good laws well administered, with an extensive settlement of Europeans to show what use may be made of the wonderful powers of the soil and climate, and with the help of railways, irrigation, and other productive works, the £30,000,000 will soon become £60,000,000. The people of this great continent are intelligent, thoughtful, imaginative, fond of discussion, and from the most ancient times learning and learned men have been held in esteem among them. They had epic and dramatic poems of considerable merit, and systems of philosophy of extraordinary ingenuity and subtlety, at a time when our ancestors were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and were entirely destitute of literature. We received from India, through the Arabs, our beautiful system of decimal notation. The fables known to the Western world as those of *Æsop* or *Pilpay* were discovered, when Sanscrit began to be studied, to have had their origin in the *Hitopadesa*. Unlike the Chinese, who are remarkable for their indifference to a future

state, the Indians are strongly impressed with the religious principle. Long before the Christian era the old stem of Hindooism threw off a puritan-quietist shoot, which, originating in the district of Bahar, overspread Asia from Kamschatka to Sweden,* and from the Frozen Ocean to the great Southern Archipelago, until it included a larger portion of the human race than any other religion. Throughout this vast region the ancient vernacular language of Bahar, under the name of Pali, is either fully established as the sacred language, or has left traces which are easily recognised in local religious phrasology. If the resources of this great central Asiatic country are properly developed, so that she may acquire the strength which properly belongs to her; and if education, and free discussion, and Christianity, are firmly established there, a change will be wrought throughout the continent and islands of Asia, the blessings of which cannot be described by any human pen."

Of the early social life of India little is known, except as scattered fragments of the classics unfold it, beyond what the *Vedas* and the Institutions of Menu afford. Whatever the early civilization of the Hindoos, they did not possess the genius of history. Mr. Mill makes this a ground for underrating their civilization, and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson reproves too harshly the historian for making this deficiency a test. It is beyond doubt proof of an imperfect civilization, nor is it the less so that all Asiatic nations are characterized by the same defect. This Gibbon has correctly and eloquently shown. Sir John Malcolm complains of the imperfection and inaccuracy of Persian annals; and some of the earliest historical writers among the Greeks make a similar complaint in their day, although it is obvious they were much in-

* The Swedish Lapps are more than half Buddhists.

debted to Persian records and the living testimony of persons in the service of Persia for what they knew of India. From what can be gathered of ancient life in India from the Sanscrit records made available to us either by translation or the accounts given from them by Sanscrit scholars, and from the notices of India in the classics, it may be inferred that the India of to-day is identical with the India of remote antiquity, except so far as modern European influence has effected changes. But notwithstanding that so much has been altered in the condition of India and its government by successive invasions, Mohammedan and European, the multitudinous population can faithfully refuse to adopt the trite admission of other peoples—

“O tempora mutantur, et mutamur cum illos!”

Dr. Hayman Wilson, who is probably better acquainted with India of the olden time than any other man, says that such is the permanent character of oriental, and more especially Hindoo customs, that the India of to-day reveals to us what it was in the remotest period of which we have any record.

The aboriginal inhabitants were probably of the same race with the ancient Ethiopians, for both are frequently referred to as one people in ancient writings. The race which we call *Hindoos* called themselves in the remotest periods *Arryans*; and the earliest Arryan writings refer to the aborigines in terms which show a strong natural distaste, pride of race, and some religious difference, but this last is not so prominent as the social and tribal antipathy. There are indications also of great difference in the complexion of the invaders and the invaded: the latter being dark, as the natives of India now generally are, especially in the south, the higher classes of the former fair, and the other classes of various degrees of colour. It is obvious that the race has received a much deeper tint after so many ages of exposure to the burning climate of India. So much is this the case, that the Brahmins, who, according to the glimpses given of them in early writings, were fair, are now in Southern India blacker than the Egyptians.

The first settlers were driven by the Hindoo incursions to the south, and their descendants in the Deccan, in the hill country, and on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, are black. Early references to the complexions of the Arryans represent the Brahmins as fair, the warrior class brown, the trading class yellow, and the servile class black. This description has been generally considered figurative, as indicative of the relative social dignity and qualities of the

respective classes; but even if it be so, the estimate in which colour was held is sufficiently indicated. It is probable, however, that the description was intended literally. The ecclesiastical caste, less exposed to climate, and having come from a northern latitude, would be naturally fair; the military class would be bronzed by the exposure to the elements attendant upon their profession; the trading classes would, partly from exposure in cities, and partly from their peculiar occupations when indoors, receive a tint less russet than the warriors, but sallow, and unlike the complexion of those of higher-class habits, having superior and cooler dwellings, and more frequently having recourse to ablutions; the servile class would probably be composed of another race, coming in with the invaders, and acting under their orders, and mingled with the aborigines, who were despised for their colour, as well as for other peculiarities deemed attributes of inferiority.

The races of the invaded and the invaders are still somewhat defined by the languages. Southern India, which, by the pure Hindoo, is not considered holy ground, is inhabited by people speaking languages not of the Arryan stock; and although many in Southern India to whom these tongues are vernacular are of Arryan origin, yet the fact of those dialects of an ancient language being the vulgar tongues of these regions shows the predominating influence of a race or races not Arryan; whereas the prevalence north of the line, to the south of which these dialects are spoken, of languages of Sanscrit origin proves the prevalence of the descendants of the Arryan invaders and conquerors. Even now the contempt of the Hindoo or Arryan people for the tribes which are believed to have another origin, and where these tribes have not mingled with the dominant race, is intense. Thus, in the early social life of ancient India the bitterness of alien races existed as intensely as has been exhibited between Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Goth and Slave, Saxon and Celt.

The Gonds, Bheels, Coolies, hill-men of Boglipoore, and Kookies of Chittagong, are, with some minor tribes, considered aboriginal; and if their present condition be any evidence of what it was when the Arryans entered India, they must have been barbarous even in the eyes of their invaders.

The religious element must always be important in the social condition of a people. With the exception of the Jews, there probably never existed any who introduced their religious peculiarities so prominently in the everyday affairs of life as the people of Hindostan whether Brahmins, Buddhists, or Mo-

hammedans. The Jews, indeed, although rigidly maintaining their religious observances, did not intrude them upon occasions naturally and conventionally unsuitable; but the Brahminical creed fills everything, and is felt everywhere, unpleasantly affecting strangers, like a tainted atmosphere. This was the case in the earliest ages of which we have note. In war or peace, in the drama or the tale, in politics and in private life, the gods, in all their absurdities of character and alleged operations, are introduced. An element of perverted devotion runs through all the social as well as individual being of India. The most impure and silly creatures of the imagination were adored, and a social existence attributed to the gods, which, in proportion as man admired, he must become intellectually and morally degraded. Not only are these gods everywhere, and all objects of nature themselves partaking of the divine, but one cannot walk in a solitary path by the river, or wander in the trackless woods, without the feeling that he may chance to put his foot upon, or stumble against, a deity. A little red paint smeared over a rock, or stone, a lump of clay, or a stump of a tree, makes a god of it, if the pigment be only applied in an orthodox manner. Before this the warrior and the noble bow, and the poor fall prostrate in adoration. Yet, with all this sameness of character in making the religious element appear everywhere, there is a wide diversity of creed and objects of adoration. "Any monster, any figure partly brutal, any multiplicity of heads and hands in the object adored, indicate a Brahminical place of worship. The presence of umbrella-covered pyramids, or semi-globes, and of plain human figures sitting cross-legged, or standing in a meditative posture, point out the temple or excavation of a Buddhist; the twenty-four saintly figures without the pyramid announce a temple of the Jain." Ever since the foundation of the Buddhist and Jain religions this variety has existed, and yet the sameness of social character connected with it has been maintained. The Brahmins have changed much in the objects and in the ceremonies of divine worship, new gods and idols having been adopted with a political time-serving which speaks much against the sincerity of the devotees, yet the genius of Brahminism has been *semper eadem*. The rise and progress of Buddhism compelled the Brahmins to adapt themselves to the ecclesiastical exigencies of the times; the suppression of the rites of the Buddhists and Jains by violence, strangely wrought similar phenomena of change. It was necessary for the Brahmins to conciliate races and

parties who were attached to gods of their own, invented by themselves, or by some one for them, who was inventive in the line of god manufacturing. The worship of Rama and Krishnu, of Siva and Bhavani, was in this way intercalated among the devotions of more ancient deities. Brahminism from that date deteriorated; it gradually became less and less pure speculatively, and the unfavourable social influences of the system proceeded, *pari passu*, with the speculative decline. "Their religious rites have, in fact, degenerated to mere incantations, all directed to the same end, through the efficacy of a spell, and the requisite ceremonies have become so numerous and intricate, that no votary could accomplish them, were he to devote day and night to their performance."*

The existence of various tribes who all claim to be of Arryan stock would indicate that the original invaders were a federation of distinct tribes, or else that different portions of them mingled more or less with the aborigines, forming for their descendants distinctive personal and social characteristics. The placid but not unwarlike native of the south differs much from the timid Bengalee; and how unlike to either are the turbulent, sanguinary, and predatory Mahrattas. Between the Nerbuddah and the Indus almost all assume to be descendants of nobles or military chiefs, and are consequently called *Rajpoots* or *Rajwars*. These, governed by petty chiefs, waged, from time immemorial, savage warfare upon one another; their affinity of race seemed to inflame their mutual aggressive propensities. Mr. Walter Hamilton affirmed nearly forty years ago "that any general similitude of manners existed before the Mohammedan invasion is very doubtful, but certainly there are in modern times strong shades of difference in the character of the Hindoos dispersed over the several provinces." That there is some difference of character is obvious; but had Mr. Hamilton said creed, custom, race, and physical power, instead of character, he would have better expressed himself, for, notwithstanding the diversities in these respects, there is a strange identity of essential character among all the natives of British India. This moral monotone may be recognised throughout all the varieties of men and manners presented, although in "travelling through Hindostan, from Cape Comorin, up the Carnatic, the Deccan, and through Bengal, to Cashmere, an extent of about twenty-five degrees of latitude, under many general points of resemblance, a very great variety of habits, languages, and religious observances is perceptible—nearly as great as a native of

Hindostan and Adjacent Countries.

India would find were he journeying from Gibraltar to St. Petersburg."* This seems to have been the state of things which Alexander the Great found existing within the limits of India whither he carried his arms; and the knowledge subsequently obtained by the Greeks, during the occupation of portions of North-western India by that people, confirmed the accounts afforded by the *savans* and *literati* who accompanied the imperial conqueror. Thus India, past and present, is connected by the unchanged character of the people. New religions have sprung up, and declined; new dialects have grown into existence; new conquerors have invaded the fair land; rivers have changed their courses; earthquakes have swallowed up or cast down once renowned cities; the sea washes where once the rice-field bloomed; and the salt marsh or the strand are seen where erst

"Old Ocean made his melancholy moan:"

but the people are like the people of the past; there is a psychological identity between the early Arryan disciples of the *Vedas*, and the modern worshippers of new gods and practisers of magical incantations. Far less enlightened, and less moral than the pupils of Menu, yet, amidst their grovelling superstitions, multiplied castes, and contact with Western civilization, they are the same in disposition, sympathy, tastes, capacities, and in the genius of their customs and social life.

In looking back to the India of the Arryan invaders, the most striking differences between the condition of the people then and the people now are those of different religious opinions and principles operating upon social institutions. Buddhism, Jainism, and Mohammedanism, were of course then unknown, and Christianity had not yet shed its radiance upon the gloom of human grief; the Day-star had not visited the overshadowed world. As shown in the chapter on the religions of India, monotheism, gradually undermined by a philosophic yet simple polytheism, prevailed, but men were not subject to the horrid rites which the gods, afterwards invented or received by the people, are believed to enjoin. The early life of Arryan India was simpler, purer, and more hopeful of the future, although the germs of religious corruption existed, which afterwards produced the deadly upas of Brahminical idolatry and superstition.

The two earliest evils that present themselves to the investigator of Arryan social life, are invidiousness of race and the institution of caste. With regard to the former, the language which betrays its existence is often suggestive of some exciting cause—such

* *India*. By Walter Hamilton.

as the like feeling on the part of the aborigines, their resistance to the powerful settlement of the immigrants, or the practice of treacherous and cruel modes of warfare. There is in the devotional expression of the Arryans an aggrieved tone; they supplicate the Almighty as those who required the interposition of his justice, and felt that their cause was righteous. This of course would not *prove* that the aborigines gave just cause for the complaints made to Heaven against them, for we are familiar in the West with the prayers and *Te Deum*, where those who offer the petition or chant the triumph know that their cause is selfish and unjust. Still a very peculiar feeling breathes through the Arryan prayers against the native enemy, which shows either that conciliation had been tried in vain, that the settlement of the new race was designed to be a legitimate occupation of lands uncultivated and unsettled, without injury to those who had settled other portions, or else that the Arryan race were arrogant, grasping, and unjust, unable to comprehend the difference between *meum* and *tuum* beyond the limits of their own consanguinity, and withal malignant, even at the foot of the throne of Him whom they believed to be clement and benevolent.

The literature of a people will always reveal their social condition. In an early chapter the literature of India, ancient and modern, has been noticed. That which has come down to us is chiefly religious; and except so far as the *Vedas* disclose the existence of purer opinions, however far back we trace the social history of the country, the moral character of the compositions proves a low moral and social condition.

The drama in every country bespeaks the character of the people. All races may be tested by their amusements. The phrase *in vino veritas* may obtain a larger signification than that in which it is employed: the exhilaration of any pleasure, as well as of the cup, reveals our true nature. The Hindoo drama is intensely national. Its productions range over a long period of time; but those of later periods are altogether inferior to those of earlier times, deterioration attending most things worth cultivating in India. Whether this arises from the peculiar characteristics of the Indian mind, or is the result of the deadening and repressive influence of the Hindoo religion, is a problem yet to be solved. The following description of the drama by Mrs. Spiers gives one a glimpse into the social tone of the people which is very instructive:—"The greater part of each play is written in Sanscrit, although Sanscrit has ceased to be a living language; and thus, like the Latin

plays annually represented at Westminster in the present day, they were imperfectly understood by the audience, and were wanting in dramatic effect. All the droll parts were, however, given in the language of common life, and the puns and jokes will have been universally appreciated. The general rule is to make only the great people talk Sanscrit, and to allow buffoons and women (*sic*) to discourse in the vernacular.*

One of the most interesting Hindoo plays is *Sakoontala*, which has been translated by Mr. Monier Williams. Some of the passages are not only beautiful in a literary, but in a moral sense. A king who had reached the goal of his ambition, finds that elevated station does not exempt him from trouble, and often creates the necessity for taking new paths through the valley of tribulation. He thus moralises upon his experience:—

“’Tis a fond thought that to attain the end
And object of ambition is to rest.
Success doth only mitigate the fever
Of anxious expectation; soon the fear
Of losing what we have, the constant care
Of guarding it, doth weary. Ceaseless toil
Must be the lot of him who with his hands
Supports the canopy that shields his subjects.”

In the same piece occurs a passage which shows that the higher ranks in ancient India had “an ear for sweetest harmonies.” There is a lovely pathos in the breathing of these stanzas, which receives even a charm from the superstition with which it blends.

“Not seldom in our hours of ease,
When thought is still, the sight of some fair form,
Or mournful fall of music, breathing low,
Will stir strange fancies, thrilling all the soul
With a mysterious sadness, and a sense
Of vague yet earnest longing. Can it be
That the dim memory of events long past,
Or friendships formed in other states of being,
Flits like a passing shadow o’er the spirit?”

Another of these plays is called the *Toy Cart*, and Mrs. Spiers has justly observed of it, that “it gives pictures of daily life in India probably before the Christian era.” The subject of it does not speak well for life in India in those days. The hero of the plot loves a courtesan, whose character seems no bar to her holding a high place in society, living in sumptuous splendour. To her is attributed various virtues which are thought to be compatible with her obscene profession, reminding one of an ejaculation elsewhere addressed to Indrya, “Thine inebriety is most intense, nevertheless, thy acts are most beneficent!” The parts of other personages make manifest that dissipation in its more revolting forms was not only common in Hindoo life,

but complacently tolerated. This play also gives validity to the claims made for the Arryan natives of Hindostan, as to literary taste; the imagery, however, is ornate and ambitious for the most part. In the fifth act, there is a description in which, mingled with language of that character, are some beautiful pictures of an Indian storm:—

“The purple cloud
Rolls stately on, girt by the golden lightning;
From the dark womb in rapid fall descend
The silvery drops, and glittering in the gleam
Shot from the lightning, bright and fitful, sparkle
Like a rich fringe rent from the robe of heaven.
The firmament is filled with scattered clouds;
And as they fly before the wind, their forms,
As in a picture, image various shapes,—
The semblances of storks and soaring swans,
Of dolphins, and the monster of the deep,
Of dragons vast, and pinnacles, and towers.”

The *Mudra Rakshasa* is considered by critics in Indian literature as a good specimen of the humour which occasionally pervades Indian compositions, but which is certainly not a prominent feature of Indian character. The following passage from this play affords an instructive glance at the social condition of a by-gone age, which would apply to the native states of the peninsula in the present day.

SCENE:—Before RAKSHASA’S house.

Enter VIRADHA, an agent of RAKSHASA’S, disguised as a snake-catcher.

Viradha. Those who are skilled in charms and potent signs may handle fearlessly the fiercest snakes.

Passenger. Hola! what and who are you?

Viradha. A snake-catcher, your honour; my name is Jirnavisha. What say you, you would touch my snakes? what may your profession be, pray? oh, I see, a servant of the prince,—you had better not meddle with snakes. A snake-catcher unskilled in charms and antidotes, a man mounted on a furious elephant without a goad, and a servant of the king appointed to a high station, and proud of his success; these three are on the eve of destruction. Oh! he is off.

Second Passenger. What have you got in your basket, fellow?

Viradha. Tame snakes, your honour; by which I get my living. Would you wish to see them? I will exhibit them here, in the court of this house, as this is not a convenient spot.

Second Passenger. This, you blockhead, is the house of Rakshasa, the prince’s minister; there is no admittance for us here.

Viradha. Then go your way, sir; by the authority of my occupation I shall make bold to enter. So,—I have got rid of him.*

The glimpses afforded to us in the classics of the ancient social condition of India are on the whole numerous, although of course incomplete; they are, however, sufficient to confirm the general opinion, that notwithstanding the great diversity of creed and

* *Life in Ancient India.*

* *Life in Ancient India.* By Mrs. Spiers.

climate, and some diversity of race, he who sees the natives of India in the present generation, contemplates the India of ages long past, so far as the natural temperament of the people, and the genius of their social life, are concerned. Dr. Schwanbeck* in his *Megasthenis Indica*, has done much to recall attention to those portions of Greek literature in which India is referred to, and which have been so much neglected by the learned. The introduction to the doctor's treatise very ably discusses the knowledge which the Greeks possessed of India, previous to the time of Megasthenes, and comments upon the notices contained in the works of writers after him, down to the time of Albertus Magnus. The *Index rerum Memorabilium*, which concludes Dr. Schwanbeck's book, is extremely valuable to the student of India as known to the ancients; the space available to the author of this History forbids his minutely discussing this interesting topic. It is to the classics that we are indebted for any key we possess to the broken labyrinth of Indian history.

Sir W. Jones was not only a superior Sanscrit, but also a good classical scholar. In the year 1780, he encountered in his Sanscrit studies the names or name Chandragupta, Chadragupta, Chandra Gupta; he found also in the Greek and Latin writers references to an Indian king under various names, suggestive of this Sanscrit appellation, and concluding that the same person was referred to, he was enabled to fix the period of his reign, and thus open up a chronological clue to the history of India. By comparing the Sanscrit records with Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, and Athenæus, no doubt was left in his mind as to the identity of the distinguished ruler to whom each referred, and it became possible, and in some instances easy, to fix the date of his rule. In another chapter devoted to the historical portion of this work, the age of Chandragupta will be noticed; it is here only necessary to point out that by this identification of the same person in Sanscrit and Greek writings, a clue is given not only to the chronology of Indian history, but to a recognition of the manners, custom, and social life of the people, at particular intervals in remote ages.

The first allusion to India in the classics is in Homer,† in the introduction of the *Odyssey*, where, under the term Ethiopians, the Indians are undoubtedly referred to. Under this name the aboriginal inhabitants of India are

designated by various early writers, such as Scylax, Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Ctesias, and it is probable that the aborigines of India, and the Ethiopians proper, were the same race. In Virgil allusions are made to the Indians in terms which afford little or no light as to their habits. Virgil, in the *Georgics*, sings of the Gangarides as having been vanquished by Augustus, which was not historically true.* The same poet refers to the great rivers† of India, and to some of the characteristic productions of the country.‡ Horace affords but little brighter glimpses than Virgil of the habits of the Indians. He, however, like Virgil, refers to the characteristic productions of the country.§ He classes them with the tribes and people remote from the Romans, such as Medes and Scythians, and describes them as marvelling at the grandeur and greatness of Augustus.|| In describing the day of glory about to shine upon the world, he describes the Indians as *superbi nuper*.¶ The Roman emperor is described as leading in triumphal pomp the Seres and the Indi, *subjectos Orientis orae*.**

Thus very little aid is given to the research of the scholar by the classics, as to the actual early Indian life, unless so far as the writers whose knowledge was based upon the experience gathered by the armies of Alexander, and the garrisons that remained after the conqueror himself retired from the scene.

There are legends extant which furnish some, but only few, means of conjecture as to the hearts and homes of the people previous to the invasion of Darius. There are four of these which connect ancient India with the west. The most ancient is the legend of Semiramis, who is represented as having invaded the East 1978 years before Christ. The legend of Rameses Sesostrius, according to Langlet, dates B.C. 1618, and according to Dr. Hales, B.C. 1308. The legend of Dionysius, 1457 B.C.; the legend of Heracles, 1300 B.C. The most interesting of these legends is that of Dionysius or Bacchus, in which, under the name of *Parashri*, he is identified with India, which country, according to the legend, he conquered. The mythological story of Dionysius is sufficiently known from other sources not to require relation here. According to the myth, he not only vanquished the Indians, who are described as fierce tribes, but he taught them civilization, and is especially identified with their knowledge of the use of the grape. The represen-

* *Megasthenis Indica: fragmenta collegit, commentationem et indices addidit.* E. Schwanbeck, Ph. D. Bonnæ, MDCCCXVI.

† *Odyssey*, book i., 23d and 24th lines.

* *Georgics* III. 27.

† *Ibid.* II. 138; *Æneid*, ix. 81.

‡ *Georgics* I. 57; II. 116—122.

§ *Carm. Sæculare*, I. 31. || *Ibid.* IV. 14—42.

¶ *Ibid.* 56.

** *Ibid.* I. 12—56.

tations made of the travels and conquests of the god are varied. According to Arrian, he founded the city of Nysa on the Cophen, near Cabul, which opened its gates so freely to Alexander the Great, and where his troops are represented as having abandoned themselves to riotous enjoyments, as will be shown in a future chapter on the history of the Macedonian's conquests in India. According to the Alexandrine writers, Nysa was the confines of the god's Indian invasion: Euripides limits his travels to the bounds of the Bactrian empire:—

"Leaving the Lydian's gold-abounding fields,
The Phrygian's, and the Persian's sun-struck plains,
The Bactrian walls, and Media's rugged land,
I came to Araby the Blessed, and all
The coast of Asia, where it stretches out
Along the briny sea, where many Greeks,
Mixed with barbarians, dwell in fair-towered towns.
At length, arrived in Greece, I here am come,
That by my dances and my solemn rites
I may assert my high divinity."

The general tradition was that all India fell before the divine invader:—

"Where art thou, Conqueror, before whom fell
The jewelled kings of Ind, when the strong swell
Of thy great multitudes came on them, and
Thou hadst thy thyrsus in thy red right hand,
Shaking it over them, till every soul
Grew faint as with wild lightning?"

These lines give expression to the classic idea of Bacchus in connexion with India. Dr. Croly has conveyed it in a few lines, written on an antique head of Bacchus, the stanzas are entitled *The Education of Bacchus*:—

"I had a vision!—"Twas an Indian vale,
Whose sides were all with rosy thickets crowned,
That never felt the biting winter gale.
And soon was heard a most delicious sound;
And to its music danced a nymph embrowned,
Leading a lion in a silken twine,
That with his yellow mane would sweep the ground,
Then on his rider fawn—a being divine;
While on his foaming lips a nymph shower'd purple wine."

If these legends have any real basis, then it would follow that, however obscured by myth the stories may be, ancient India had a knowledge of the civilization, such as it was, of more Western Asia, of Egypt, and of Eastern Europe; and that whatever the peculiarities of the aborigines of India, and their Arryan conquerors, the social life of that country, and of the more western nations, was not then so greatly diverse. Probably this is so, and the changes which have occurred in the more western regions have placed the present social life of the East and West so widely apart. The language of a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, will in such circumstances bear peculiar significance:—"The genius of

the Indian people is against the production of such records as books and manuscripts. Thoroughly unpractical, if the natural soul of the south Arryan race will force itself out in thought and feeling, the result will not be that of history and truthful annals, but of such epics as the *Rama Yana*, and the *Maha Bharat*, as vast in their extent as they are gigantic in their fancies and imaginings. Hence it is that the India of the past must be gathered from the India of the present; and that taking our stand on the immutability of Indian civilization, we must rest satisfied that what we now see existed in unaltered uniformity thousands of years ago.

"Keeping in view this fact, the present aspect of Indian civilization may be considered philosophically with more ease, however difficult it may be to trace the original causes by which that type of civilization was produced. Even with regard to ourselves, we are perhaps taking back to the banks of the Ganges a system of civilization, the first germs of which were originally borrowed from them."

Possibly the higher classes in British India are more like their prototypes in ancient India, than the poorer ranks resemble the lower orders of twenty centuries ago. There are many circumstances to justify such a supposition. The chiefs and higher orders in the native states seem, in all respects, to resemble those of whom we read in remote Indian antiquity. It is impossible but that some influence, the result of the Mohammedan invasion, modern education, the press, and the new ideas of science, which even India has not been able to shut out, has modified the customs of those who reside under British dominion, and also those of the Mohammedan chiefs. Yet when it is considered how little even the educated natives hold of intimate intercourse with Europeans, it will not be deemed surprising that so little light has fallen upon even this region of the native mind. There are a great many Europeans resident in India who do not understand any of the vernacular languages, and there are few who could travel amongst the natives from the apex of the peninsula to the Himalayas without requiring interpreters in most of the lingual divisions of the country. Some years previous to the mutiny of 1857, there appeared a great desire on the part of the respectable natives to promote an English education in colleges and schools, established partly by government, and partly by native support; but the imprudent zeal of many Europeans to make the teaching of Christianity in such schools a *sine quâ non*, roused the jealousy and alarm of the Brahmins, so

that many wealthy native promoters of an education which would extend the knowledge of English, and open up better means of intercourse between the two races, became opposed to the work they had at first espoused. Major Philips, who was commissary of ordnance at Cawnpore, gave, in 1858, the following account of his success in establishing Christian schools for natives:—"When I arrived at Cawnpore, in 1852, to take charge of the arsenal at that place, I found myself solicited by both Hindoos and Mussulmans to re-establish a school which should provide for the care and education of children while their parents were engaged in magazine duties. I told the applicants candidly,—'You come to me to aid your children to obtain knowledge. I shall be most happy to do so; but I wish you to consider that 'knowledge is power,' and I cannot aid you to obtain that power without providing the only safeguard for its proper use. As a Christian, I know the only safeguard is to be found in the teaching of God's book; therefore, if you desire my aid, the school must be opened with the reading of one chapter of the Bible daily.' It was so opened, and it thrived steadily; for, though at first only about forty came, the attendance rose to as high as seventy-seven boys in numbers, while the school held on, as I believe usually, during the three years of my charge at Cawnpore. There were annually one hundred and eighty-one Hindoos and Mussulmans in the Cawnpore magazine establishment, and, possibly, seventy-seven was a good proportion of children received into tuition under the principle set forth."

The very success of such proceedings created disaffection. The better class of natives, and those engaged in the English military service in even humble situations often belonged to that class, might at first accept the terms offered in such cases as the above; but they would be sure to repent of their concession under the influence of their own religious teachers; and a re-action would be set up in their minds, causing suspicion of the motives of the English, and a bitter animosity to them. A very considerable number of British in India, especially ministers of religion, urged upon the East India Company pressing, and even angrily, the duty of providing Christian teaching for the people, but more especially those in their employment. When the mutiny broke out this pressure increased both in India and at home, and measures were proposed to the company, which, if attempted, would lead to the loss of India, as certainly as an attempt on the part of the court and parliament to esta-

lish the Roman Catholic religion in Great Britain would lead to a revolution. The company was always willing to provide religious instruction for such of their servants as professed the Christian religion, but this did not satisfy those who believed that it was the duty of governments to instruct communities in religion, and who held as a consequence, that no education should be imparted unless religious instruction accompanied it. After the breaking out of the mutiny, and while an agitation prevailed in England on this question, the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh demanded of the court of directors increased facilities for spreading the Christian religion. The tone of the memorial was calculated to commit the company to a course which would inevitably lead to resistance on the part of the people of India. The following reply of the honourable the court of directors expresses the true policy to be observed in the matter:—"The court must decline to enter on a discussion of the questions brought forward in the memorial, but they command me to assure the memorialists that they have never failed to take such measures as have seemed to them requisite for securing the means and opportunities of religious teaching for such of their servants as profess the Christian religion. As regards the efforts of missionaries for the conversion of the natives to Christianity, free scope has been afforded to their labours, and the court are not aware that any hindrances capable of removal by government exist in the way of the reception of the gospel by those of the natives who come under the teaching of the missionaries."

Movements of the kind made by the presbytery are printed in the native journals, and commentaries are made pointing out to the chiefs and educated natives generally, that a conspiracy to destroy their religion exists in Great Britain; that the government is powerless before the will of the English people; and that it is time for those who love their religion, whether that of Brahma or Mohammed, to prepare to meet the change upon which the people of England have set their minds. The natives are also told by their newspapers to remember that the financial resources of India are to be employed for the forcible religious subjugation of the people who supply those resources; and such language as that of the Edinburgh memorialists, and of public religious meetings, and the religious newspapers of Great Britain, is produced and analysed, to show that it is not by moral suasion, but by government schools, and government schemes, that a large portion of the British people hope to subvert

the religions of Hindostan. Such articles are ably written, and fill with an incurable resentment to England the minds of the reading population of India. There can be no doubt that in this way a barrier has been raised between the higher classes of natives and the English, which confirms the former in their principles, prejudices, and customs. The extension of English education among the natives, without Christian instruction *by government*, is the remedy on the one hand; and the education of all officials in the languages of India is the remedy on the other against this social exclusiveness, which sets at defiance the desires and purposes of enlightened men to penetrate the dark circle of native society, with the civilization and opinion of the West, and more especially of England. In fact, every attempt to put down by law and force the customs of the people must alienate the higher classes as much as the lower, and in some respects even more. It is a sacred duty to interpose when the sacredness of human life is invaded, as in the case of suttee, infanticide, and immolations beneath the car of Juggernaut; but even this is difficult, as self-sacrifices cannot be prevented except when a part of some great public ceremonial, and scarcely even then. Yet in the face of so obvious a truth, it is demanded of the government by religious communities in India, and in England, to interfere with the customs of the people, whenever they are, in Christian opinion, immoral. Thus repeated appeals have been made to government to abolish polygamy, and to suppress the indecency of the ceremonials of heathenism. These requisitions amount to a demand for a holy war, a crusade against the whole people of India; which, if attempted, certain defeat and destruction to the British would in the long run be the result. The following graphic sketch of the horrors of Indian life, and of the situation of Englishmen exposed to a juxtaposition with it, from the pen of a missionary, at once illustrates the deep-seated customs of cruelty which pervade the social life of India, and the prevailing disposition on the part of religious Englishmen to urge upon the government the suppression, by the strong hand, of what the natives consider to be a part of their religion, and in defence of which, when they will defend nothing else, they will fight to the death:—

“There are thousands of my countrymen who hear of ghaut murders, and other horrors of India, but few realize them. Let me just give them an idea of the reality. At present I am residing near the Hooghly, not far from Calcutta, and scenes like the following constantly occur under our windows. For ex-

ample, about midnight we hear the noise of a number of natives going down to the river, there is a pause, then a slight muttering, and sometimes you may catch the sound of some one as if choking; it is truly a human being, a man who is having his mouth crammed with mud and dirty water by ‘his friends.’ ‘Hurree bol! hurree bol!’ they urge him to repeat, and when he appears dead they push his body into the stream, then, singing some horrid song, they depart. Soon the tide washes the body ashore, and then we hear the dogs and jackals quarrelling over their horrid meal, as they tear the corpse limb from limb. In the morning a few vultures are sitting around the spot, and nothing remains but a few bones to attest one murder out of hundreds, perhaps thousands, committed every night on the course of this dreadful river! Within one-eighth of a mile I have counted the remains of six human bodies, and it is said that when property is in question it is not always a sick man who is thus treated. Every one knows that the bodies of men, women, and children pass constantly to and fro in the river, and all this goes on under the shade of our mission church and schools, where one or two persons are spending their lives to rescue a few of the millions who are engaged in these abominations. Yet it is a fact that every discouragement has hitherto been thrown in the way of those who, putting aside questions of sect, &c., are labouring at least to moralize the brute creation around them.

“About a week since the *churrockpoojah* was celebrated here. I saw a man, with hooks thrust through his flesh, whirled round and round more than one hundred times, some twenty feet in the air, in the presence of thousands of men, women, and children; while other devotees, almost naked, and smeared over with dirt and ashes, were sitting in a group below, and a third was smeared with coloured earth, carrying a bottle in his hand, the personification of debauchery, and all this amid the noise of tom-toms and barbarous music, which made the beautiful landscape appear peopled, as it were, with a batch of devils from hell. Hundreds of bad women fringed the whole assembly, and all this not ten miles from Calcutta, and under the eyes of our Christian government.

“There are innumerable abominations too filthy to be mentioned; the worship of the Ling everywhere, and the one great fact that the idolatry of Bengal is merely the deification of vice. The Romans, with all their corruptions, built temples to Pax and Virtus, but the Hindoo deities are merely devils. Surely these are crimes which ought to be put

down by any government, and which should be suppressed merely as being hostile to the fundamental principles of authority in any state."

The utterance of such appeals to the law and to its ultimate resort, the sword, is transferred to the native journals, eagerly read by the native chiefs and Brahmins, and the word is sent round that their "holy religion is at stake," that "the infidels are making ready to destroy by force all that is sacred in the land, and which they inherited from their fathers." No wonder, if the better classes, who might otherwise be ready to embrace our civilization, meet the English as enemies, scowl upon them with the animosity of religious rancour, or smile upon them with that deceptive flattery of which the native is so capable, and which even serves to nurse his hatred. In such a state of things, how philosophical and how just the language of Indophilus:—"While our Indian government has, on the one hand, invited suspicion and encroachment by sensitive timidity, it has, on the other, prohibited self-immolation and infanticide, abolished slavery, withdrawn from open connection with idol temples, and permitted the remarriage of widows. It is time that our policy should be clearly defined. To rule with diligence, and to protect all classes of persons in the exercise of their lawful occupations, is the special duty of government; and no advantage can be gained by a confusion of functions. Our influence as a Christian government will chiefly depend upon our full and successful discharge of this duty. We cannot legislate for India as we should for a Christian country. Polygamy is an immoral and degrading practice, but nobody in his senses would propose to abolish polygamy by law in the present state of India. To prohibit the obscene representations with which the idol temples and cars are covered, would be to turn iconoclasts on a grand scale, and to attempt to put down the Hindoo religion by force. If we would avoid a violent reaction which would put an end to all hope of improvement, we must follow rather than anticipate public opinion; and to enlarge the knowledge of the natives, and to induce them to take correct views, is therefore the condition of all solid progress. In dealing with immoral and inhuman practices which arise from false religion, we must consider time and circumstances; but a great deal may be done consistently with a prudent regard to practical results. The courts and offices have always been closed on Sunday, and Lord Hardinge extended the observance to the public works; but, in addition to this, public business is suspended in deference to certain heathen festivals, the longest of which occurs

at the busiest time of the year. Every public servant should be allowed a certain number of working-days in the year for recreation, and the particular time at which each person takes his vacation should be a matter of mutual arrangement; but the public offices should, as a general rule, not be closed except for the necessary seventh day's rest. Caste is at the root of half the social evils of India. It is the life of Kulin polygamy; it promotes infanticide; elevates certain classes at the expense of others, whom it holds in a state of the most abject degradation, forbids the commonest offices of charity, and destroys all the kindly affections of our nature. The government ought not to interfere in an arbitrary manner with any man's caste; but let men of every caste and of no caste at all be equally admitted into the public service, and when they have been admitted let them be dealt with alike, and let not caste be pleaded as a ground of exemption from any duty. Caste would thus be placed on the same footing as drunkenness, which is not permitted to be pleaded as an excuse for any offence. If this system is faithfully acted upon, the school-bench,* the railway carriage, the public office, and the regimental company, in all of which the Christian, the Mohammedan, the Brahmin, and the Sudra will be found side by side, will in a few years extract the sting of caste, and reduce it to its proper level. These are, however, only the outward manifestations of a deep-seated disease, and if we would do effectual and permanent good, we must endeavour to operate upon the root of the evil. Many years ago some gentlemen at Calcutta formed a society to discourage cruel native practices, such as the exposure of the sick upon the banks of the Ganges, and the swinging on hooks fastened through the muscles of the back at the Charak Puja; but when they examined into the subject they found that these practices were so mixed up with the Hindoo religious system, and grew so directly out of it, that nothing short of the conversion of the natives to Christianity would effect any

* The following extract from the report of the director of public instruction under the Agra government, dated the 3rd of October, 1855, relates to the Saugor school:—"The fact of a Chumar heading the second Persian class with 282 marks out of 300, the second boy being a Rajpoot, the four next Brahmins, the seventh a Kaith, and the eighth a Mussulman, is deserving of note. The admission of the Chumar into the school had been violently opposed; some Brahmins left in consequence, but the committee remained firm, while the judicious treatment of the delicate question quieted the objecting parties. A similar case occurred a few months ago at the Budaon school, when the quiet determination of the authorities gained the day." The same thing had frequently occurred before, under the sanction of the committee of public instruction at Calcutta.

real moral change. The government has done all it can to put down Thuggee, but the seeds of Thuggee lie deep in the Hindoo religion; and the moment the repressive force is removed, Thuggee will spring up and flourish as much as ever. 'Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and his fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' The chief difficulties of our civil administration are traceable to the same source. What can be done for a people who dare not complain, who habitually disregard the truth, and who, when they are intrusted with power, too often deceive the government, and oppress their fellow-countrymen? We must, of course, do what we can, by paying well and punishing well, and administering cheap and simple justice; but the only effectual remedy is to begin at the foundation by educating the young and infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society. It is a great mistake to estimate the progress made towards the evangelization of India only by the number of persons baptized. If Christian truth is presented to the native mind by every available avenue, what is known in modern phrase as public opinion, will at last turn decidedly in its favour, and then a nation will be born in a day."

Of course the population of India, and more especially the high castes, would resist the purpose of Indophilus, as well as that expressed in the quotation from a missionary; they will do what *they* can to resist the infusion of Christianity, but the better classes of natives in India would not rebel on that account. They do distinguish between a desire on our part of "infusing as much Christian principle as possible into native society," and an attempt by the sword to revolutionize their whole social system, and put down what is opposed to Christian ethics. The religious test established by Major Phillips at Cawnpore was sufficient to provoke insurrection, and was unchristian, for it was a breach of faith. Such a test is not consistent with the 87th clause of the act 3 & 4 William IV., cap. 85, which is justly regarded by the natives of India as a charter of their liberties:—"And be it enacted that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said company." If this charter of Hindoo liberty continue to be broken, as the people of India believe that it is broken, our efforts to conciliate them to our government and civilization, will be in vain,

and all our efforts to open a free communication between the English and native mind unavailing.

On the 22nd of February, 1858, a voluminous paper, or rather series of papers, was presented by the home government to the public, illustrating the feelings of the company, and the views by which on this subject they had been regulated. It contains the copy of a despatch from the East India Company to the governor-general of India, dated the 21st of April, 1847, directing the issue of orders to all public officers, forbidding the support of missionary efforts, and of despatches from the government at Calcutta, with a series of papers referred to therein, in reply to such despatch. The original despatch of the directors of the company (21st of April, 1847) runs as follows:—"You (the governor-general of India) are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of that principle that it should be acted on by all our servants, civil and military. The government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should therefore be aware that while invested with public authority their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led by circumstances of recent occurrence to conclude that a different view of the subject is taken in India, and we therefore deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent." A good deal of the correspondence which follows the despatch refers to the best and most politic mode of acting on the above injunction of the company, but the details are barren of interest. A mass of papers follow, relating to the temple of Juggernaut, the withdrawal of the government donation thereto, and the placing of a military guard within or without the temple, and including lengthy memorials from local missionaries of various persuasions.

It is desirable that our readers, and the people of England, should be convinced that a stern struggle has commenced between the people of India in defence of their religious rights, and a class of Englishmen who seek to invade those rights from the best motives; and that this struggle tends to alienate from us the natives of India, and especially those classes upon whose intelligence reliance was placed for co-operation in the work of civilization. The grand barrier now to any melioration of the social condition

of India has been raised by ourselves by espousing the adoption of force, however modified, in the propagation of Christianity. The writer last quoted has eloquently and truly placed the whole matter in a true light in the following passage:—"Religion imparts a superhuman intensity to whatever it touches, and the natives of India are eminently a religious people. The whole strength of the empire has been put forth to subdue the revolt of a portion of our native army. What if our whole native army and armed police force, the native states, and the majority of the population, were hereafter to declare against us? Systematic violation of the rights of conscience is quite capable of producing such a result. The nationality of the natives of India is bound up with their religion; they concentrate in that one idea all the feelings with which Englishmen regard Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and every other guarantee of their civil and religious liberties.* To this some would reply:—"Nothing is further from our intention than compulsion; but let a class be established in every government seminary for Christian instruction, which those who choose may attend." This, however, is only another application of the same principle. The government would still usurp the office of the missionary. The produce of the taxes would still be employed in propagating one religion in preference to every other. Religious equality, which is the sacred principle of justice in connection with the highest interests of man, would still be as far removed as ever. There would also be a constant cause of irritation and antagonism in the same institutions between the conformists and nonconformists to the Christian teaching. The Hindoos in vain put forth the strong arm of power against the Buddhists, and the Mohammedans against the Hindoos; but the kingdom of Christ, which will be the last and greatest, will be established by the 'sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.' We could not hope to trample out the old faith in blood and ashes, as the Reformation was suppressed in Belgium—and what would be gained merely by

* "On the single occasion on which I had the happiness of seeing that holy and humble man, Dr. Carey, he expressed a decided opinion against the government taking any part in native education, and, as he was in a state of great bodily weakness (it was shortly before his death), the emphatic earnestness of his manner made a deep impression on me. He had, no doubt, deeply reflected upon the impossibility of the government giving Christian education, and upon the objections to its giving education without religion; and it must have occurred to him that even if the difficulty which attended the teaching of Christianity by the government had been got over, it would only have landed us in a state religion."

irritating? Does Ireland, where the experiment has been made under far more favourable circumstances than can be hoped for in India, offer any encouragement? And what would be the value of converts made under the influence of fear or favour? What security should we have that they had not merely added hypocrisy to their other vices? Our own religious divisions here in England, although far less than those which prevail in India, have made it impossible for us to agree upon any united plan of education; but from the collision of different opinions has been struck out the grant-in-aid system, which was extended to India in 1854. This is the true solution of the much vexed question of religious education. Far more may be done by encouraging private effort than by the direct action of the government. The English in India take a warm interest in the improvement of the natives; the English in England have at last awoken to a sense of their duty to India; and the natives themselves are not only craving for instruction, but are disposed to aid the good work by liberal contributions and endowments. The part which the government has to perform is the establishment of universities on the plan of the London University, and the Queen's University, in Ireland, for the purpose of testing and certifying the attainments of such students as may present themselves for examination; the providing instruction in branches of knowledge which are of so special and advanced a kind that they are beyond the reach of private associations—such as law, medicine, civil engineering, geology, chemistry and metallurgy, and the fine arts; and, above all, the maintenance of an efficient system of inspection over all schools and colleges which desire the pecuniary assistance of the government, or the guarantee for efficiency and for the faithful application of appropriated funds which such a supervision would afford." Such a course would at all events disarm the higher ranks, and deprive the Brahmins of much of their power. If, however, we would influence the social condition of the upper walks of Indian life, not only must Englishmen study the native tongues, English be extensively taught, and education in science and the arts be afforded without the least interference, direct or indirect, with the religion of the people, but the literature of England must be made of easy access to those of the educated Hindoos who chose to make themselves acquainted with it. Indophilus has also put this subject in an instructive form before his readers:—"Another potent engine for the formation of the national mind is the construction of a vernacular lite-

ture of which English will be the storehouse of knowledge, and the Christian religion the source of inspiration. The importance of the 'vulgar tongue' was seen in our own Reformation; and it is a happy circumstance that the Brahminical and Mohammedan priesthood,* in their desire to keep the people in a state of ignorance, have left this ground unoccupied for us. The time and talent of India have been wasted to a surprising extent in learning words as distinguished from ideas. When the laws have been made accessible to the people by an intelligible digest, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian, will cease to be studied, except for philological and antiquarian purposes, and the national mind will be set free for the cultivation of the spoken languages of the governors and governed, which will be united by the bond of a common printed and written character." As this is a question to be settled very much by authority, it will be desirable to confirm the views of Indophilus by the authority of others. A contributor to a popular periodical makes the following philosophical and practical remarks:—"One of the characteristics which mark Christianity as the only universal, and therefore the only true religion, is that its requirements are embodied in general principles which are capable of varied application according to the circumstances of different climates and nations in different ages of the history of the world. The present state of India illustrates this catholic wisdom, this liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free. In old Christian countries preaching to adults, in old heathen countries the education of the young, is the most direct and effectual mode of acting upon the population. It would be well if, instead of setting in motion against the popular religions of India the stupendous machine of government, with the certainty of a fearful recoil, our people, acting in the spirit of their Divine Master, would increase the lamentably inadequate means of instruction and persuasion furnished by the existing Bible, tract, and missionary societies, which are already possessed of a large amount of experience, and are capable of almost indefinite development. The following letter has reference to the devoted exertions of a departed friend of native improvement, whose zeal we should do well to imitate, while we profit by the additional light which has since been thrown upon the subject:—"The *Siddhantas*† are very useful in their way, but the real knowledge they

contain is not to be compared with that which is to be found in the commonest English school-books, and, such as it is, it is mixed up with the most egregious errors. When the *Siddhantas* have once been used as an argument against the *Paranas*, they have done all the good which is to be expected from them; and to print them, circulate them, and encourage their study, in preference to more useful knowledge, would be decidedly mischievous. —'s prevailing error is, that he gives an inordinate degree of attention to the instruction of the old, whose habits of mind he can never effectually change, to the neglect of the young, whom we can mould in any way we please. He does not commence to instruct men till they have become confirmed in their prejudices, and then truly says that a vast amount of abstruse argument, drawn from *Paranas*, *Siddhantas*, &c., is necessary to persuade them, and that they set their face against every innovation. This must be an endless task. Instead of letting the old system die out, and planting a new one, he only lops off a few of the upper branches of the old system, and so we might go on from generation to generation without making any sensible progress. He seems to overlook the great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years, and that if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way they should go. All our pains and money would then be well bestowed. We should have no prejudices to contend with; we should have easily moulded minds to deal with; and we should raise up a class of influential intelligent youth, who, after a few years, would become the active propagators of our system. I cannot understand the policy of teaching a very inferior kind of learning when it is in our power to teach a very superior one. I cannot imagine what is to be gained by expending our means on a far less apt class of pupils when we have at our disposal another whose minds we can form from the very first to the entire exclusion of erroneous systems. The best use of communicating with the old on literary and scientific subjects is to impress them with an opinion of the superiority of our learning, to overcome their prejudices against it, and to induce them to intrust their children to be educated by us.'" Some of the most cultivated minds in the service of the Indian government look at the matter in the same way, and feel that the customs and manners of native India can only be thus influenced.

the *Paranas* contain the unmitigated absurdities of the old Hindoo system.

* The word "priesthood" in connection with Mohammedanism must be here used as a synonyme for ministry, as properly the Mohammedans have no priesthood.

† The *Siddhantas* are the comparatively modern and enlightened Sanscrit treatises on natural science, while

The course thus recommended is perfectly reconcilable with a determined resolution to ignore caste; that is to say, ignore it by not interfering with its practices among the natives in their relation to one another, and, at the same time, by never recognising its existence in connection with the government, but sternly to disown its justice, and morally to defy its power; but this must be accomplished with prudence and care. The following extract from the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier* is a specimen of the ultra and impracticable policy which some of the English in India recommend—a policy which, indeed, might be successful if England could preserve a quarter of a million of European soldiers in India, but not otherwise:—"There can hereafter be no communication betwixt light and darkness, and he who claims the privilege of being guided by 'native custom' must renounce the hope of European countenance or sympathy. The Bengal mutineers have done nothing more than indulge in the customs of their caste and country, and nothing beyond what was sanctioned by custom and by creed. With men who think such things permissible, did opportunity occur, we can have no intercommunion whatever. From the perfect facility with which infanticide, Suttee, slavery, and Thuggee, all great institutions of the country, have been put down, we have no doubt whatever that half the other privileges and usages we fear to meddle with would vanish were we only bold enough to face them. The use of greased cartridges, and the readiness with which all classes travel together by rail, add to our convictions on these subjects. A caste man and a native custom man, adverse as both must needs be to progress and to the advancement of the great human family, are the enemies of the commonwealth, and ought to be made to contribute many times more to its government than those who are its friends. Were the highly orthodox triple-taxed, struck from the list of justices and government-house visitors, and assured that public employment was not to be looked for by them, we should find caste vanish like smoke, the Brahmins most probably discovering, as in the case of Suttee, that the *Vedas* and *Shasters* were never in reality meant to have been interpreted as they have hitherto been."

The difficulties attending an impartial administration of the public funds for purposes of civilization and intellectual culture, so as not to excite the jealousy of the natives, and yet not to countenance their excessive distrust, or compromise our own dignity, many years ago excited the attention of men of the most eminent position in England, and especially those upon whom serious responsibility

devolved in connection with this very question. It will be seen from the following extracts from the minutes of the general committee of public instruction at Calcutta, between March, 1835, and February, 1838, that the majority of the committee was then alive to the considerations which now justly occupy public attention in this country.

On the question whether chaplains should be admitted to be members of the local committees:—

Sir Benjamin Malkin.—Attaching the utmost importance to the real impartiality of our conduct, I believe that much more harm than good is done by excessive squeamishness, not even as to the appearance actually exhibited, but as to the notions that some singularly suspicious persons may by some remote possibility entertain of appearances which do not really exist.

Mr. Colvin.—I entirely agree with the president (Lord Macaulay) and Sir Benjamin Malkin. I can only repeat Mr. Macaulay's words—"I do not like general rules for excluding classes of people from our local committees." Restrictions of this nature generally arise from overstrained apprehensions, and their ordinary result is to excite and confirm the feelings of distrust and division, which, if not so recognised and sanctioned, would speedily be effaced by the influence of time and experience. We ought not to set the example of believing that the faith of a clergyman cannot be trusted.

On the question whether an infant school at Goruckpore should be assisted out of public funds:—

Sir Benjamin Malkin.—There remains —'s "political jealousy" of anything like connection with systems or societies professedly religious. I have already stated how little this is applicable to the present case. But I must say one word with reference to his concluding observation, "that it is not enough to be neuter in this great point of religious education; we must also act so as to inspire the confident belief that we are what we profess to be. I certainly do not believe that any body of men ever yet got credit for neutrality by extending a discouragement to their own supposed opinions, which they did not apply to others—nor that they ever got credit for honesty by holding out that they were not fit to be trusted. Real neutrality must always before long be understood and confided in. But if the reputation of neutrality can only be secured by a decided bias one way, it becomes fit for consideration, on one hand, how far those who do not feel that bias are justified in assuming its appearance, and, on the other, how far the principle of caution is to be carried. There may be individuals among the native community who think that every manifestation of interest in Christianity disqualifies the party exhibiting it from impartiality in the conduct of education. Completely to satisfy this jealousy, our friend Mr. Trevelyan might be removed from the committee as being too frequently seen at church, and known to be an active member of some religious societies. This is not likely to be done; but to do it, and to allow our Mohammedan and Hindoo members to frequent their mosques and perform their poojas without objection* would not,

* After Lord William Bentinck's resolution of the 7th of March, 1835, by which the promotion of European literature and science was declared to be the great object of the British government, had been passed, Hindoo and Mohammedan gentlemen were for the first time appointed to be members of the general committee of public instruction.

I think, be a bad illustration of some theories of ostensible neutrality.

Sir Charles Trevelyan.—From the course which the Goruckpore institutions have taken from their commencement, they would seem to have established (what I believe it would be very easy to establish everywhere) that most salutary understanding and belief, that it is perfectly easy for the same man to be sincerely attached to his religion, and anxious for its diffusion by the usual and regular channels of missionary exertion, and yet to be strictly honest and trustworthy in the conduct of an institution in which there is a complete exclusion of every tendency to proselytism.

With respect to the continually expressed apprehension of the effect likely to be produced in the minds of the natives, I have a strong suspicion that we make the difficulty for ourselves, and that a steady perseverance in real impartiality, without the squeamishness which exists about imagined jealousies, would leave us in full possession of the confidence we enjoy, and avoid some important evils which we incur. I do not believe that any set of men ever did good to themselves or others by continually proclaiming that they were not fit to be trusted, except, indeed, in cases where the proclamation was true.

The character of the higher classes of natives is generally in every sense bad. They are licentious, unjust, cruel, deceptive, superstitious, sharing all the vices of the mass of the people, without the industry and loyalty which many of the poorer natives (who are cultivators) would practise, were it not for the bad example set them by the Brahmins, rajahs, and talookdars. This class has been until of late years pampered by the British government, to the disadvantage of the community at large, and of the government itself. The celebrated despatch of Lord Ellenborough in condemnation of Lord Canning's policy in Oude in 1858 seems to have been dictated by the same policy which actuated, or appeared to actuate, Lord Cornwallis, when he made the Bengal settlement. Had Lord Canning, after the Indian mutiny, confiscated the whole property of the talookdars of Oude, he would have simply dispossessed robbers of their plunder, and have taken occasion to redress the wrongs and restore the rights of the unfortunate and oppressed cultivators. This policy might have been impracticable, because of our weakness, as was the opinion of Lieutenant-general Outram, but it was neither unjust nor impolitic in itself. The following criticism from a periodical of 1858 upon the conduct and arguments of Lord Ellenborough, and those who supported him in condemning the just policy of Lord Canning, is as correct as it is severe:—"Lord Ellenborough bids us be tender of Hindoo gentlemen. What is a Hindoo gentleman? Nana Sahib is a Hindoo gentleman. General Sleeman describes the Hindoo gentleman in the country. The author of the *Life and Court of an Eastern King* describes the Hindoo gentleman in town. The Hindoo gentleman is a pictu-

resque, but not a very amiable or useful person. He has turbans and shawls, slippers and scimitars, elephants and horses, harems and divans. He has also the indolence of a glutton, or the fury of a famished wild beast. His relation to his less noble and interesting neighbours is that of a lion to the sheepfold or an eagle to the poultry-yard. He has no marketable value himself, and he destroys those who have. The title-deeds and personal appearance of the four-footed or feathered plunderers go for very little with the colonist. Why should greater consideration be extended to the featherless biped of prey by the victorious British government? We have in India an industrious, wealth-creating population, topped by a corrupt, idle, and disaffected aristocracy. We are asked to imitate the Spartan policy of ruling the multitude by supporting the oligarch and the tyrant. We are asked, at the end of a war which leaves us in the position of our own Henry VII., to rebuild the 1115 castles that defied the law under Henry III. Has history imputed 'confiscation' to the Hanseatic League for sweeping away the robber barons of the Rhine? or to France for abolishing the dey of Algiers? There are classes in the human as in the animal family which are too costly and too mischievous to keep for mere sentiment. There is always much to be said in favour of getting rid of them. They must take the consequences if they afford a good opportunity. Why John Bright, of all men in the world, should sympathize with them in their fall will probably exercise the acumen of future historians to discover, in like manner as the part played by Penn in the court of James II."

The conduct of Lord Canning very much resembled that of Sir Charles Napier upon the conquest of Scinde, who confiscated the property of the jaghires, which they held conditionally upon the will of the government, but which he restored when punishment answered its end, and the submission of the vanquished was ostensible and complete. The proprietary right in the soil of Scinde was, at the date of the conquest, and still is, held by cultivators, farmers, or by whatever other name they may please to call landholders. They held their land upon condition of paying to the government, as land-tax, rent, or revenue, one-third of the gross produce of their estates; that is to say, when the crop ripened, government agents were deputed to see it reaped, and the grain trodden out in the field; when trodden out, the entire heap was separated into three portions, whereof the landholder, cultivator, &c., retained two portions, while the government agent carried

off the remaining portion, a small and specified quantity being taken in the first instance from every portion to pay for the expenses of reaping. But as a correspondent of the *Times*, quite familiar with the subject, the other day remarked, the government had to maintain an army, and this army was entertained upon quasi-feudal principles, it being the leaders or officers who were paid not in money but in kind. For instance, a chief came to the government, and said, "I am prepared to enter your service, and to be always ready for action, with a hundred men: what pay will government give me?" Government said, "Your pay shall be so many bushels of grain. Take you, therefore, this title-deed, proceed into the district specified therein, and receive from the landholders (cultivators, proprietary-right, or usufruct holders, or what you will) whose tax to government amounts to a like number of bushels, that tax or rent in lieu of government." The jaghire man, then, was he who stood to the proprietary-right man in the position of government, and government had alienated to the jaghire man their tax claim over a specified area, in consideration of his military force being always ready when called upon. Sir Charles Napier, when he conquered the country, declared the rights of the old government to be transferred to the new government. One of these rights was of course the tax, for a longer or shorter period, alienated in favour of the jaghire men. Therefore these government liens upon the lands became liens of the English government. But in regard to the landholders, cultivators, proprietary-right men, or what not, Sir Charles Napier declared that private property should not be interfered with. Therefore there was no confiscation, unless through error, of any proprietary right. Subsequently Sir Charles Napier, deeming it expedient and just to confirm the jaghire men in the government taxes alienated to them by the old government, called a meeting of all the feudal chiefs at Hyderabad, and added that those who then attended, and publicly tendered allegiance by a certain date, should receive fresh title-deeds, confirming them in their old government alienations. They came accordingly, and were confirmed; so that, while in Scinde, no proprietary, or, as it is commonly termed there, zemindarry right, was ever interfered with, from the first, the jaghire, or government alienations, were first declared in a general way to have reverted to the state, on the introduction of a new government, and were then returned to their holders, in virtue of these holders ceasing to be hostile to the new government. It is impossible not to identify the two policies. The zemindarry

class in Scinde was, as a whole, no better than that of Oude, but a bold policy, tempered with clemency, subdued in them the desire for insurrection, and caused them to feel that nothing but allegiance could secure their own interests. This is the true policy with the whole class. They are utterly unpatriotic and selfish. A correspondent of the *Times* from Western India describes correctly the people of India, and more especially the chiefs and great landholders, and also our past, and what must be our future, policy towards them, in the following paragraph:—"Of the hundred million whom we govern in India there certainly are not ten who could comprehend the possibility of a man concerning himself for the good of the country at large, or extending his regards beyond the circle of his kindred or friends. And yet, after all, the ingratitude and the cruelties which horrify humanity, and put the cannibal to shame, are plants of oriental growth, and which have always flourished in the East. The natives treat each other just as they have treated the English who have recently fallen into their hands. They have no idea of captivity, unless associated with torture or extermination. To burn or punch out the eyes, to burn the bowels out, are matters of everyday occurrence, from the earliest periods of their history down to the present time. The interposition of the British government is being perpetually called upon to shield the native subject from the inflictions of his sovereign or chief. We have had within the past five years before us memorials from Baroda, from Kattiwar, from Ajmeer, Kotah, and other places in Rajpootana, all to the same effect; and if monstrous tyranny fell short of bodily torture or capital infliction, it was to the British government that even this much of mercy was to be ascribed. The eyes of Europe have now for the first time been opened to the condition of India and the character of its people; and such things as those that until now have been of constant occurrence must never again be suffered to appear. A stern iron despotism, never stooping from its dignity, or flinching from its duty, must take the place of that good-natured and well-intentioned combination of compromises, coercions, checks, and temporisings hitherto looked upon as the masterpieces of an Eastern administration. Brooking no resistance on the part of those we rule, it will be the first duty of the rulers to provoke none; and exacting propriety in others, to show an example of unbending rectitude in ourselves. The time will come, but not now, when public employment and emoluments may be re-opened to the native; when it does arrive, the first test of his deserving the

countenance of the civilized is the renunciation of the badges of barbarism."

Hitherto the British government has shown great partiality to this class. In 1857 there were 3082 Europeans and Indo-Britons in the uneovenanted service of India, and there were nearly as many natives—2846 being the number, of whom 2560 were employed in the judicial and revenue service—a proportion which shows the disposition of the government to encourage the natives, and make them sharers in official advantages; yet some of the most furious rebels of 1857–8 were native magistrates and assistant judges, while in all the operations in Oude one of the chief difficulties of our commanders was the connivance of the native police of every rank with the mutineers and revolted chiefs.

An impression has prevailed in England that much Indian stock was in the hands of Indian chiefs and rich native merchants. On the 18th of May, 1858, a parliament paper was published, which throws some light upon the question as to the relative proportions in which the territorial debt of India is held by natives and Europeans. Up to the 30th of April the returns present the respective totals, but for the last years no such particulars have been received, and the only material for forming an opinion consists in the amount of the subscriptions of each class of persons to the various new loans opened. In 1847 the total government debt in India was £36,536,093, of which £23,446,877, or about sixty-four per cent., was held by Europeans, and only £13,089,216 by natives. These figures show the holdings on the part of the natives to be smaller than has generally been supposed. There is no reason, however, to believe that subsequently the proportion has been lessened. Of the sum of £9,600,280 subscribed to various loans up to May, 1857, the amount taken by Europeans has been £6,281,040, or about sixty-five per cent., against £3,319,240 by natives. As regards one other loan of £4,036,553 the respective figures are wanting.

The main features in the social life of the princes and talookdars are cruelty, tyranny, rapacity, and licentiousness. In 1858 the following was communicated to the *Poonah Observer*:—"It appears from the journal of a European traveller that a new and fearful mode of execution had been adopted by the King of Delhi. The instrument and process are thus described:—A box, each side of which is fifteen feet square, is constructed of timber, about eighteen inches thick, dovetailed together, and braced with iron rods. The outside of the bottom of the box is covered with a plate of beaten iron one inch in thickness. The interior is filled with per-

feet cubes of granite, weighing in the aggregate several thousand tons. A machine is erected after the manner of an ordinary pile-driver, but of course on an enormous scale, and of tremendous strength. The mass is raised by powerful machinery east in Birmingham for the express purpose, though it is presumed that the machinist by whom the work was furnished had no idea of the horrid purpose for which it was intended. The human victim is placed upon a block of granite of a corresponding surface buried in the earth immediately beneath the enormous mass, and covered with a plate of iron. At a signal given by the vieramadaek, the executioner touches a spring, the mass falls, and the victim, crushed at once, is suddenly annihilated, and spread out like a sheet of pasteboard! The huge weight being again raised, the flattened body is withdrawn, and dried in the sun. When completely prepared, it is hung over the wall of a public building, there to serve as a warning to the multitude."

The brutal tyranny and rapacity by which the chiefs, their soldiery, and the native "headmen" of the village communities, and many of the people, are characterised in their treatment of one another, is exemplified by a narrative of the state of the country on the banks of the Jumna during the revolt of 1857. The *Hurkaru*, a well known Indian journal, assured its readers of the authenticity of the account. The sufferers were Bengalee pilgrims, and one might suppose their religious character and objects would have ensured them protection from their brutal and dastardly plunderers:—"A few months ago, some time before the breaking out of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi, a number of persons, chiefly Bengalee women, of respectable families in this town, started on a pilgrimage to the shrines of Muttra and Brindaban, in three boats. They arrived at Allahabad without meeting with any impediment or obstacle, some days before the 1st of Joistee last, on which date they left that place, and entered the Jumna. The mutiny of the third cavalry at Meerut, and of the regiments at Delhi, had then taken place, but they heard at Allahabad nothing of the affair, beyond that some disturbances had occurred at those places. Proceeding up the Jumna for several days, they arrived at Humeerpore, the head-quarters of the district, the authorities of which informed them of the dangers of the trip up the river; but, on their persisting to proceed, allowed them four guards to accompany them to the end of their jurisdiction, strictly enjoining them on no account to cross the river, but always to keep along the Humeerpore bank of it. They got up with safety as far as

Michreepore, where the guards left them, repeating to them the injunctions they had already received. From this latter place they proceeded up to a place called Simarah, a few miles above Calpee, without much serious opposition, as the country was then comparatively peaceable. This last mentioned village stands on the bank of the river, to which they had been prohibited to go; but the boatmen, fancying that the navigation along it was comparatively easier, imprudently crossed over, and moored the boats, the number of which had increased to eight since they left Allahabad, on an adjoining chur, for the purpose of cooking their food. They had not, however, been long there before they could see a party of four or five hundred ruffians, mostly villagers, armed with swords, latees, and muskets too, descending down to the shore with an intention which they had no difficulty to conjecture. Fortunately, however, as the alarm had been given in time, they hastily got upon the boats any how they could, before the rascals could arrive on the spot and seize the boats. The river at this place being very narrow, the shouting and yelling of these desperadoes, furious at losing their prey, brought out masses of villagers on the other bank, to which the boatmen and the trembling, weak, and helpless pilgrims, were invited to come over, with offers of assistance and protection. But no sooner had they gone there than they found that these men were not a whit better than the fellows on the other bank; for their head man told them in plain words that if they wished to be saved from being plundered and dishonoured, they must immediately pay down to him and his followers a handsome sum of money as the price of his protection. Under these difficult and dangerous circumstances they handed him six hundred rupees, upon which he agreed to follow them with his men along the shore down to Calpee, where they were assured they would find protection from the zemindar, who had declared himself the rajah of the district. They were told, besides, that the voyage further up was very dangerous, and that no less than twenty-nine boats, all filled with pilgrims like themselves, had been some days before plundered at Etawah. Accordingly the boats began to ply down, the head man and his men accompanying them along the bank, but what was their surprise when they saw fresh bodies of men appearing on both banks, shouting to them in the most abusive and threatening language to lagow the boats; the head man, however, be it said to his honour, still remained their friend, and but for him they had certainly been lost; for he told the boatmen to disregard their threats,

and use their utmost exertions to carry down the boats till they reached Calpee, while he with his men employed some means to slacken the pursuit of those who were most furious for the prey. This, however, had the most fortunate effect of raising an altercation between the two parties, which enabled the fugitives to reach Calpee without further molestation. One fact ought to be stated here very distinctly, that among the ruffians who had pursued them, setting all law at defiance, there was perhaps not one mutinous soldier, but that they were all villagers and people living along the banks of the river. This proves very clearly, notwithstanding anything that may be stated to the contrary, that whole villages, at least in that part of the north-west, have turned rebellions, and done their best to disorganise the country. These men, it can scarcely be denied, have done their best to overturn the authority of government, and have in most cases cheerfully obeyed the authority of any rebel zemindar who had power or influence enough to proclaim himself rajah. Arriving at last at Calpee, vainly hoping to see the end of their troubles, the fugitives were immediately surrounded by bodies of bravoos, calling themselves the rajah's men, who came ostensibly with the purpose of protecting them, but really to see what they could get. Here they were detained for nearly two months, during which time, though they were not much molested, they had the mortification of being spectators of many an atrocious act, the principal of which was the cold-blooded assassination of an European gentleman and his lady. When the fugitives arrived at Calpee they were still living, but only a few days after their arrival, when it is said a body of mutinous soldiers arrived at the place, those two helpless persons were murdered under circumstances too revolting to allow for description being given. Suffice it to say that, under the heat of a burning sun, both the gentleman and his wife were made to run like horses up and down, till out of mere exhaustion they fell down half dead, when a number of the bloody miscreants hacked them to pieces with swords. The bodies were then thrown down the river like the carcass of an animal. It is unnecessary to state that while this is being written the writer is fervently praying to God that the government may soon be enabled to take the most terrible vengeance—a vengeance, the remembrance of which may last for centuries in the villages and hamlets of the north-west. At Calpee, too, the fugitives learnt with what feelings of hatred the people looked upon the English, and the desire prevalent among them of ex-

terminating the whites. One of them who had imprudently said that he could speak English was brought to a serious scrape, out of which he was extricated with no little difficulty. They had with them several English books, which the boys used to read, and English shoes for their use, all of which they threw down in the water. The self-styled Rajah of Calpee, they also learnt, had given orders in the bazaar to sell company's pice, which they call *lad-shahee*, at thirty-two *gundahs* for the rupee, that is to say at half their value, and the old copper coins of the place, which they call *balu-shahee*, at ten *gundahs* for the rupee, a rate which they never had. At Calpee the fugitives were joined by six of the twenty-nine plundered boats already spoken of, which had proceeded as far as Etawah. From the people in them they heard most horrid tales. All the fourteen boats were then allowed to leave on the 1st of August last, not before they had been searched, on the payment of a fine of twelve rupees for each of the first eight boats, and six rupees for each of the other six. As the river had then risen, they descended very swiftly down, without daring to stop anywhere; and, notwithstanding the danger of the navigation in the Jumna, the boats were rowed even during the nights. When they arrived at Humeerpore they saw the bungalows of the Europeans looted and burnt, and the place in a state of complete disorganization. Further down Humeerpore, at a place called Churka Murka, the villagers fired on them from both sides, and even pursued them to some distance on their heavy boats called *kachovah*. It was not, however, before they arrived at Allahabad that they considered themselves out of all danger. The party has recently returned to town, having paid nearly one thousand rupees to different persons, as the price of their protection, as already stated."

The oppressions practised by the talookdars and zemindars upon the ryots, is one of the most striking features of the cruel and grasping dispositions of the Hindoo gentry. Dr. Russell, the Oude correspondent of the *Times*, represents the zemindar system as having preserved Bengal to the dominion of England. Certainly it may have contributed to do so, because the plunder and oppression of the class must perish before the arm of the multitude, were it not that Great Britain upholds it. Feeble as the Bengalee character is, such rapacity and tyranny as the zemindars of Bengal perpetrate, would be resisted were it not for the power of England, which upholds the grievance. It would be impossible to give an adequate description of the hardships

of the ryot class under the zemindars and middlemen, by whom they are rack rented. The law courts are constantly made, by these tyrants, the instruments of their cruelty. In a single district there were in one year thirty thousand prosecutions of ryots by zemindars. Indeed the "land cases" in the courts of Bengal are overwhelmingly numerous. Mr. Capper alleges that eighty per cent. of the produce is wrung from the wretched cultivators, and Mr. Colebrooke avers that a man who renders one half his produce in rent or tribute is worse off than a labourer in the same field, who receives only three pence per day. In other parts of India, wherever the zemindar system prevails, unless very powerful checks are placed upon it, similar evils exist, and the native character displays itself in its full proportions of cruelty and avarice. Whenever the law is administered by natives, or native police agents are employed in connection with magisterial functions, the case of the ryot is rendered still more miserable. In Madras torture is a common means of wringing the last mite from the unpitied sufferer. The company has, of course, discountenanced this practice, and European judges and magistrates, as has been shown on a former page, do all they can to extinguish the practice, but the native magistracy and police are easily made the instruments of the zemindary by bribes, and scenes truly "horrible and heart-rending," are of constant occurrence. It is unjust to attribute the fault to the European collectors, as has been done by certain agitators against the company at home. One who knew India well, and has become an authority on Indian history, and the social condition of that country, thus writing of the vast number of tenants under the jurisdiction of a single collector (possibly one hundred and fifty thousand!) observes:—"Not one of whom has a lease, but each pays according as he cultivates, and gets a crop, and with reference to his cattle, sheep, and children, and each of whom gets a reduction if he can make out a sufficiently good case. What a cry of agricultural distress and large families there would be in England or any other country under such a system! Would any farmer ever admit that his farm had yielded anything, that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the collector were one of the prophets, and remained in the same district to the age of Methuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an ordinary man and a foreigner, and continually changed, it would be strange if the native subordinates did not do as they liked, and having the power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally

agreed that the abuses of the whole system, and especially that of remission, is something frightful; and that the opportunities of extortion, peculation, chicanery, and intrigue of all kinds, are unbounded." *

A common source of oppression is the festival. There are many occasions of festivity which furnish an occasion for oppression on the part of the village headmen and officials. Birthdays, marriages, and various other events of a joyous nature, in the families of the zemindars, middlemen, headmen, chiefs, &c., are seasons of sorrow to the unfortunate cultivators, who must furnish *abwabs* for the great man's festal enjoyment. Every poor tenant furnishes some valuable present, in kind, according to his calling, or the particular description of produce which it falls to his hard lot to raise. Thus, the "oil-maker," provides oil for the chief man's lamps; the milkman brings his vessels of milk; the farmer, his compliment of rice or wheat; and every one who produces anything or possesses anything must bring his offering. All the subordinates of the magistrates and collectors, such as *naibs*, *gomastas*, and *paiks*, levy their own *abwabs*, and the miserable victims dare not even remonstrate, much less refuse. Every effort on the part of Europeans to protect the sufferers from these harpies have proved unavailing; "their tyrants are their countrymen," who follow with a ferocious pursuit all the poor people who have anything left which the zemindar or chief, or what else their oppressor may be called, has not taken away. In spite of the interference of the European officers, these imposts are exacted pitilessly. Means are always found to intimidate the poor man from complaining, and generally his own personal timidity and moral cowardice secure the impunity of the insolent official.

The higher classes of Hindoos, notwithstanding their rapacious despotism, are polite to the people. There are many forms of courtesy customary on the part of the rich to the poor, and the chief to his followers. There are also many ways in which what appears to be a respectful personal concern for them is exhibited; and often there is justice between one follower, or servant, and another when the great man has no interest of his own pending, or when neither party can secure by a bribe a judgment in his own behalf.

Many of the chiefs and the higher classes live in luxury and sensual indulgence, although their habits of food are nearly as

simple as those of the poor, rice and other vegetables constituting their chief diet. The houses of the rich, except in a few great cities, are generally mean; but the rich merchants, particularly among the Parsees, in Calcutta, Bombay, Kurrachee, and some other places, live in fine edifices, furnished in the most costly manner, and with all the appendages of oriental splendour. The chiefs have their palaces, and maintain retainers of servants and guards in feudal state. The number of their retainers are sometimes scarcely credible: the deposed king of Delhi, while a pensioner of England, held a portion of the city called the palace, but which was a city in itself; his relatives depending upon his bounty were hundreds in number, and all these had servants, who, observing the rules of caste, required others to perform various menial offices for them. This is a specimen of the mode of life and lazy state of other princes similarly situated to the supreme power. The Nana Sahib, whose atrocities have made his name so ignoble through the whole world, had at Bithoor, Calpee, and other places in their neighbourhoods, tasteful residences, and maintained a style more in conformity with European tastes, while his notions of oriental grandeur were similar to those of other chiefs. There is always a great reluctance on the part of deposed chiefs to diminish the number of their retainers, and if their means are inadequate, their swarthy and turbaned followers are kept in a sort of dirty and ragged state, sometimes repulsive, and often ludicrous. Over these wretches the fallen chieftains tyrannise with all the unqualified despotism of the East, and yet they will espouse the cause of the meanest, or most reckless of the gang, whose pilfering fingers or too ready sword may have brought him to trouble, as a trespasser upon the domain of other chiefs, abject or regnant, or of the great chief "the company sahib." The number of these deposed chiefs, supreme in pride, ambitious of power, filled with the greed of territory and of jewels, with enormous harems to support, and lawless robber followers to protect and feed, had so increased of late years by our various annexations, that a powerful element of treason was created and fostered in the midst of Indian society. Like tigers imperfectly chained they at last broke loose, and rushed forth to their own destruction, but not until they had wet their fangs with the blood of the brave and good, and sent thousands and thousands to a dark and dreadful doom.

* Campbell's *Modern India*, chap. vii. p. 361.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA (*Continued*).

THE social conditions of the rich and poor, although widely separated in some respects, especially by the bonds and barriers of caste, as the foregoing pages show, have of course common characteristics from the influence of superstitions to which both are subject, the common effects of climate, the traditions of race alike affecting them, and that mysterious orientalism which all through Asia forms certain customs, and inspires a certain tone in connexion with all castes, classes, and races. The leading moral attributes of the masses are not better than those of the chiefs, notwithstanding that the opportunities of tyranny and licentiousness might be supposed to indurate the hearts and enervate the minds and bodies of the former, so as to stamp upon them, on the whole, a worse impress of character; but the lower orders are as ready to inflict upon others the very tyrannies of which they complain themselves, whenever fortune gives them the opportunity; and there is not a piece of plunder, which evoked their own protests and griefs, which they will not perpetrate upon men in like situations, if chance gives them the power. The peasant, who has been tortured by the revenue officers of Madras, if he himself gains the office of a policeman, or assistant in any form to a collector, will immediately inflict the very evils against which he has for years supplicated redress. The chiefs and high-caste oppressors are but conspicuous samples of those who groan beneath their sway. The great Duke of Wellington, one of the closest observers of human character, formed an opinion of the sepoys and people of India the most unfavourable. Writing to his brother (Lord Mornington), in 1797, he says—and the passage is curious and instructive at the present time—"The natives, as far as I have observed, are much misrepresented. They are the most mischievous, deceitful race of people I have seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindoo who had one good quality, even for the state of society in his own country, and the Mussulmans are worse than they are. Their meekness and mildness do not exist. It is true that the feats which have been performed by Europeans have made them objects of fear; but wherever the disproportion of numbers is greater than usual, they uniformly destroy them if they can, and in their dealings and conduct among themselves they are the most atrociously cruel people I ever heard of. There are two

circumstances in this country which must occasion cruelty, and deceit, and falsehood wherever they exist. First, there is a contempt of death in the natives, high and low occasioned by some of the tenets of the religion of both sects, which makes that punishment a joke, and I may say an honour, instead of what it is in our country. All our punishments almost are the same, excepting imprisonment and whipping, which occasion loss of caste; and are, therefore, reckoned too severe for the common crimes for which we inflict them at home. The punishments of the Mussulman governments are precisely in the same state. The Hindoos don't care for them, excepting they occasion loss of caste; and the Mussulmans are now so nearly Hindoos that they have not a better effect upon them. Secondly, there is no punishment for perjury either in the Hindoo or Mussulman law. Their learned say that God punishes that crime, and therefore man ought not; and as oaths are notwithstanding administered and believed in evidence, no man is safe in his person or property, let the government be ever so good. The consequence of all is, that there is more perjury in the town of Calcutta alone than there is in all Europe taken together, and in every other great town it is the same."*

It was not likely that a people of such a character would either manfully resist oppression, or faithfully serve an enlightened government. The sepoy revolt proves nothing against this assertion, for the revolvers had been taught and disciplined by Englishmen, and must have drawn something of military pride from their teachers. The writer of a recent popular pamphlet truly observes, "Although much has been said to the contrary, there is no good reason for believing that the people of India of the present day differ, in any material respect, from those who, eighteen hundred years ago, met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Hydaspes. They have for a long series of ages been subjected to dynasties, in the establishment of which they have had no manner of influence, but under which they have frequently suffered the extremes of cruelty and oppression. Those dynasties have been frequently overturned and new ones set up; not by any efforts on part of the people, but by the invasions of strangers, or by the treachery

* *Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.* Edited by the present Duke.

of the relations or servants of the reigning king,—who, having inaugurated their success by indiscriminate massacres, tortures, and spoliation, proceeded to govern as their predecessors had governed, without much reference to sense, justice or humanity. Politically, they may also be divided into two great classes, those who live by work and those who do not. The latter, quite insignificant in point of numbers, had, until the establishment of the British power, always been the scourge and terror of the former. The quiet, hard-working tillers of the ground, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, seem never to have offered any effectual resistance to the tyranny and cruelty of the idle, dissolute, rapacious, and merciless poltroons, whose abominable cruelties and abject cowardice have recently rendered the name of sepoy* for ever execrable."

The poor of the agricultural districts are generally regarded as more moral, social, and happy than those of the great cities. Certainly, they are exempt from the temptations which abound in the latter, and which the presence of European soldiers, sailors, and traders do not always decrease; but as in England we do not, on the whole, find the agricultural population more virtuous and honest, neither is it so in India, and the relations of the cultivators of the soil to those from whom they hold it, frequently, as has been already shown, create occasions of wrongdoing altogether peculiar to the country. Life in the "Mofussil," either for European or Indian, rich or poor, is very far from being an exemption from temptation.

It is undoubtedly a fact that wherever native Christians are numerous, the *morale* of the people is better than where the population is not Christian, but it is alleged that the *physique* of the Christian population is inferior, a statement of which no sufficient proof has been afforded; the Christian population, except in some districts of southern India, is too limited to warrant such an allegation. Although generally living in groups, their presence gives a moral tone to the neighbourhood, or at all events, they maintain a distinctive social character themselves. There are no returns by census absolutely to be relied on, but the impossibility of pronouncing an unfavourable judgment upon the physical qualities of the Christian natives as the result of a perfect induction, may be seen by giving the Christian census in one of the non-regulation provinces as a specimen. According to the last account taken, the Christian population of the Punjaub consisted

of European males of fifteen years and upwards, 270; females, ditto, 262; male children under 15 years, 184; female, ditto, 193. Eurasian males of 15 years and upwards, 201; females, ditto, 205; male children under 15 years, 125; female, ditto, 174. Native males of 15 years and upwards, 88; females, ditto, 70; male children under 15 years, 53; female, ditto, 71. This is exclusive of military and covenanted officers, soldiers, and camp followers.

It may, however, be affirmed that, both morally and physically, the half-caste Portuguese are among the lowest specimens of humanity in India.

The huts of the cottiers are generally very wretched, and their temporal condition extremely squalid. The hut is generally situated in a small patch of garden, fenced with bamboo, or it may be a loose wall, not dissimilar to those which bound the cottier farms of the west of Ireland. It consists of two small rooms, a roof of jungle-sticks and leaves protects it from the sun and rains. It depends upon the terms of the holding as much as upon the disposition of the holder, how far any signs of taste prevail. In some places, particularly near Madras and in the Deccan, the abodes of the occupiers are prettily concealed by foliage, which extends its graceful shade, protecting from the torrid sun. When these cottages are placed near a cooling spring, and the wild flowers and flowering shrubs of the Deccan are encouraged, the cottage site is often sweetly retired and attractive.

Generally, the interior of the cot is as wretched as the exterior. The cottage itself is often built with mud, although sometimes bamboo or branches have a large share in the materials of the construction. The floors are mud, and rushes are generally scattered over it—a luxury which, although often within reach of the Irish peasant, he does not seem even to think of. The furniture of the Hindoo cottage home is as scanty as that of his Celtic brother in the far West. A few earthen vessels suffice to hold water or to aid in cooking, although sometimes vessels of brass and copper are in use. The only seat is a single bamboo stool, and mats made of rushes, which serve also for beds. The broad leaf of the palm and the banana serves very well instead of plates or dishes.

The dress of the people is very scanty. Children are seldom clad at all until they are nine years of age; and when it is remembered how early maturity takes place in that precocious climate, females often marrying at eleven, this arrangement does not speak well for the social taste of the natives, who, how-

* The sepoys are not always recruited from the non-working classes, but in the Bengal army they generally were.

ever poor, could obtain some slight covering for their children such as they procure for themselves. The men wear a single piece of cloth, made of calico and well bleached, round the loins. Sometimes the cloth is dyed, after the ancient manner of staining, but seldom of more than one colour, which is according to the taste of the wearer. Yellow or orange is a very favourite colour, and so is a bright vermillion. When a feast or a religious ceremony is attended additional apparel, consisting of a scarf, is worn. The women wear a long piece of very white cloth, wrapt in easy folds around them, so as to display any grace of figure the wearer may possess. There is, however, a *negligé* air about the matrons which *mesdemoiselles* do not affect. In some parts of the south the young females of the Brahmin caste, however poor, often wear their robes, of the purest white, most tastefully and modestly, yet disclosing figures of perfect symmetry and beauty. There are of course classes superior to the above scattered over the land: heads of villages, district functionaries, and dwellers in small towns, who pretend to somewhat of Hindoo gentility, whose wives and daughters dwell in distinct apartments, whose sleeping cotton mat is a little more showy, whose waist-cloth is whiter and more copious, whose earthen drinking vessels are transformed to utensils of brass, who dine off real plates of clay, and do not tremble at the names of "zemindar" and "burrah sahib."* Uncared for, low in the scale of humanity, removed from all softening or ennobling influences, the height of their enjoyment, all that they value, is a carouse at the festival of some repulsive deity, or their midday gossip and hookah with the heads of their village under the cool shade of a banyan-tree. Home duties and domestic happiness are words without meaning in their ears; their wives and daughters have no social status, no education; they are simply necessary pieces of human furniture for the physical uses of man, and whose sole destiny is to raise families, to boil rice, and finally to die. The mode of life of the Indian ryot is one of extreme simplicity, amounting but too often to misery, the result of an outward continual pressure kept on him by the zemindar and others of that class. The members of a family dwell with each other from grandfather to grandchild with patriarchal contentedness—one leafy roof, one bamboo wall, sheltering old and young, the toiler and the tarryer; happy if the simple meal of roots and grain comes at the appointed time,—happy now and then to snatch a mouthful of forbidden rice from the fields their hands cultivate for the tax-farmer,—happy if at harvest

* *Anglice*, great (or English) master.

time *all* that crop be not wrung from them in rent and usury.*

The whole social life of India is influenced by caste. Apart from its direct religious and political distinctions and effects, it gives laws to the intercourse of the people in every grade and condition of life. Men may not touch one another, come near one another, pray even in one another's presence, under innumerable conditions prohibited by caste. It is of serious consequence to a man in some parts of Madras if he venture nearer to a Brahmin than the number of yards or feet prescribed to his caste. In diet, more than in any other case, caste creates social indignities, inconveniences, and difficulties. No man will recline upon the same mat at food with another of inferior caste. To eat from the same plate is an uttermost defilement; hence the Brahmins often gather fresh leaves for the purpose, to prevent the contamination of even a touch by the hand of an inferior. In journeying the members of the first three castes—Brahmin, military, and mercantile—are frequently obliged to cook their own food, from the fear of ceremonial defilement, by persons of an inferior caste having any participation in the cooking.

The bazaars constitute an imposing feature in the civic social life of India. Every tolerably large collection of houses has a bazaar connected with them. Sometimes a mere shop represents the marketplace of the village; perhaps it is represented by what the Americans would call "a store." In populous places there will be a street or range of sheds which bears the imposing designation of "bazaar." Rice, corn, ghee, honey, earthen and brazen vessels, calicoes, arms, sweetmeats, armlets and anklets of brass, turbans, tobacco, hemp for smoking, betel, cocoa-nut, and a few trinkets, furnish the magazine of commerce displayed in these places. In the large cities the bazaars are often splendid, comprehending streets and squares within their confines. In these are displayed fruits and confectionery, arrack, ghee, rice, turbans, shawls, muslins, bracelets, carved work in pith and ivory, polished brass and copper cooking utensils, Benares jewellery, gems and precious stones from the Indian diamond mines, and from Birmah, Siam, and Sumatra, silks, leather, lac, cochineal, nitre, tobacco, pearls from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon, the prized cocoa and betelnuts, jewel-hilted swords, and firearms richly carved and inlaid. The luxuries of India proper, of the neighbouring peninsula and islands, and the useful wares of Europe, are artistically arranged, and their sale urged by every oriental device. In these bazaars may

* *Rise and Progress of the British Indian Possessions.*

be seen the fashion of the neighbourhood, the idle loungers and the business men, the city sharper and the gaping peasant, whose eyes are filled with wonder; the martial but brutal looking sepoy, insolently strutting about; the old Indian officers, quietly conversing, or bearing themselves as if they had chosen a motto from Horace—“*Nil admirari!*” the young cadet from Addiscombe and Chatham or the young civilian from Haileybury (now dissolved) gazing with eagerness upon all he sees, ready for a lark or a purchase, to play the gallant, be taken in by a Parsee, or prove his ignorance of the orient by some *mal à propos* adventure.

The bazaars must not be confounded with markets, of which many are held throughout the country at intervals. The bazaars are standing marts, open at all times for the sale of goods, or the gratuitous dispensation of gossip. At the markets more may be seen of the country people, who crowd in with their vendable produce. Bullock carts, laden with rice or grain, men and women bearing baskets of fruit or vegetables upon their heads, palanquin bearers seeking employment, or carrying a fare, as we in the West would say, crowd the narrow streets, and cause the city to resound with discordant noises. The cries of the carriage drivers, the shouts of the loaded water-carriers, the moaning heavy song of the palanquin bearers, the screaming of children, the lowing of cattle—these, with the dust, and heat, and glare of pent-up, badly-paved carriage ways, make up a scene anything but pleasing to a European traveller.

Fairs are distinct from markets. They occur less frequently, and not in great cities so often as in their neighbourhood, or in the vicinity of some famous ghaut, temple, or mosque. Markets are often held in the fairs, and there is always a bazaar established *pro tempore*, even when there is one in the neighbouring city; but the main objects of the assemblages are religion and pleasure. Generally a strange exhibition of humanity is presented by the blending of gain, fanaticism, sensual pleasure, and idle pastime. In one direction an eager bargain is driving by a trader whose lips are filled with the current phrases of religion; the priests and Brahmins are trading, within the most sacred precincts, in the bodies and souls of the people; fierce mendicants occupy prominent places, invoking and almost menacing aid, or exhibit their sores and decrepitude with all the silent histrionic effect of such actors; the thoroughfares are thronged with weary pilgrims; the swing plays, and numbers of miserable fanatics, with hooks thrust through their flesh, are whirled round; some pompous ceremonial

proceeds, glittering with the glare of barbaric Eastern finery; the rude tom-tom beating, other instruments mingling in the repulsive din; and, above all, the shouts of idolatrous fanatics make the air ring with their impure joys: and, alas! amidst all this babel of sights and sounds, this wild variety of human sin and human folly, victims are immolating themselves by some ingenious torture, or beneath some ponderous idol greedy of human victims, or with a shout of frantic enthusiasm some aspirant for purification and eternal bliss leaps into the river sacred to his god, or some forlorn maiden sinks with a sigh beneath its devouring waters. Such are the actualities of a great Indian fair, blended with the festivities of some commemoration, and held in the precincts of a reputed holy place. The holier the reputation of the place in India, the more sordid the worldliness, obscene the impurities, and sanguinary the cruelties, connected with its resort.

The position of woman in India has engaged the attention of Christians and philanthropists much of late years; nor have the efforts of the missionaries, particularly in the non-regulation provinces, been in vain in their endeavours to obtain opportunities for the education of young females. Generally the women are horribly oppressed in every stage of life; often, however, the infant is condemned by her sex to be murdered by parental hands. The code of Menu particularizes with great nicety the relative position and duties of the woman, but it is not so precise as to the duty of man in reference to woman, although various regulations are laid down to guide him. These are generally based in a kindness mingled with contempt, bearing no resemblance to the beautiful theory of the New Testament, according to which the husband is to treat his wife as a vessel of fragile construction, delicate form, and honourable use, with tenderness and respect. The code of Menu enjoins that, while the husband maintains a strict authority, he is to leave the wife “at her own disposal in innocent and lawful recreations, and to keep her constantly supplied with food, ornaments, and apparel, at festivals and jubilees.” The wife is commanded in the most unqualified language to be obedient to her husband, to give herself up to household duties, preparing daily food, and especially seeing to cleanliness in the utensils by which it is cooked. She is to be modest, chaste, and a keeper at home—very much like the obligations imposed upon her by the New Testament. The laws of Menu are particular in enjoining home duties and a love of home, the cultivation of the domestic virtues and family ties. On the whole the Hindoo

woman has much better performed her part than her husband, who exercises a lordly tyranny, and constrains an animal submission. The laws of Menu do not doom the woman to absolute seclusion; and in most of the countries contiguous to Hindostan, at no period, remote or recent, were women shut up entirely from general intercourse. Still, from remote antiquity the practice of the Indians, especially of the better classes, has been to contract the liberty of female society. During the sway of the Mohammedans it became customary altogether to confine the women, or only to allow them to appear abroad attended and veiled. The custom became much what it is in the Turkish empire among its Mohammedan subjects. It is a painful fact, that the woman is even more ready in some cases than her husband to devote her female infant offspring to death. If it be agreed by the parents to preserve the female child, and sickness should befall it, she will probably take it to the bank of some river, and leave it there to die, or to be washed away in the stream, or devoured by alligators; the tender ties of maternity are torn by the superstition of her cruel, idolatrous religion. To have more than one daughter growing up in the family, unless where very rich, is deemed injurious in various ways, the respectability of a family being made known by a daughter's dower. This reputation suffers if that be small, as it must be where the family means are moderate, and the daughters numerous; hence the destruction of many—pride, caste, and contempt for woman, all operating to consign the female infants to death. The mother of a family is even more remarkable for the contempt in which she holds her sex than the father is; and the pride she feels in an exaggerated dower for the daughter permitted to survive exceeds that which he feels. Sometimes, under the influence of these feelings, all the female children are destroyed except one; and if she is carried away by disease, the grief of the parents and brothers is most poignant, and they give it vent in all the intensest forms of oriental extravagance: their pride is wounded, their selfishness mourns. It must not, however, be supposed that daughters are brought up cruelly, because of the contumely heaped in so many ways upon the sex; on the contrary, those who are not made the victims of infanticide are reared tenderly and lovingly, except so far as custom and necessity may consign them to severe and early toil.

There is a very strong prejudice against the education of woman. This has existed in the native mind from a remote antiquity, and is no doubt one of the causes of

the deterioration, religious, moral, and social, which came upon the primitive life of India. Both parents are opposed to placing the daughters on an equality of intelligence, or on an equality in any way, with the sons. When the more enlightened Hindoo families have been remonstrated with upon the subject by missionaries and other Europeans, they have expressed surprise, and asked with unaffected wonder what good could possibly come of a woman knowing anything but her duty to her husband. The mothers treat with playful derision the idea of their daughters becoming the subjects of school instruction; and the fathers point to the expense that would in such case be fruitlessly incurred. If the parents do give their consent, it is much in the same spirit that they would give their daughter a trinket, a toy, or some finery of apparel, not essential to her condition. Even the native press has treated with mockery the subject of female education, and has stirred up the prejudices of both heathen and Mohammedans, by representing the English zeal for instructing women as having its origin in a feeling less noble than a desire to elevate them or extend intelligence. In spite of all these obstacles, this most important instrumentality for the civilization of India is gaining ground. Parental love, the importance attached to female education by the ruling race, and a vague notion gradually gaining access to the mind of the people that some temporal advantage would ensue to their children, causes the matter to be more favourably thought of than heretofore. The native Christians in the Madras presidency are extremely solicitous to have their female children instructed; the half-caste Portuguese, who are to be found in all the presidencies, are ceasing to be indifferent to it; the wealthy Parsees in Bombay have frequently entered earnestly into conversation and consultation with Europeans in whom they confided as to the best mode of accomplishing such a work. The Parsees are very careful as to the seclusion of their females, but frankly confess that if India is to advance in civilization, woman must have greater freedom; that it is impossible for Europeans to multiply in India, and their women enjoy liberty, confidence, and respect, without the fact telling upon the relations of the sexes in the Indian population; that it is well to prepare in time for a change that will sooner or later assert itself; and that the education of the women in India, according to their rank in life, under European training and instruction, is the only way by which such a change can come to pass beneficially to the nation and to the women of India. Among the

Bengalees, especially in Lower Bengal, where the people are not martial, but of a peaceable disposition, and desirous of cultivating the arts of tranquil life, it has been popular for some years to teach the girls in a family to read; and of late years permission has been conceded for their instruction in writing. This was slowly given: a superstitious alarm that something very serious might come of it if woman were allowed this mysterious accomplishment seemed to pervade the minds of most classes. In Pegu, Tenasserim, and Martaban, where the Buddhist religion offers a less obstructive opposition to the instruction of woman, considerable progress is being made in overcoming prejudice and teaching the infant daughters of the people.

However disheartening the oriental prejudice against the education of the rising female generation, there is no reason for despairing of success if government and the voluntary efforts of Christians are persevering and enlightened. It must not be forgotten that even in Europe woman does not hold her true place, nor is she treated in England with justice and equality. No stranger visiting England could fail to observe that woman is allowed more liberty than equality. Sons are generally treated in English families with more consideration and respect; and among the lower classes even with more tenderness. English parents are almost invariably more proud of their sons, even where unmarked by any quality entitling them to the partiality with which they are regarded; and this may be seen, too, where the daughters of the house are cultivated, clever, prudent, and fair, every way superior to their brothers. The law of primogeniture fosters this partiality for the male members of the family, and leads to the inequitable distribution of property between sons and daughters, so characteristic of English family history. Not only among the landed aristocracy, but in London among the commercial, and in the north of England among the manufacturing classes, there is an ambition to place the sons in a superior pecuniary position, and this feeling is carried to an extent not only unjust but sometimes even cruel. If in Europe, except in certain sections of the Celtic and Scandinavian races, there yet remains so strong a disposition to place women in an unduly inferior place in the social scale, it is not matter of either surprise or despondency to those who wish to elevate the women of India, if they find that this old oriental prejudice there but slowly gives way. That it does give way, not only as regards education, but in other particulars, all who have studied Indian history and Indian manners must be aware. The social

degradation of women in India is not so profound now as when the English set foot upon the soil of India. The Portuguese, although effecting no other good, set a better example in this particular than the Indians had previously seen. Even where the Portuguese established their settlements, the exclusion of women from social rights was not so inexorable as it had been ages before. If the people and government of England persevere in their efforts to ensure security for the life, education for the mind, and respect for the social status of woman, a powerful inroad will have been made upon the barbarous usages of oriental social life.

One obstacle to female education in India, is early marriage. Frequently at ten years of age this ceremony takes place. The ancient ceremonials were much more solemn and rational than those now in use, which are simple and almost silly. When the proper moment arrives, after the adjustment of all preliminaries, the bride takes seven paces, in a peculiar form and with certain circumstances of attendant ceremonial; when the seventh pace is made the step is taken for life, the marriage is valid and indissoluble.

The extravagant outlay on marriage occasions has been noticed in chapters devoted to districts and cities, especially in those describing the country and people of Ceylon: in all parts of India inordinate expense attendant upon marriage prevails. The poor incur expenses far beyond their means, and the rich vie with one another in expenditure. As much as one hundred thousand rupees is sometimes lavished upon a marriage festival among the rich. There is a strange display of magnificence and profusion on such occasions. Grand oriental processions gratify the love of pomp innate with the people in those parades of wealth and decoration; elephants hold a prominent place, indeed the grandeur of the bridal party is in some sort estimated by the number of elephants. Dancing forms also a part of the pastime to which the people give themselves up. Nautch girls are hired for the occasion, almost the only one on which native ladies of rank will now give their presence, where the indelicate performances of those unchaste artistes are a part of the entertainment. Mr. Capper, however, intimates that they are commonly attendants upon the parties given by rich natives. In describing their receptions, he says:—"The upper classes of the natives of India are much given to entertainments of dancing and music, to which large numbers of their friends are invited. These take place upon any occasion which may offer a pretext for conviviality or sociability; they, indeed, answer

to the European evening parties. Natives of high birth and rank are proud to have their English acquaintances present on these occasions, and often make great preparations for their reception, especially if, as is sometimes the case, the European should be an official of note. It is at these parties that the 'Nautch Girls' display the gracefulness, and something more, of their figures, with a studied affectation of ease and grace, which, to a European, carries little beyond repulsion. In some parts of India, especially in the southern states of the peninsula, every temple has a troop of these 'dancing girls,' whose questionable earnings help out the sacred finances of the shrine. Some of them dress with great magnificence, hiring their jewelled robes for the occasion, and which are said occasionally to be worth, with their ornaments, as much as £20,000." Whether or no it be as common as this writer intimates for the "nautch girls" to dance at private parties where native ladies are present, they are generally appendages to bridal rejoicings.

Illuminations afford great delight to the people, whether heathen or Mohammedan, especially in the neighbourhood of large rivers, where the native pyrotechnic art is always displayed to most perfection. When aided by sylvan and water scenery the effect of these fire-works is often very fine, and to the natives enchanting, their wild delights finding expression in the utmost transports of excitement. On wedding occasions the names of the bride and bridegroom are by curious devices brought out by variegated lamps among the foliage or over the ripple of the waters; and various representations, in which the profane and sacred figure together in grotesque and unseemly association, are intended to decorate the scene. Fiery emblems gleam everywhere, and sudden transitions in those ornamental configurations astonish the people, throwing them into the wildest manifestations of boisterous joy.

The feasting is on a large scale, but the enjoyment appears more in the gorgeous *ensemble* of the feast than in the viands, which are chiefly light in character; delicious fruits, however, abounding, and the invariable rice, cooked and curried in much variety.

The funerals of natives are scenes of much solemnity. In this respect the Hindoos surpass the Chinese, and the people of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The destruction of the body by fire, the most solemn and sanitary way for its removal, is chosen by the people of India. The body is washed with fragrant lotions, neatly dressed in perfumed apparel, and arrayed with flowers; it is

then borne in procession to the funeral pyre. Sometimes this is performed in solemn silence; at others the keeners utter their plaintive lamentations after the manner of the Celtic tribes, especially as seen in Ireland. Frequently a band of music accompanies the procession, the monotonous beating of the tom-tom, failing to drown the cries of the lamenters, aids the unearthly wail which rises from them. These differences depend upon the race, as much as upon local custom. The scene at the pyre is affecting and solemn, and sometimes the lonely country will be lighted up in the still night as far as the eye can see, with the funeral fires.

When treating of the religions of India, notice was taken of the horrid rite of Suttee, which takes place in connexion with the funeral pyre of a husband. It is here proper to offer a further description, in the language of the author of *British Indian Possessions*. That author presents, in one respect, a view different from what we have met with elsewhere, for he represents the people as often solicitous to dissuade the widow from self-immolation,—almost all writers concurring in declaring the eagerness of the people to urge the woman to her dreadful fate. Elphinstone, however, gives an instance of the kind, and thinks the widow herself always more earnest than her friends for the sacrifice. "Of the first institution of Suttee nothing certain is known; though it is undoubtedly of high antiquity, by being alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, who wrote before the Christian era, and it appears to have been in practice for a long period previously. The belief that the widow is subject to any degradation should she survive her husband's death cannot be correct, seeing that it is by no means an uncommon occurrence for the relatives and friends of the family to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to dissuade the woman from the contemplated act: it is notorious that this is not only attempted, but often successfully; and amongst other expedients employed, is so to occupy the time and attention of the widow, that the body of her deceased husband may be removed and burned before she is aware of the fact. The ceremony of Suttee varies with the local customs of different parts of India, though not perhaps in any essential particulars. In Bengal the widow prepares for the act with many ceremonies, and invariably bathes before mounting the pyre, if possible in the sacred waters of the Ganges. Before firing the funeral altar, the dead and the living are bound together to the pile, so as to preclude the possibility of the latter affecting an escape. In the south of India the women would

appear to need no such precautions. A widow will there coolly set herself on the pyre, and placing the head of the departed husband in her lap, await with Roman firmness the moment when the flames of the burning mass shall envelop her in their embraces. In other parts of India the Suttee leaps into the burning mass from an eminence, or the funeral pyre may be below the surface of the ground. Sometimes the courage of the woman will fail her at the critical time, and she will make a desperate attempt to escape from the cruel death which awaits her; but in this case the attendants invariably thrust her back into the flames. An instance of this kind is on record wherein an English gentleman being present, succeeded in rescuing the widow from the flames, much against the wishes of those present. His conduct was, however, but ill-requited by the woman whose life he had thus saved; for on the following day he was not a little surprised at being upbraided by her for having thus shut her out from the companionship of her husband in Paradise. This practice is far more frequent within the limits of Hindostan proper than in any other part of India. Indeed, in the western districts it is but seldom that it occurs, whilst south of the Deccan it is almost unknown."

Among the many practices in the social life of the natives of India which are regarded by Europeans with horror and abhorrence, there are few more painful to contemplate than the custom of neglecting invalids when once supposed to be incurable. Such of the people who live within a distance which allows of their doing so, will carry their sick relations to the banks of the Ganges, and there leave them to perish, under the impression that dying there, or being carried away by the rising flood, will secure for them a greater degree of happiness in the invisible world.

It has been shown in several chapters of this work, when noticing the religious and moral character of the people and describing the inhabitants of various parts of the country, that there are classes which devote themselves to crime, professional murderers, and professional thieves. So also are there classes, or castes, who are as zealously devoted to useful and honourable pursuits. The Charans and Bhats set themselves apart for the protection of property, and also in dangerous vicinities sedulously devote themselves to the preservation of life. These men will jeopardise their lives in defence of a traveller, or bravely perish in defence of property which they may be hired to watch. There is plenty of employment for them in this respect, for

the Hindoos are most accomplished thieves, especially those which give themselves wholly to the calling. The burglars are at once vigilant, persevering, daring, and expert. They will quietly cut their way through stone walls, or sap under them and emerge in the house; they are even represented as being able to disengage the bed clothes from the sleeper without awaking him. The accounts given by the early Greek writers represent the Indians as honest, faithful, and truthful. Arrian's and Strabo's descriptions of them would lead no reader to suppose that the customs we describe prevailed in their days. The Greeks only knew north-western India, but the present inhabitants of that part of the country do not merit the eulogies given by the Greeks to the races which then inhabited those regions. There was, however, at that early period more of the Arryan element in the blood of the inhabitants of Scinde and the Punjaub. Since then the Arab and Persian elements have been largely introduced.

The habits of the native lawyers, and civil officers of the uncovenanted service, have been indicated under the chapters on government. Sufficient attention has not been given to the prejudices by which those classes are actuated. It is extremely difficult to induce Mohammedans to submit to any law which is not derived from the Koran; neither are they willing to acquiesce in any administration of law which is not conducted by men of their own creed, whom they believe will be guided in the administration of justice by the precepts of the Koran. Among themselves, both Hindoos and Mohammedans are just in the administration of law everywhere, although in Turkey great corruption has crept into the system of dispensing "justice" from the tribunals. Before a Hindoo magistrate or judge, there would be no great share of impartiality for a Mohammedan suitor, and still less for a Hindoo where the judge was Mohammedan. Christians are not regarded as fit to give evidence before a Mohammedan judge, if against a true believer. In India, of course, such a doctrine cannot be openly avowed, but it is secretly believed, and would be invariably acted upon if it were possible, and is acted upon to an extent most injurious and dangerous to Europeans in India. A Jew or a Parsee would have a better chance of fair play from a Hindoo than from a Mussulman. The hatred borne also by the latter to the Persian schismatics interferes with the course of justice where a man of that country, and of the sect of Mohammedanism professed by the Persians, happens to be concerned. Some of the principles of both Hindoo and Moham-

medan law have acted favourably upon the customs of the people, and tend to regulate advantageously their social intercourse, but, as a whole, each system corrupts the judge and the people. The Hindoo and Mohammedan laws, and their effects upon the social condition of the people, were intelligently, although too favourably, noticed at the meeting of the judicial society in London, May 24, 1858, J. W. Wilcock, Esq., Q.C., in the chair. Mr. W. H. Bennet read a paper on the "Hindoo and Mohammedan Laws, as administered in India by English tribunals, and in connexion with English Law." The antiquity and fairness of the Hindoo and Mohammedan systems of jurisprudence were examined, and were illustrated by extracts from rare and valuable works. The subject, apparently abstruse and novel to an audience of English lawyers, was enlivened by curious details connected with legal administration. It was stated that the French government had introduced into Algeria many portions of the Mohammedan law, which tended very much to conciliate the Arabs. By one of the Mohammedan laws it is provided that it is not proper a true believer should either "wish" or ask for the office of *kazi* or judge; by another, that "a kazi ought not to decide a cause when he is hungry, or thirsty, or angry, nor after a full meal, for these circumstances disturb the judgment and impede reflection;" and "that in court the kazi must conduct himself with impartiality; that he must not speak to one of the parties, nor make signs, nor even smile or laugh at one of them, for it would discourage the other." It appears that there are not less than seven hundred and eighty courts in India, of which eighty-five are presided over by English judges. Of these courts five hundred and sixty have cognizance of matters of the value of £30 and upwards; fifty-nine have jurisdiction to the amount of £500; and eighty-four to an unlimited amount, subject to appeal. The efforts of Warren Hastings, the Marquis Cornwallis, and Lord Macaulay, to purify the practice and administration of law in India, were pointed out as deserving the study and imitation of jurists and legislators, especially at the present period. In the course of the conversation that followed the reading of the paper, attention was called to the intense animosity of the Turks to the Jews, and especially to the Persians. "An old Turk being asked what would become of the Jews and the Persians in the day of judgment, answered that the Persians would be turned into jackasses to carry the Jews down to hell."

Sir Thomas Munro, Warren Hastings, and

many of the early English officials in India, represent the people as nationally obedient to authority, and as having respect for law. This may be the case when the law harmonizes with their prejudices and superstitions, but otherwise they do not appear to respect abstract justice or to cherish loyalty any longer than they fear the power, or, at all events, respect the force and the resources of the authority to which their allegiance may have been habitually, and in the most abject manner rendered. This was the view taken of them by the great Duke of Wellington, by Mill and Thornton, the historians, and by almost all eminent missionaries; although the amiable Bishop Heber did much to bring into fashion the notion, now dissipated, of their eminent fidelity, gentleness, obedience, and love of social order. The native laws of India, Hindoo and Mohammedan, has had, on the whole, a most pernicious effect upon those by whom those laws were administered, and upon the people at large. While, no doubt, originally the Hindoo statutes arose out of the beliefs and ancient customs of the people, they partly owed their origin to the skill of priests and rulers, who were interested in oppressing the people, and which have acted upon the natives ever since injuriously to their habits of thought, their moral character, and their social usages.

When the English reader is made familiar with the glowing panegyrics upon the laws, love of justice in the people, equity of native magistrates, and respect for authority, springing from loyal and social considerations, which prevail among the Hindoo and Mohammedan populations, he must receive such statements, no matter from what quarter they come, with some suspicion of the motives of those who utter them, and without any faith in their accuracy. The prevalence of torture in Madras, noticed for other purposes in previous pages, will exemplify this. The practice, as previously shown, was in spite of the authority of the government, and was carried on exclusively by their native functionaries. Yet when independent persons exposed and denounced the wickedness, and called upon the company and the imperial government to put a stop to it, every effort was made to conceal from the public the real state of the case; and men holding the highest places in connexion both with the imperial government at home and with the company, boldly denied the existence of the crime, resisted inquiry, and condemned as disturbers, agitators, &c., those by whom investigation was demanded.

In July, 1854, the subject was brought, for the first time, under the notice of the House

of Commons in a formal manner, by a motion regarding the tenure of land in Madras. On that occasion Mr. Digby Seymour, who had visited India, observed that the evidence collected by himself in India was incontrovertible. Mr. Bright quoted the evidence of Mr. Fisher, a merchant of Salem, in the following terms:—"Every species of severity is tried to enforce payment (of revenue), the thumb-screw, bending the head to the feet, and tying the sufferer in that position, making him stand in the sun sometimes with a large stone on his back; all which failing, his property is sequestered and sold, he is ruined, and let loose on society to live by begging, borrowing, or stealing. Thousands are destroyed in this way." Lord Harris, the governor of Madras, and Sir Laurence Peel, Chief-Justice of Calcutta, soon after confirmed these allegations, but not until the *Calcutta Morning Chronicle*, the *Calcutta Englishman*, the *Madras Athenæum*, and the *Madras United Service Gazette*, had raised an outcry on the subject, and furnished the people of England with evidence that could not be gainsayed. Mr. President Hallis, of the Indian government, wrote:—"Practices, properly designated as torture, do exist; the evil is of a most serious nature, pervading the whole of the native population, and helping most influentially to perpetuate the moral and social degradation in which the inhabitants of the country are sunk." The inhabitants of the district of Guntoor presented a petition to the government, showing forth the cruelties to which they were subjected by the native revenue-officers, in the following terms:—"The families of the ryots were prevented from taking water from their tanks and wells; that they were made to stand in the sun; were tied round the waist and dragged; had their hands and feet placed in the stocks; their bodies bent down, and large stones placed on their backs, and peons mounted on them while so situated; that stones tied in cloths were hung about their necks; that their hands were pressed in an instrument of torture called a *chirtaloo*; that their hair was tied to ropes, fastened to the boughs of trees, and moved violently backwards and forwards." Mr. Otway, on the 7th of August, 1854, declared in the house that "the practice of torture within the territories of Madras was universal, systematic, and habitual." Notwithstanding that the evidence was most abundant, and easily accessible to the court of directors and the Board of Control, and although both these sources of authority desired in every way to discountenance such atrocities, yet both by the board and by the chief men among the directors,

publicly and officially in the House of Commons, the existence of such practices was denied. Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, declared that he did not believe the representations made. When the subject was brought under notice in the commons, in July 1854, Mr. R. D. Mangles, formerly secretary to the government of India, said that "he could *solemnly declare* that he had never, during the many years he was in India, heard of a single case of torture having been resorted to in Madras for the purpose of collecting the revenue." Mr. Elliot, formerly postmaster-general for India, "had never heard of such a thing" as torture in that country "until it was mentioned in that night's debate." And Sir James Weir Hogg capped the climax of denial by pouring unmeasured ridicule upon all that Mr. Seymour had said, charging him with having "fallen into the hands of interested and designing persons," and declaring "that no commission of inquiry was wanted; the governor-general was the queen's commissioner, and was all that was required." The bold asseverations of the friends of the East-India Company had their due weight in the House of Commons, and the motion of inquiry was defeated by the narrow majority of five.

In this case the conduct of Europeans was not in question, neither was it alleged that the government had any complicity with the transactions which, although exaggerated by the witnesses and their advocates, were still horrible; but in defence of the native judges, revenue officers, and police, by whom the execrable work was carried on, men of the most eminent stations were ready to hazard the strongest statements, and to display the utmost confidence in the native *employés*. This, doubtless, arose from the desire cherished so much by the Anglo-Indians to present the natives in a favourable light, and this wish partly arose from the false impression made by the adulation and hypocrisy of the natives, the traditional character of them handed down by the older officers of the company, and by the jealousy of Independent Europeans which prompted the partiality shown to the natives by the civil servants, from the time the company's first factories were founded. The whole affair places in a forcible light the necessity of English citizens weighing well the praise bestowed by Anglo-Indians upon the natives, and the assurances they make of their entire ignorance of the various barbarous, hideous, immoral, filthy, and cruel customs by which the social life of India is accursed. The native laws, and the customs arising out of these laws or sanctioned by them, have a large share

in perpetuating the social miseries of the people.

The habits and character of the native merchants and traders were described so extensively under the head of commerce, as not to require further notice in connection with the subject of social condition.

The peculiarities in the social life of the outlying provinces, such as the Straits' settlements and Ceylon, and in the non-regulation provinces of Scinde, the Punjaub, and the eastern coasts of the Bay of Bengal, have been noticed, *en passant*, when descriptions of those territories were given in previous chapters, so as not to extend too much the portion of the work reserved, as in these chapters, for notice of the social life of India proper.

There can be no doubt that the social feeling of the natives of India is very much influenced by the native press, which is conducted in a spirit malignantly hostile to the British government. It is generally urged by Europeans that such restrictions should be laid upon it as would prevent the injurious influence which it is the means of distributing. The government, however, is more indulgent of the native than of the European press in India, for while the former has been permitted to circulate treason, and direct incentives to revolt all over India, the latter has been watched with unsleeping jealousy, its strictures upon the government policy resented, and rigorous restrictions put upon the liberty of publication. The policy of permitting a native political press in India is fairly open to discussion. The main argument in its behalf is that it is better to know what the people have to say, to allow a public vent for their dissatisfaction, and for the expression of their desires. This is a specious and plausible argument, but it may be urged in reply that so far from the native press being a medium by which the public opinion of the natives is published, it is a medium by which a small party of educated infidels desire to gratify their own ambition by promoting revolution. For this end they excite the prejudices and fanaticism of the natives who can read, and wealthy natives who are disaffected, or who consider themselves aggrieved, circulate these seditious journals. Were they entirely disallowed, there can be no doubt the peace of India would be much promoted. If, however, this is not desirable, and if it be deemed just that a native press be permitted, it should, in the present state of feeling among the educated Hindoos and Mussulmen of certain ranks, exist only under a vigilant but mild censorship, such as would render the publication of treason impossible, while it afforded full

freedom for the discussion of government measures, and concerning the conduct of government officers. In proportion as intelligence spreads in India, a fair, full, and free discussion must be allowed, within the bounds of loyalty. "At the present day, all people and governments must submit to discussion, examination, and responsibility. Let us firmly and faithfully adhere to the principles of our civilization,—justice, legality, publicity, and liberty; and let us never forget, that if we most reasonably ask that all things should be laid open to us, we are ourselves under the eye of the world, and will, in our turn, be examined and judged."* While, however, every encouragement should be given to the free development of a modern native social literature, and the free utterance of the native mind on all points connected with the social, economic, and political condition of India within the limits named, it cannot be overlooked that there will be the utmost difficulty in confining the discussions of the native journals within these limits; and one of the first results of a native free press wielded with tolerable ability, must be the admission of educated natives more generally into high public offices. The way in which the native press has already agitated for such a result, proves the tendency, and foreshadows the inevitable consequence. The *Calcutta Review*, looking forward to such a state of things observes:—"There will, of course, be dangers and trials in the interval. No policy can exempt us from them. We cannot look around us, even now, without observing that every educated man chafes under the sense of social disabilities, and cherishes and spreads around him disaffection. As such men increase and multiply, as they gain from progress of civilization and European habits more manliness and courage, they will exercise a wider influence; and as popular education spreads, there will be also among the mass of the people a more distinct perception of their position; they will be more open to the influence of a seditious native press; and the sense of their power when united may lead to lawless combinations, especially if a few men of strong will, and decisive character, arise to lead the way." The same journal illustrates also the social effect produced by the presence of Christianity, and its greater earnestness in individuals. The native press already has pointed to this as an intolerable grievance not to be borne by the people, and this style of language has been used by men, some of whom are avowed deists, and perhaps as great a proportion of them avowed atheists. "There is," says the review, "another element of our

* Guizot's *Civilization in Europe*.

social state which is constantly working with increasing power. There must be felt, more and more, the disruption produced by the spread of general Christian truth, and by the necessary effects of actual earnest Christianity in individuals; and then, assuredly, the ancient superstitions, and the old vile priesthood, which is the woe of India, will not die without a struggle. We shall hear of fears from Hindooism and Mohammedanism from those who call themselves Christians, if we hear none from the people themselves; the alarm will spread, and all the usual arts will be employed to entrap the government into insane attempts to check the work of Christian mission, and to discourage the progress of Christianity."

The policy of Lord Ellenborough, which is, according to the above quoted authority, against all education, enlightenment, and freedom of the press in India, is wrong in itself, and if it were right, is now too late; but the problem must be solved, and soon solved,—how is the native press to be prevented from creating an anti-British political and social revolution in India?

The social condition of the natives of India would be imperfectly presented to the reader unless the habits and character of the armed hosts employed by the British government are noticed.

The general constitution of the company's army has been noticed in the chapter treating of the military department of the government; in this place the army will be noticed only as regards its relation to the general social condition of the country. The *Times*, referring to the general progress of the mutiny, and the war in Oude in 1858, observed:—"It is now acknowledged on all hands that we are fighting not only the sepoys, but the class from whom the sepoys are drawn. The cultivators and artizans are with us, but the armed classes, the feudal retainers, bad characters, technically called *budmashes*, the durwars, clubmen, and police are against us to a man. They are three million strong, and supply all deficiencies in the insurgent ranks. They have nothing to lose, are fighters from boyhood, and detest the English, who prohibit plunder."

The classes from which the Bengal army had been recruited was thus stated by the *Daily News* at that period:—"In 1853 the Bengal native army numbered in all 83,946 men. Of these, 70,079 were infantry. Of the composition of the cavalry, the returns are silent; but the infantry were thus classified: Brahmins, 26,893; Rajpoots, 27,335; Hindoos of inferior castes, 15,761; Mohammedans, 12,699; Christians, 1,118; Sikhs, 50. The far greater number of recruits for

this army were obtained, not from the company's territories, but from the territories of a foreign prince—from Oude. They were either men in whose families the profession of soldier was hereditary, or young, daring idlers, who preferred the trade of arms to regular industry. They have been, and are precisely the same materials as those of which the armies of the East have been composed from time immemorial. Their object in enlisting was to obtain a position which would enable them to gratify their irregular appetites—to lord it over the industrial classes."

The general character of the sepoys is bad, and however much they were praised and trusted by the company's civil and military officers previous to the mutiny of 1858, it might be said of the Brahminical and heathen portion of them generally, in the language of the Earl of Shaftesbury:—"They deify every passion, every propensity, every sin, and every physical abomination." The *Times* also well described the influence under which their character is formed, in the remarkable words, "The heathen religion is neither a law nor a judge; the Hindoo who commits all these atrocities, does not even regard them as a wrong, and is visited by no remorse for them." The Mohammedan portion of the army is practically no better. Troops that have never mutinied, and have had no cause of complaint, have by their plunder, and shameful abuse of women, deserved the heaviest punishments of the most stern discipline. An instance which occurred at Bangalore, in 1858, while the Bengal revolt was at its height, shows the spirit of these men. The outrage was perpetrated by sepoys of the Madras army, which had remained the most faithful. A Madras paper thus described it:—"A murder case, which for atrocity and cruelty vies with the outrages recently perpetrated in the north-west—excepting that in the present instance the murderers are Mussulman sepoys, and the victim a young woman of their own creed—has just been disposed of by the judicial commissioner in Mysore. We have the greatest disinclination to place the horrible in actual life before our readers, yet, as many of the advocates of the traditional policy in England and elsewhere speak of clemency and tolerance towards the harmless and docile people of Hindostan, we look upon it as a matter of duty to place before the public such of the occurrences in every-day life that pass under our review, as tend to develop the awful depravity and present tendencies of the many-coloured tribes we are surrounded with. Some time last year, in the month of February, a sepoy of the 35th regiment native infantry,

at Hurryhur, was offended about some trivial matter with a young woman of loose character, named Jamahlee, who resided in the same cantonment, and resolved on revenging himself. He found no difficulty in getting six of his comrades, and a bheesty of his corps, to join him in the perpetration of the contemplated outrage. Measures having been preconcerted, the above-named sepoy and one of his comrades dogged the footsteps of Jamahlee one evening, when, seeing their intended victim seated in a bazaar, they went up to her, and after greeting her courteously asked her in a casual way to come and partake of a glass of arrack with them. She, unsuspectingly, consented to their proposal, and accompanied them. They wended their way, talking quite cheerfully, out of the bazaar lines, to the ball-firing plain, in doing which they happened to meet, as if accidentally, the remaining five sepoys and the bheesty. When they had got here a bottle of arrack was brought, and while all seemed to partake of the intoxicating stuff, care was taken to make Jamahlee drunk. No sooner was this result produced than every one of these monsters ravished their poor victim, after which they carried her to a ruined temple on the banks of the Toombudra river close by, stripped her of all her clothes and jewels, lit a fire and roasted her alive, stomach downwards, pointed a bamboo stick and pierced her ear and other parts of her body with it, beat her with a rattan, and tortured her to death. Not satisfied with all this they brought the corpse back, and threw it on the ball-firing plain in the cantonment, in order, it appears, that 'all who passed by might spit upon it.' Two of those eight wretches have been sentenced to death, and the remaining six to transportation for life."

The spirit of sanguinary and capricious cruelty which characterises the Hindoos nationally, seems more especially to pervade those who follow the profession of arms, and wherever the native soldiery are unrestrained by a vigilant discipline, they revel with oriental delight in acts of strange barbarity and vindictiveness. In reference to the act just recorded—and many occur in India like it—the language of the editor of the *Times* is appropriate:—"No English soldiers could possibly have done such an act as this. Passionate, licentious, furious, and brutal they have been upon occasions, and the frenzy of a successful capture, when a city which has long resisted is at last carried by storm, has before now excited them to violent excesses and reckless acts; but they could not be guilty of such cold-blooded atrocities as these; they could not pursue cruelty to such fastidious, hellish

refinements. Such acts are not in their nature; they do not belong to the moral atmosphere in which they have been born and bred; they *could* not do them. Christianity may not in its higher and stricter phase penetrate the mass and mould nations and races, but it does act as a safeguard to them against these extremities of vice. It produces a certain moral atmosphere, out of which even the careless and lax cannot remove themselves, but which they carry about with them; it sets up a standard which becomes, in a degree, part of our nature. In heathen religion there is nothing really controlling—morally controlling; it may assume the most imperious and dictatorial tone in externals, and impose an endless code of ceremonials and forms upon its disciples, but its moral standard comes from a human source, from the minds of its own disciples themselves, and therefore, morally, a heathen religion does not control those minds, but those minds control it; it cannot be a law to that nature of which it is simply the offspring and the reflection. But Christianity is a revelation from above, and therefore it is a law. It compels a certain deference to it, and even when it is not obeyed, it can punish by the stings of bitter recollection and remorse. Such demonstrations may well make us pause in our career of Indian government—pause to reflect how far we may trust such specimens of moral character, place them in responsible and powerful positions, and put arms into their hands."

The whole *morale* of the sepoy troops is bad, they are linked with the civilians, whose devoteism unfits them for allegiance to a Christian power. The Brahmins of the Bengal army were the intimate and constant confederates of men of their own caste, who, as a rule, were capable of perpetrating any outrage to promote the power of their idolatry, and the ascendancy of their order. The Mohammedans, more than even their co-religionists elsewhere, are in the Madras and Bombay armies as they were in the Bengal, ready to immerse their hands in blood, either to promote a personal ambition, avenge a private quarrel, or accomplish a sectarian purpose. The Mohammedan soldiers are more generally rash and instantaneously revengeful; the heathen sepoys are utterly debased, a profound sensuality and a quiet, deeply nurtured, remorseless and bloody vindictiveness seem to reign over their whole nature: eloquently and truly has it been remarked,—“Military life has the reputation of great laxity, but it is quite clear that the moral temper of an English army is as different as light is from darkness from that of a

Hindoo army. The truth is, your heathen is not only vicious, but plunges deep into the very depths of vice. Vice is not an indulgence simply, it is also a horrible mystery; heathen, and especially oriental nature, is not content with the indulgence, but dives into the mystery. It goes behind the veil, it penetrates into the sanctuary, it searches the inner depths and recesses, it makes discoveries in the horrible interior, it follows up the subject, and goes into abominable subtleties and refinements of vice from which Christian nature even in its worst examples shrinks back. There is something insatiable about heathen vice, and especially oriental vice; it palls unless it is in progress, is always penetrating further, and going beyond its present self. And this is true, especially of those two great departments of vice—lust and cruelty. Who can sound the depths of oriental licence in these two fields? What a horrible shape does vengeance assume in the oriental mind; what epicurean refinements of pain; what exquisite tortures; what subtle agonies has it suggested; what an intricate and acute development it has given to the subject; what a luxury of cruelty has it dived into, brooding pleasurably over its victim, watching the process of suffering, and fostering with tender care the precious seed of hatred, as if it were loth to bring it too soon to maturity, even by the death of the object! This is the mystery of cruelty. We forbear to enter into another mystery, connected with the other department of vice just mentioned. The mystery of oriental lust need but be alluded to to raise horror and awe, as at the idea of something indescribable and inexplicable—we cannot say *super-natural*. Contrast with this tone of heathen vice, of oriental vice, the tone of Christian vice, and there will appear a marked difference. Christian vice is bad enough, but it is not insatiable, it is not infinite, it does not go into the horrible subtleties and refinements of the other. In a word, Christian vice is an indulgence, a gross, a coarse, a sensual indulgence, but it is not a mystery. Even an immoral Christian stays comparatively on the threshold, and does not search the dark interior of vice, and ransack every corner of it.”

Except as their interests were served, the native soldiery have been always disloyal and insubordinate, and this mainly arose from their religious associations. They were ever ready to be led away by some Brahmin priest, or mad fakeer. The late Major Edward Willoughby, quartermaster-general of the Bombay army, describes the sepoys of that army in terms which confirm these statements. The major affirms that the natives were more

easily governed than British soldiers, which is true so far as petty vices are concerned, where the superior energy, and customary freedom of the British soldier exposes him to peculiar temptations, but the English soldier is essentially loyal, and where a principle is concerned, he is a model of subordination. He is unruly where the native is pliant, he is obedient, subordinate, and loyal, with a high sense of soldierly honour where the native is ready to follow the beck of every adventurer and conspirator. Major Willoughby's remarks were made in reference to Lord William Bentinck's order against flogging in the native army, and his words are, with this understanding of the particular expression pointed out, forcibly correct:—"The men composing the native army are, generally speaking, easily governed, more so than our own countrymen. Amongst Europeans, individual acts of misconduct, and even insubordination, are not uncommon, but they are easily dealt with, and there is no fear of its extending beyond the ranks of its own company or regiment; but the native army is composed of such different material that much is at all times to be feared on this score. A few designing men may get into the ranks of a regiment, perhaps for the purpose of causing some disaffection (I have known it to be the case for the purpose of plunder), and so far succeed in exciting men's minds against their officers and government, on some imaginary grievance, regarding their caste and popular prejudices, of which they will allow these rascals to be the judges (for no bodies of men ever take the trouble to think for themselves), that if it is not checked with a firm hand at the outset, may end even in the downfall of our authority in India. All the serious affairs that have taken place amongst the native troops, have commenced something in this way; but a firm and judicious commanding officer can, generally speaking, check a thing of this kind, if he is armed with the requisite power. He orders a drum-head court martial, by the sentence of which the ringleaders are made an instant example of, the discontent kept down, and the whole affair settled without calling in further assistance, before it assumes a serious aspect, or becomes generally known. And who will tell me that this is not a merciful act, both to the sufferer, as well as to the body of misguided men, who would in all probability, if trifled with under such circumstances, be led on to any degree of crime, without knowing what they were doing? But now, in such a case, with Lord William Bentinck's order in the mouth of every drummer boy, what is a commanding officer to do if it is reported to him that his

regiment is guilty of some act of insubordination? He repairs to the parade, stands in front of a thousand men bearing arms; the instigators are pointed out to him, and what is he to do to enforce his own or the orders of government? Surely he cannot make such a burlesque of it as to order them to be put on *congée* for a month, nor by directing their discharge, for it is well known to every officer who has served with a native regiment that the first thing a man asks for, when excited by any annoyance, is his discharge; in short, I have heard a whole regiment call out on parade, 'Give us our discharge,' 'We want our discharge.' But we have assumed that these men have enlisted for a particular purpose, and having been detected in their villany, the greatest favour you can bestow upon them is to give them their liberty again. To comply, therefore, with the wishes of men under such circumstances, without first disgracing them by flogging, is clearly no punishment or example to others; and commanding officers now will have no power left in their hands by which they can strike awe into the ranks of a body of men, perhaps bordering on mutiny. What, therefore, is to become of a regiment in such a situation? They see their commanding officer's hands tied, are encouraged by it, and so the thing goes on, until it assumes such an alarming feature, that higher authority is called in, capital punishment is resorted to, and ten or a dozen men lose their lives; lucky indeed if it stops here: and this is what Lord William Bentinck boasts of at Glasgow, as being his great philanthropic act, in giving up the government of India. This subject, depend upon it, ought not to be lightly thought of by the authorities in this country if they value the safety of our Eastern dominions, and it is one of serious concern to officers now rising to the command of regiments. Some expedient ought therefore to be hit upon, and that soon, to annul this fearful order. At present the army is composed of veteran troops, and they are fortunately in that state of discipline that things may go on quietly enough for a time, but when we begin to recruit again, and our ranks are filled with men who have never been taught to fear the rod, we shall then find to our cost that they will be like loose horses, not quite so easily managed, even in the common duties required of them, as they were with the curbs. This, I fear, will be particularly felt in the field, in preventing plunder and other crimes, of which soldiers are too often guilty in marching through a country, and which requires a strong arm of the law to check, even amongst the best disciplined troops."

The discipline of the native army un-

doubtedly requires some peculiar mode of punishment if flogging and placing in irons, which they alone appear to dread, are to be given up. The Duke of Wellington pointed out long ago the uselessness of capital punishments for either sepoys or people as a punishment for rebellious conduct to which religion or caste stimulated. The victim would glory in his death as martyrdom, and all his friends and the people revere his memory as a witness for his religion or caste. Whereas, loading them with chains, or inflicting stripes, degrades them in their own esteem, and that of their fellow revolters, whether civil or military, and is consequently an effectual and deterring punishment. Major E. Willoughby, already quoted, bore testimony to the effect of flogging in the following language:—"The great argument against this mode of punishment is, that it deters the higher class of natives from joining the ranks. The respectable natives inclined to enlist well understand that the lash is not intended for them while they behave themselves properly; but admitting that our ranks are filled with the very description of men we appear so anxious to obtain, then, perhaps, I must differ with most people in saying, that the argument that would apply to the European character on this head would not hold good with the natives of India, for I am satisfied the more intelligent and respectable your men are, as to family connexions, the greater the danger of disaffection, and consequently the greater the cause for keeping the means best adapted to check it. I think I am borne out in this assertion from the experience the Golundanze battalion has afforded us. These men are all of high caste and character, and are paid better than the rest of the foot-soldiers. They are a fine body of men, and do credit to the officers of artillery, but I believe I am not far wrong in saying that they have given more trouble, and a greater number of court-martial have taken place in that corps, since it has been raised, than in any six regiments of the line during the same period. Before I conclude I must avow my great abhorrence to corporeal punishment, when it can possibly be avoided; and, in my opinion, it is seldom, if ever, requisite in a well-regulated native regiment, if the commanding officer has the power to exercise it when it does become necessary; but take that power from him, and you will find the hitherto quietly-disposed native soldier, particularly your high caste men, much more prone to mischief than they were under the old system."

The opinion of Sir Charles Napier was in accordance with that of Major Edward Willoughby. The words of the conqueror of

Scinde were :—"I have long considered the *flogging system* as regards native troops, and my opinion is fixed. I entirely concur in the governor-general's [Lord Hardinge's] remarks upon the orders of Lord Combermere, General Barnes, and Lord William Bentinck. *The abolishing flogging was a great mistake, and injurious to the Indian army.* Discharge from the service is not the greatest punishment to a bad sepoy, though it is to a good one. And it is severe to give that highest punishment—made more terrible and disgraceful by hard labour in irons along with felons—to a well-drilled sepoy of previous good character, a man attached to our service, who has, perhaps, only in a single instance broken the rules of discipline; a man who, born under the fiery sun of India, is by nature subject to flashes of passion that cannot be passed over, but do not debase him as a man. It is unjust, and therefore injurious, and even disgraceful, to the military code, which thus says: 'I punish you in the highest degree, and stamp you with infamy for having a weakness, more or less common to all men.' Their own expression admirably depicts this injustice: '*If we deserve punishment, flog our backs, but do not flog our bellies.*' Lord William Bentinck was a man I loved personally, as my old and respected friend and commander; but he did not see the severity, I will almost say cruelty, to the sepoy of a measure which he deemed to be the reverse. Taking the sepoy's own prayer as the basis of our system, I would reward him and flog him, according to his deserts—his good conduct should benefit his belly, his bad conduct be laid on his back. An Indian army is always in the field, and you have no other punishment but shooting. In the campaign against the Ameers I availed myself of provost-m Marshals to flog. Some of the newspapers called upon the sepoys to mutiny. I stood the risk. Had I not done so, and showed the Scindians they were protected on the spot, instead of feeling safe, and being safe, they would have been plundered, and would have assassinated every man who passed our sentries, and, instead of bringing supplies, would have cut off our food: *thus, to save the backs of a few marauders, hundreds of good soldiers would have been murdered.* All this was avoided by having once ordered every pillager to be flogged; and plenty there were—I dare say not less than sixty were flogged the first two days. Some religious people said 'it was unholy;' some attorneys' clerks in red coats said 'it was illegal:' but I flogged on, and in less than a week the poor ryots, instead of flying or coming into camp to entreat protection (which I could only give by the lash), they

met us at the entrances of the villages, and furnished us with provisions. Without the use of the lash plunder would have raged—officers would have made personal efforts to stop atrocities—and what the great Duke calls 'the knocking-down system' would have prevailed, and shooting and hanging alone could have saved the army."

The importance of military discipline, and the manners, customs, and character of the native troops, is too important to the question of the whole social condition of India to be overlooked.

In 1844 new articles of war for the Indian army were published, in which were sections re-introducing the penalty of flogging; but so little discretion was left to the commanding officers of regiments, and so guarded was the language employed in authorising it at all, that the sections referring to it were a dead letter. The result of the centralization of all authority at head-quarters was well expressed by Sir Charles Napier when he said, "The power of punishing ceases when it ought to be most vigorous, and order becomes almost a matter of personal civility from the sepoy to his commander. Really one is astonished how the army preserves any discipline." The Bengal army did not long preserve any discipline. The rage for treating the sepoy as if he were not only as good as an Englishman, but superior morally, and deserving more consideration from government, did much to destroy that discipline, and to shake also the consistency of the armies of Madras and Bombay. When the Brahmins and high caste Mohammedans saw that within the lines of the same cantonments English soldiers were severely flogged and degraded for crimes for which sepoys escaped with their discharge, some temporary confinement, or rebuke, they began to think that the British government did homage to caste, or feared the native soldiers too much to dare to treat them, as they showed by the punishment inflicted on English soldiers, they believed their crimes deserved. The result was contempt for the British private soldiers for submitting to the indignity, and for the British government, as deficient in power, authority, or "respect for *their own* caste" and nation.

The question of rewards and punishments in the native army is important, as bearing upon its social relations as well as discipline. It affects the recruiting of the service and the feeling which the mass of the people cherish towards it. For the native troops of India there are two military rewards—the Order of British India, and the Order of Merit. The first is bestowed upon native officers; the second, upon soldiers of all ranks, who have distin-

guished themselves by personal valour. In the one there are two classes of a hundred men each; in the other, three classes. Those who are in the first rank of the order of British India have two rupees a day in addition to the regimental pay; those in the second class, one rupee extra. Those belonging to the Order of Merit have a pecuniary recompense of double, one-half, or one-third of their regimental pay, as they belong to the first, second, or third class. The governor-general confers these orders. Since 1837 the pay and allowances of the native troops in the three presidencies have been equalized. In addition to these honorary marks of distinction and pecuniary rewards, pensions for wounds received in action have been increased, as well as those given to the children of soldiers killed in battle. The troops have priority of hearing in the judicial courts, and when food exceeds a certain sum they receive a compensation. If a native soldier crosses the frontier, and dies in an Indian hospital, he is considered to have died in a foreign country, which entitles his heirs to receive a pension. Lastly, the letters of the Bengal sepoys to and from their friends pass free of postage.

The social peculiarities of the European soldiers in India constitute an important feature of the social condition of the country. As the habits and character of the native soldiery have been last noticed, it will preserve connection between the two great departments of military social life, native and British, so far as our narrative is concerned, to state their relative prospects of promotion.

The native Indian army was first formed into regiments in 1796, till which date seniority prevailed. In the time of Clive and Lawrence, in our struggles against the French, natives held the rank of officers; and in those campaigns our sepoys were exclusively commanded by Mohammed Issoof, equally meritorious and honoured as a soldier and a statesman. Since that period the army has been entirely officered by the British, though the natives have held, and still hold, the rank of non-commissioned officers. Under the present system the officers rise from the junior ensign to the rank of major regimentally. They afterwards rise in line, in their own arm of the service, to the rank of colonel. Formerly the company's officers were not treated by the home government with that liberality which their eminent services entitled them to receive, but in later times honours and distinctions have been conferred upon them for gallantry in action. According to Mr. Melvill's authority, in the last fifteen years prior to 1852, when he gave his evidence, 350 have received special brevets, and

213 honours of the Bath. Those special brevets have been given by the crown; and it should be added that within the periods named thirteen distinguished officers have been honoured by the appointment of aides-de-camp to her majesty, which gives them at once the rank of colonel. Since 1834 special pensions and allowances have been granted to the widows and children of officers killed in action; and since that date officers have been privileged to make remittances to their families through the company's treasury, whereas formerly they had to pay a commercial agency for the transmission, now saved, while greater regularity is secured.

The customs of the European officers have become of late years a subject of much comment in the Indian press. General Jacob draws the following comparison between the English and Indian habits of officers:—"From the moment a young officer sets foot in the Bengal Presidency, he is perpetually reminded that every English idea and habit is the sure mark of a griffin (that is, of a fool). He must not go out in the sunshine—he must travel in a palkee instead of on horseback—he must be punkaed, and tattied, and God knows what else—he must have a *khansaman*, a *kibruntgar*, a *sridar*-bearer and bearers, and a host of other servants; one for his pipe, another for his umbrella, another for his bottle, another for his chair, &c.—all to do the work of one man; and which work would be done by one man in the case of the Bombay griffin. By all these people the youth is called *ghureeb purwar*, *hoodawund*, &c. This state of affairs bewilders the new comer, till, resigning himself to his fate, he becomes accustomed to it, and gradually loses part of the manliness of the Anglo-Saxon character. With the external luxurious and lazy habits of Hindostan, he imperceptibly adopts somewhat of oriental morality. . . . The remedy is evident. Let it be the fashion to be English. It is a fallacy to suppose that the climate compels to be otherwise. There are faults enough, I suppose, in the European society of the western presidency; but assuredly it is ten times more English than that of Bengal, yet the climate is no better than that of the latter. Let the griffin have no more than two body servants at most; let him have no one in his service who will not do such work as his master bids him do. If the Hindoos object to such service, there are plenty of Mussulmen ready, willing, and able to take their places, and with no more prejudice than a Christian. Let the young man never enter a palkee, but go about on the back of his pony; let him not fear the sun—

it may tan his cheeks, but it will not hurt him. It is your effeminate gentlefolk, who live in dark houses artificially cooled, with a dozen Hindoos at work, with fans and flappers to beat the flies off them, who suffer by exposure, not the hardy young Englishmen, who, if not intemperate, soon becomes acclimated; and the more readily so the less he regards the sunshine, which is healthy enough in moderation."

It cannot be matter of surprise if these strictures of General Jacob evoked very severe replies, and among the most efficient of the general's repellants has been Lieut.-colonel Hunter. He accuses the general, or colonel as he calls him (he is now general), of prejudices in favour of the Bombay army, to which he himself belongs, and of exaggeration in the pictures he draws of what was blameworthy on the part of the officers of the Bengal army. No man can read General Jacob's writings without perceiving his prejudices, his perverse judgment, and eccentric reasonings, however they may admire his energy, activity, and various soldierly qualities, such as have won for him no inconsiderable renown. The reply of the lieutenant-colonel sets before us the social life of the officers of the Bengal army in quite another form, and deserves to be incorporated in these pages, on the venerable principle, *Audi alteram partem*. Colonel Hunter says,* "I have remarked that Colonel Jacob's tracts are full of delusions, and caricature, in regard to the habits of the officers of the Bengal army. Far from fearing the sun, as they are represented, in page 28 of the *Tracts*, to do, I have known men, who, out tiger-shooting, have been exposed to the sun during the entire month of May, from sunrise to sunset; and have returned to their cantonments with their faces necks, and hands, almost blacker than their native attendants. I have also known men, who, as a mere pastime, have been in the habit of riding their one hundred and forty miles between breakfast and dinner; enough, I should suppose, to satisfy the most fastidious Bombay officer in these matters. As to the Bengal griffin, with his host of useless servants and his otherwise effeminate habits, the picture is very amusing, and no doubt intended to be very edifying; but, unfortunately, at least, as far as my experience goes, the picture is mere fiction and caricature; yet taking it *quantum valeat*, to what, after all, do these fantastic notions amount? admitting that, here and there, there

are a few Bengal griffins to be found riding in palkees, and surrounded by a retinue of khansamans, khidmurgars, hooquburdars, bottle-holders, &c. &c., do not the most manly characters—soldiers and civilians,—to be found in England, do exactly the same thing; have they not their butlers, footmen, pages, grooms, coachmen, &c. &c., and do they not sometimes condescend to ride in a carriage, and—*proh pudor*—sometimes even to use an umbrella; and does Colonel Jacob really imagine that these men are less English at heart, and less manly in their habits, than the youth, who, through necessity, is satisfied to put up with the services of a maid-of-all-work, the prototype, I suppose, of the 'man-of-all-work' attached to the Bombay griffin. Then, as to the palkee,—is there really anything so very shocking in the fact that—*more majorum*—we Bengalees sometimes indulge in such an equipage, to avoid being half broiled, and drenched in perspiration, when about to pay a few visits to the fair sex, or buttoned up to the throat in full uniform, when about to visit some distant part of a cantonment on duty; if the Bombay griffin, on such occasions, prefers a tattoo or poney, all I can say is, there is no accounting for taste in these matters—*De gustibus non disputandum*. 'That clever general Sir Charles Napier,' says Colonel Jacob, 'went half mad at the first sight of the camels that accompanied his little force in Scinde.' The gallant colonel appears to have been affected much in the same way at the first sight of the Bengal palkees, hooquburdars, bottle-holders, &c. 'Cleverness,' again remarks Colonel Jacob, 'is full of prejudices; genius is independent of local circumstances;' under this view of the case, to which category the gallant colonel belongs can be no very difficult matter to determine. If Colonel Jacob is in the habit of indulging in classical or historical reminiscences, the contemplation of the luxurious habits of such first-rate soldiers as Alexander, Cæsar, Pompey, Wallenstein, &c., must have caused him many a bitter pang—

"Omnibus in terris quæ sunt a Gadibus usque
Aurorem et Gangem, pauci dignoscere possunt
Vera bona, atque illis multum diversa, remotâ
Erroris nebula."

There is less excuse for the aspersion which has been cast upon the Bengalees by Colonel Jacob, inasmuch as Bombay, to which presidency he belongs, has been blessed with two splendid specimens of the Bengalee, in the persons of the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone and Sir G. Clerk, both as remarkable for manliness of character, manly habits, and ability to rough it, as they were for their

* *Suggestions relative to the Re-organization, Discipline, and future Management of the Bengal Army*, pp. 10, 11. By Lieutenant-colonel William Hunter, Bengal army retired list.

liberality of disposition, and princely hospitality. Sir G. Clerk for horsemanship, pluck, and stamina, had scarcely perhaps his match in India, and the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone was, I am told, equally conspicuous for the same qualities. These distinguished men were both probably sybarites, as far as a show of khansamans, khidmutgars, and bottleholders could make them so, but notwithstanding these vanities, which in Colonel Jacob's eyes, so militate with the true dignity of manhood, I believe I am correct in saying that they are the two most popular governors Bombay has seen during the present century."

Whatever the partialities of officers may lead them to pronounce in respect to the habits of their confreres of their own presidency, there can be no doubt from the testimony of Sir Charles Napier, General Jacob, and many impartial and disinterested civilians, that the social life of the younger officers of the native army has been for a long time tainted with gambling and dissipation to a degree requiring the interposition of their superiors. *Gaudet equis et canibus*, seems so universally true of the English officer in the royal army, that it is absolutely absurd to make it an accusation against the officers of the company, as has lately been done by gentlemen connected with the English press in India, and by merchants, civilians, and travellers. That our young officers very often live extravagantly, and sometimes recklessly, that the term "fast," will too generally apply to their habits, cannot be denied by their staunchest advocates; but that they are worse than other young men of their rank and country, in other professions, or in the sister service at home or abroad, may be with safety denied.

The general impression is that the climate is deadly to Europeans. Statistical information confirms General Jacob's view as to its healthfulness, at all events, for the ordinary duties of officers, but the returns of casualties in war have always shown a high rate. This was more especially the case in the revolt of 1857. The mortality amongst the officers in the Indian army, since the rebellion broke out, has been about septupled. The *Friend of India* has published a list of four hundred and fifteen East India Company's officers on the Bengal establishment who died from 10th May, the day on which the rebellion broke out, to the end of 1857; and the list seems to be as full and correct as any that has appeared. The *Quarterly Army List*, published by Lepage and Co., may, we presume, be relied upon as correct; and according to that, there were, on the 10th of April, just

prior to the mutiny, 3578 officers in the company's service, serving on the Bengal establishment; and the mortality amongst them, in the seven months and twenty-two days, commencing on the 10th May, and ending 31st of December, was at the rate of upwards of eleven and a half per cent., or about eighteen per cent. per annum. The average age of officers of the Bengal army, excluding second lieutenants, cornets, and ensigns, was, in 1847, according to the best authorities, forty-one years; and there is no reason, as far as we are aware, for believing that that is not the average age now. Cadets are, one with another, seventeen and a half years old on entering the service, and from the gradation list, it is concluded, that the mean age of second lieutenants, cornets, and ensigns is about twenty-three years. Also, that the average age of all the officers of the Bengal army is, as near as may be, forty years. The mortality at age forty, during the present century, has been rather more than two and a half per cent. per annum. It follows that the casualties, which we have a right to assume are directly consequent on the insurrection, and in excess of what would have occurred under ordinary circumstances, amount to less than fifteen and a half per cent. of the whole strength of the force; that is to say, during the past year the deaths, as we have said, have been septupled; one hundred and seventy-four out of every thousand officers died, the experience of nearly a century having led us to conclude that only twenty-six out of every thousand would die.

The mortality of British soldiers both in peace and war arises from long marches in the heavy clothing with which, under so hot a climate, they are encumbered. Under the burning sun, or the still more dangerous dews of the periods generally chosen for marching, many incur death, or disease by which they are permanently invalided. The extension of railways was shown in another chapter as important for strategy and for carrying stores, it will also spare the health of our troops. The improvement of river navigation will tend, perhaps, in an equal degree, to preserve the health and promote the social comfort of the European officers and soldiers on Indian service. Preparations of an important kind are being made to cover the great rivers of India with efficient steamers of huge magnitude, by which a large number of troops, and a vast quantity of stores can be borne at one time. The *Liverpool Albion* of June, 1858, had the following paragraph:—"While public attention has been attracted so strongly by the unusual dimensions of the Leviathan that the name of that vessel is in everybody's

mouth, it happens singularly enough that two vessels of greater length, and of a more remarkable character, have been advancing to completion in Liverpool without the general public being even cognizant of their existence. These vessels are each seven hundred feet long. They have been constructed by Messrs. Vernon and Son, for the Oriental Inland Steam Company, and are intended for the navigation of the Indian rivers. The purpose of their peculiar features of construction is to enable a large cargo to be carried at a good rate of speed upon a light draught of water. The great rivers of India, though penetrating far into the interior, and though containing large volumes of water, are, never-

theless, shallow during the dry season. The vessels navigating must, therefore, float very light, and yet they must have displacement enough to carry a good cargo. They must have strength enough not to suffer injury if they should get aground, and they must present such little resistance to the water as to be able to achieve a satisfactory rate of progress against the stream. All these indications are admirably fulfilled in these vessels."

The grand difficulty in the native army is the social relations of the British and native officers. The former look down upon the latter, who feel the contempt with which they are treated.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA (*Continued*).

THE difficulty of attaching new provinces to the British government has been greatly increased by the jealousy shown by Europeans to having natives retained in the employments, civil or military, which they held. The Duke of Wellington called the attention of the government to this fact in his day, his words were, "whenever any portion of the country is brought under British dominion, we throw out of employment all who have hitherto managed the revenues or commanded armies." Sir Thomas Munro said:—"There is no example of any conquest, in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country, as of British India." The same high authority remarks, "Our system is much more efficacious in depressing, than all our laws and school-books can be in elevating the character of the natives; we are working against our own designs, and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve, and a powerful one to deteriorate; there can be no hope of any great zeal for improvement, when the highest acquirements lead to nothing beyond some inferior appointment, and can confer neither wealth or honour." Lord William Bentinck remarks, "That under the Mohammedans the sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified; they intermarried with the natives, and admitted them to all privileges; our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish, and unfeeling; the iron hand of power on one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other. India, in order to become an attached depen-

dency of Great Britain, must be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. Our government to be secure must be made popular; the government must remain arbitrary, but it may also be, and should be, paternal."

However deserving of respect the opinions of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir William Bentinck, they must be received with care. Several of the predictions of the former, and the legislative measures of the latter, have shown that these men, however justly regarded as *beaux esprits*, did not penetrate the character of the Hindoos. Lord William Bentinck was wrong in saying that under the Mohammedans the sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. The Mohammedans made conversion to their religion, real or feigned, a test of office, and the conquerors settled down within the country, making it their own, as the Normans did in England,—two conditions which so entirely separate the case of the Mohammedan and the British conquerors, that it would be surprising to find such a man as Lord William Bentinck adopt those views, were it not that some of his legislative acts prove how much he was governed by theories in his own mind, and how strong his tendency to assimilate facts to those theories where, in truth, there was no affinity. The government of Lord William Bentinck, if reviewed *ab ovo usque ad mala*, will confirm this opinion in any impartial judgment. Still, the opinion of those eminent persons on this matter must not be permitted to pass unheeded; and no correct

view can be taken of the social condition of India which does not comprehend the position of British officials to the educated natives, both military and civil.

The imperfect administration of justice by British officials, from want of legal knowledge, has become one of the most marked evils of Indian social life. A gentleman well acquainted with the state of the law both in India and in England thus treated the subject in the leading diurnal journal of London:—"One of the most legitimate grievances of the Anglo-Indian public is the defective legal knowledge of the civilians who officiate in India as the company's judges. A hostile pamphleteer has made a collection of sudder decisions, which read like so many legal paradoxes; and, in fact, it is admitted that the sudder judges have no qualification for their duties, except such as they acquire empirically when adjudicating as collectors on questions of boundary, and for the rest they trust to their unassisted common sense. There are some persons, I know, in whose eyes this will be no heavy charge. With us in England law is so inextricably associated with the debased feudalism of our real property system, the scholastic pedantry of our common law pleading, and the intricate and costly procedure of our equity courts, that we are apt to regard rough common sense as a better guide to the reason than the rules, entangled with technicality, by which the trained lawyer directs himself. Yet the great principles of jurisprudence are, in truth, only the accumulated common sense of many centuries, many races, many men; and judicial functionaries are no more at liberty to discard them than is the geometrician or the algebraist to neglect the results stored up by previous labourers in his field of science. The special knowledge of the jurist is nowhere of greater value than in a country where the legal system which has to be administered, is as strangely heterogeneous as it is in India. The more confused the body of rules to be interpreted, the firmer ought to be the grasp of the judge and of the practitioner on the great leading canons which control and simplify every form of law. From a criminal law which embodies the perverse learning of the Mohammedan doctors, from a civil law which still reflects the primitive barbarism of the aboriginal Hindoo races, the fully equipped intellect of the trained jurist can alone be relied upon to extract conclusions which recommend themselves to the reason, and which harmonize with each other. The experiment of confiding to amateur judges the administration of such a system as that which the Hindoo lives under has produced results which disgust the layman quite as

much as the professional lawyer. The Anglo-Indians seem to be unanimous in their contempt of the sudder courts. To remedy what they consider a palpable evil, they are clamorous for barristers to come out and practise before all the company's tribunals, with an understanding that the bench is hereafter to be recruited from these practitioners, either wholly or in part. It is a much debated question among Anglo-Indians whether English barristers ought not to have a readier access given them to the company's tribunals, by making English the judicial and forensic language of all India. . . . Nothing, sir, can be worse than the existing prospect of supplying India with judges and practitioners capable of unravelling Hindoo law with the refined appliances of the jurist. Haileybury College is extinct; and though in the recent scheme of education drawn out for the young Indian civilians some provision was made for furnishing them out with at least the elements of law, that part of the new arrangements has (a correspondent of yours remarks this) been quietly dropped. Civil servants of the Indian government will, therefore, in future, have no legal knowledge at all. The barristers with whom it is proposed to supply their place in all judicial offices are not necessarily superior to the civilians in special, and would probably be found inferior to them in general qualifications."

The same writer, with great discrimination and truth, observes:—"Let us not disguise from ourselves that in filling England with sham lawyers or amateur lawyers we throw away one principle means of civilizing the Hindoo. The missionary teacher of religion has a world of difficulties to contend with; the missionary teacher of justice has none whatever. The native has the most profound respect for our equity, for our conscientious adherence to the letter, for the strong sense (whenever he finds it) which gives meaning and consistency to his own chaotic law. The education of the Hindoo mind through the administration of justice might be carried to almost any length; but we appear determined to stop where we are, if, indeed, by bringing English technical crochetyness to bear on Hindoo perversity, we do not positively undo all that we have done. The great boon to India of a civil law, harmonized by wise judicial exposition, the still greater boon of a general code, will only be conferred by lawyers whose studies were properly directed, and whose acquirements were thoroughly sifted at the outset of their career. It is quite immaterial by what conventional designation these lawyers are known. They may be either barristers-at-law, trained especially for

Indian practice, or civilians who have received a thoroughly legal education, adequately trained in the principles of jurisprudence." At present there is little prospect of the ideas of this enlightened writer being carried out, but it is possible that in the general sifting to which all Indian affairs are being subjected by the awakened energy of parliament and the British public, that this also may be made the subject of investigation and reform.

The general tone of the members of the civil service in all departments enters largely into the social character of India. Formerly there was great neglect of religious observances by these classes. Travellers at the beginning of this century, and during the first twenty or thirty years of it, give relations on this head painful to Christians and Englishmen to peruse. One writer represents the celebration of religious worship according to the service of the Church of England as only occurring occasionally when a clergyman visited the garrison. Other writers represent divine service as being held monthly only, or even less frequently, in other garrisons and populous places, where there was *comparatively* a numerous English population. This is not now the case. A very great revival of interest in religious things has taken place; and in all cantonments and cities where Europeans congregate there are either regular chaplains paid by the government, and sometimes several chaplains of different sects, or the missionaries of voluntary religious societies, and of the Established Church, minister statedly among Europeans, as well as among the natives, to whom they are more especially commissioned from England; indeed, the benefit conferred by the English missionary societies to the social condition of Europeans in India has been unspeakable. If the missionary societies had effected no other good than the improvement which they have produced in European society, all the sums expended would have been well laid out; for while whole villages have been drawn to listen to the tidings of the gospel, and even in the vicinity of the idol temples the salvation of Christ has been proclaimed, large numbers of sceptical or indifferent Europeans have been converted to God. The licentious have been rebuked, and awed into decorum; and many in England have reason to rejoice that the wild youth who had left home, addicted to dissipation, beyond the advice of parents and the remonstrances of friends, had by the genial persuasion and holy example of some good missionary been brought to know himself and his God, and in a right frame of mind to regard

the duties, ties, and responsibilities of life. The well authenticated instances of this kind are so numerous, that any person who will choose to examine the matter for his own satisfaction, will be utterly astonished to find how such cases will multiply before his inquiries. A work recording such cases might be written, which would furnish to the public not only a large amount of information affecting the particular inquiry, but throwing much light upon the wonderful providence and goodness of God in individual history, and bringing out many traits of social life in India with which neither the church nor the world in England is familiar. The missionary societies have also rendered the government good service in a way which does not appear to be appreciated. But for them the government would have felt itself obliged to provide at the public expense a far larger staff of clergymen of the Established Church. This would have provoked bitter controversy at home, as the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics would have also demanded an extension of the support afforded to them, while the voluntary churches would have raised an agitation against the extension of the principle of religious establishments to India, and very large classes of persons, careless of any religious system, would have pointed out the injustice to the natives of India of supporting English sects out of revenues contributed by natives. In India the bitter prejudice already excited among the Hindoos and Mohammedans by endowing Christian sects out of the public revenue would have been increased, and have furnished still wider scope for the ingenious critiques of the native newspapers, and the appeals to native prejudice and bigotry in which that portion of the press of India indulges. The voluntary labours of the missionaries have thus rendered indirectly immense service to the government and the peace of India. Bearing upon this subject, and adding to the information given in the chapter devoted to the religions of India, the most recent returns of the number of clergymen paid by government in each presidency, and of each persuasion, may be here appropriately given. From the latest returns there appear to have been employed in Bengal one bishop, with a salary of £4508, and £725 for visitation allowances; 1120 cathedral establishments; sixty-eight chaplains (Church of England), with salaries of £51,031, and allowances of £1510 (in all); two Scottish Kirk chaplains, with salaries of £2310; and two "uncovenanted" ministers, with salaries of £540 (together); £2725 was the sum allowed to Romanist priests, but of these the number is not specified in the return before us. In

the Madras presidency (1855-6) there was a bishop, with £2560 salary; 1010 cathedral establishments; thirty-five (church) chaplains, with salaries of £15,056; and two "kirk" or Presbyterian ministers, with salaries of £18,936. The allowances to Romanist priests were £2580. In the Bombay presidency there was one prelate, with £2560 salary; 1335 cathedral establishments; twenty-six Church of England chaplains, with salaries of £18,936; and two "kirk" chaplains, with stipends of £2016 (together). The allowances to Romanist priests amounted to the sum of £3147.

The life of a civilian in India is neither favourable to the development of social virtues, nor conducive to social happiness. In an article on the Indian civil service in *Blackwood*, April, 1856, there is a most minute and graphic account of the progress of a civil officer in the Madras presidency, and the writer affirms that there is no essential difference in the sister presidencies. When appointed as an assistant to a collector and a magistrate in the provinces, the duties allotted to him are inferior and monotonous, neither calculated to improve the intellect nor the heart. He learns the external forms of magisterial business, and is recommended to become well acquainted with the various tribes and sects in the districts, so far as may concern the business which a collector has with them. These engagements are pursued in a mere routine, and admit of no variety, engrossing the time and the attention of the aspirant to civil honours, so as to leave him no leisure for study. He is, however, expected to study two native languages, and for this purpose he possesses good opportunities, being brought into constant contact with the natives. He cannot very well neglect this duty, as his promotion depends in no small measure upon its accomplishment, as a very strict examination is necessary before his advancement in the service another step can take place. After a year spent in such a manner, the assistant is initiated into the duties of fiscal administration. A *talook*, or small division of the district, under a *tahsildar*, or native collector, is assigned to him, in which, aided by a native *juwabnevees*, or secretary, and under the immediate supervision of the collector, he transacts the general matter of course duties of collector. He is employed in measuring salt, superintending the *tappal runners*, or mail carriers, checking the issue of postage or other stamps, and such like duties as, though requiring no mental exercise, need only integrity and honesty. After six or seven years the civilian thus disciplined is nominated head assistant. He is then sent

to reside at some distance from head-quarters, in charge of a talook, or it may be of several talooks—"the business of which, if he do it thoroughly, occupies him from morning till night, allowing but very short intervals for meals and exercise, or for a hasty glance at the *Home News*, the *Illustrated News*, or *Punch*, and perhaps occasionally a 'review.' In this position, unless he be married, he rarely sees a white face, or hears the sound of his native language; and he hails with delight the advent of the subaltern and his small detachment marching to the periodical relief of some lonely outpost. The scraggy sheep is slaughtered; the tough fowl curried; the loaf of bread, *received by post*, is displayed as a treat; the beer, brandy, and cigars, represent the fabled luxuries of the East; a half-holiday is taken in celebration of the event; and the hour of parting brings with it somewhat of that melancholy feeling which is experienced by voyagers who, meeting for a moment on the wide ocean, exchange their friendly greetings, pass on, and are again alone in the world. Our civilian, however, has little time for sentimental reflections; while on what may be appropriately termed the 'Cutcherry tread-mill, some half dozen questions constantly recurring, under slight modifications, occupy his attention—we can scarcely say his mind—*e. g.* Is Ramasamy entitled to any, and what, remission on account of a deficient supply of water for his rice-field? May the inhabitants of one village draw water from a particular source? or have those of another a prescriptive right to erect a dam, which will wholly or partially preclude their so doing? Is the extent of land in Mootoo's *puttah*, or lease, rightly stated? or, as insisted by his enemy Ramun, has he and the 'Kurnum' colluded to defraud the government by understating it? &c." The picture given in this sketch affords little hope of the civilian acquiring refinement of taste, or that strength of mind which the action of educated intellects on one another is calculated to promote. After six or seven years thus spent he becomes subordinate collector, or subordinate judge. As he advances to the office of collector or judge his position is in every way improved, and his opportunities of European society greatly advanced. If he be made a member of council, secretary of government, or accountant-general, not only are his emoluments increased, and his status elevated, but his social opportunities of refinement and comfort are much extended. He is sure to reside where intercourse with Europeans of a superior order may be constantly enjoyed. Sometimes, but not often, the civil servant is appointed to a diplomatic post at a native court

Generally the members of the civil service are unwilling to give up their prospects of slow but certain promotion, for the uncertain tenure of a political position. Military men are therefore generally selected whose seniority promotion in their profession still goes on, while their new duties are agreeable, and afford sources of influence, honour, and reward. Reviewing the whole life of civil servants, the writer in *Blackwood* feelingly notices:—"The mortifications they will have to undergo in discovering that no boundless field exists, as in Europe, for the exercise of their talents, and that the majority are placed in situations in which nothing more than ordinary sense is required, or can be used, and *from* which no effort on their part can remove or exalt them; where not only will their accomplishments be useless, but their time so fully occupied by the dry details of daily business, as not even to allow their practice as recreations, and in which the greater portion of their lives must be spent at a distance from all capable of feeling or appreciating the higher pleasures of intellect, or the refinements of a cultivated taste. And in order to dispel any illusions under which many may be labouring as to the pecuniary advantages of the Indian civil service, we shall now state precisely the reward held out to its members for the duties they have to perform, and for the sacrifices they are required to make. Oh! we have often thought, as we have marked the youth, eager to depart for that East, so beautiful in poetry, so miserable in reality. Oh! if some disciple of Cornelius Agrippa could but display to him in his magic mirror the coming scenes of his future life, he would pause ere he grasped the glittering bait, and hesitate to purchase what is termed a provision for life, at the price, or at least at the risk, of all that renders life chiefly desirable—health of body—energy of mind—social ties! Too often are all these entirely sacrificed; in all cases partially so. And for what? Money!—a supposed greater amount of money than could be earned elsewhere. The selected will do well to consider the real value of their expectation in this particular, lest in this also they be disappointed."

In the administration of their duties the magistrates, political agents, collectors, and their assistants, have often been accused of violence, intimidation, and injustice. That men have belonged to this class harsh in their manners and severe in their official duties is unhappily true, but not in larger proportions than would be found among the stipendiary magistrates or officials in any European country, while on the other hand many most noble instances of generosity, self-negation, and love

of justice, have been found amongst the Indian collectors, and probably as large a proportion of them have been as upright as any functionaries of any country. The names of Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence have been immortalised in the provinces, regulation and non-regulation, of the north-west. Mr. Montgomery, by his prudence and justice in the Punjaub, and afterwards in Oude, healed wounds that had festered under other hands. Colonel Edwardes and General Jacob, on the Punjaub and Seinde frontiers, discharged political duties of the most onerous nature, with kindness as well as firmness. Mr. Thomason and many others have left in the spheres of their duties memories the most fragrant. To give one instance out of a large number who have held no higher office than that of collector: Mr. Cleveland, of Baghalpore, in the earlier operations of the East India Company, honoured his office and those he served by a long course of wise, gentle, and clement administration, and the respect paid by the company to his memory, proved that three quarters of a century ago they valued servants who thus administered their affairs. The following inscription was placed on his monument at Baghalpore:—"To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq., late collector of the districts of Baghalpore and Rajmahal; who, without bloodshed, or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the jungleterry of Rajmahal, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions; inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational dominion. The governor-general and council of Bengal, in honour of his character, and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January, 1784, aged 29."

The *Aborigines' Friend*, an English publication, in which the administration of our colonial empire has never found much favour, comments upon this epitaph in the following terms:—"If any additional proof of the excellency of Mr. Cleveland's character, and of the value of his labours, were wanting, it is to be found in the fact that the aumlah and zemindars of the jungleterry of Rajmahal also erected a monument to his memory, to which even now they pay an annual visit of reverence and affection. Would that our Indian rulers would imitate the example of a Cleveland, and abandon a system of coercion and

violence, which, while it may terrify the natives into submission to us, cannot but prevent their advancement in peace, prosperity, and happiness!"

It is generally admitted that the impolitic contempt for the natives so commonly shown by the military and by independent settlers, is not usually displayed by the company's civil officers, who lean rather to the weakness of extolling everything Indian, and despising European settlers not in the company's service. Dr. Russell, in his letters, June, 1858, directed to the *Times* newspaper, complains bitterly of the scorn for the natives held by the officers of the royal forces in occupation of Rohilkund, but in no case does he complain of the conduct of the company's civil officers in this particular. It is alleged by persons conversant with Indian affairs that the bearing of English ladies shows more of the pride of race than that of their husbands and brothers, and that contempt for natives of their own sex, even of superior rank, is manifested in forms improper, imprudent, unmerited by its victims, and calculated to create deep resentments in the minds of such native ladies. It is alleged that English ladies in India are most unpopular from this cause among the poor, and especially among the poor of their own sex. During the great revolt the hostility displayed to our countrywomen is thus accounted for, and where they have been spared, it is alleged, that in most cases the mercy resulted from gratitude to their husbands or fathers, who, as military or civil officers, had gained a reputation for humanity, bravery, or justice. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* represents the pride of the whole civil service, and of their families, as utterly unendurable to strangers who visit India, and as a source of the prejudice against the East India Company, which in England, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, had so widely extended. On board a passenger ship from Madras to Aden, the *Herald* correspondent met with a very large party of European residents of India. The social relations to one another of the various coteries and classes into which Indo-European society is divided, he thus represents:—

"Hospitality and good-nature die for want of nourishment, and sociality is stifled by affectation. The hereditary castes that are so religiously observed by the Hindoo natives are not more marked than the pointed exclusiveness of our Calcutta passengers—each looks upon the other with feelings far from friendly. Education or refinement seems to have little to do with the barriers of society; money, salary, pay, is what is most thought

of. 'How long as he been out, and what does he receive per month? is he a collector or a sudder judge? does he belong to the civil or the military service? and has he influence at court?' are among the queries when the new-comer makes his appearance.

"All classes are represented on board our ship—from a collector to the consort of a member of the council; from a lieutenant in the Indian army to a commander-in-chief. Some are going home on sick-leave; others on a three years' vacation; while one or two have been a quarter of a century in the service, and retire with a life-pension of five thousand dollars, half of which they have paid by instalments, from year to year, to make up the fund. There are others who have been out as long, but are not as fortunate; their names do not head the list, and they must wait for their time to come. Some of our passengers are gentlemen; others, snobs; many of them invite our acquaintance; others are fearful that their dignity will be ruffled by being courteous to those whose pay is less. The member of council who gets forty thousand dollars per annum is not in the same set as the commissioner who receives but eighteen thousand dollars; and the Bengal civilian considers his position a peg or two higher than his of Madras; while the Calcutta potentate speaks patronizingly of his counterpart in the Mofussil. All the divisions of Indian society stand boldly out on shipboard; and intrepid is the man who can remove the chill that freezes the little courtesies of life. Restraint hangs over the breakfast-table, and formality barricades the jovial laugh and the pleasant conversation at dinner. Gossip, intrigue, and ill-natured remarks, follow you from the cabin to the deck. If you wish to be alone, you are eccentric; if you sing too loud, or converse above a whisper, you are considered a fit candidate for a lunatic asylum; a hearty laugh is unpardonable; and as for a dance or a charade, it would be out of the question. All the company's servants believe in the infallibility of the company; an excuse is found for everything the honourable company may do. American slavery is horrible, but the Indian ryot system is a blessing to the native. Annexation in America is robbery; in India, friendship and protection. The court of directors do what they please; the governor-general proclaims it, and the servants, far and wide, say 'Amen.'"

There are both exaggeration and ignorance displayed in these severe animadversions; and probably the correspondent did not easily fall in with the manner of highly educated English gentlemen, such as undoubtedly many of the officers, civil and military, were who hap-

pened to be his fellow passengers. Certainly Indian and American annexations have no parallel: the latter are the result of filibustering; the former grow out of wars, in which the natives have generally been the aggressors, or had adopted a policy so dangerous to the British possessions as to leave the English no other course. The ryotwar was evidently a matter of which the American correspondent had no knowledge, and of which he was unfit to offer any opinion. As a shrewd and clever business man, and man of the world, his views of the social habits of the civil servants of the company are worthy of attention, and especially as those habits present themselves to an American traveller. The social life of the English in India has its good points, but it is for the study of those which are not to be admired that we must repair to the letters of the American correspondent. It is well, however, to present such views to the reader, that English social life in India may be seen in every aspect which it presents to friends or foes, foreigners or Englishmen.

The commercial character of the trading community, native and foreign, has, under the head of commerce, been described, and, in some respects, their social character was of necessity included in that description. The common impression in England is, that the Calcutta merchants, having lived in princely splendour, have surrounded themselves with all the creations of taste, and made Calcutta the city of palaces, which in some respects it deserves to be called, however exaggerated its claims. That her merchant princes have not improved Calcutta, so far as architectural beauty or symmetry of streets is concerned, in the proportion in which they have increased its commerce and population, the writer last quoted takes some pains to prove. The same writer gives the following description of commercial life in Calcutta:—

“Notwithstanding the troops of native shopkeepers and tradesmen always hovering about you, there are plenty of Europeans ready to take your money. English tailors, English barbers, English hatters, and English jewellers, English hotel-keepers, and English druggists, all exercise their ingenuity in properly representing their respective callings. The exchange mart, as they term it, contains a little of everything—a perfect *salmagundi*. You can purchase anything you please—an India rubber coat or a penny whistle, a lady’s work-box or a gentleman’s dressing-case—and the prices are moderate. I bought several beautiful silver ornaments made by the artizans of Cuttack—bracelets, bouquet-holders, breast-pins, and sundry nick-nacks, many of which were of exquisite workmanship. Just at the

present time the exchange is being cleared preparatory to the opium sale, which comes off the 11th of every month, a sight I am sorry I shall not witness, for it is one of the noted exhibitions of Calcutta. The opium from Benares and Patna is sold here at public auction by the honourable company, through a salaried auctioneer, twelve times during the year, to the highest bidder. Catalogues are early circulated, and the purchasers from the country are early in town. As a chest of Patna passes like a bank-note, no sampling or examination takes place. Looking from an elevation in the room, you see a most extraordinary spectacle: all nations—all European races are represented. In the Stock Exchange and the Bourse you may see the latter, but at the opium sales-room only can you see the grand mixture of races.

“Gambling is a natural vice among the Indians, and they enjoy beyond anything else the peculiar excitement of the opium mart; and it is the motley appearance of the bidders, combined with the confusion of tongues, and the strong odours that arise from the perspiring crowd, that marks the place. Jews and Gentiles are wild in their manner; and Greeks, Armenians, Persians, mingled in with native Indians of many dialects; and Englishmen, and all the representatives of the continent of Europe, of Asia, and of Africa, are wrought up to the greatest possible excitement by the sharp bidding and the quick auctioneer, who seems to be ubiquitous. The hells of London and of Paris are not thronged with more reckless men, for the amounts are heavy, and one bid will make or lose a fortune. Much of the gambling takes place in the bazaar before the sale.

“The river is covered with merchandize, which the primitive teams of the land, unchanged for centuries, bring down from the interior, while the finest ships in the world open their hatches to receive the produce of a land that is capable of producing as much of its renowned staples as the rest of the world is capable of consuming. And yet, with all this wonderful commerce, who grows rich in the Indian trade? How many merchants annually retire with lacs of rupees? As many as make their fortunes in the respective gold-fields of the great Anglo-Saxon empires, after they have passed through a panic, no more; for competition crowds the new-comer, and every ten years the old merchants tremble under an established custom, if not a natural law.”

This writer, in common with all strangers who visit Calcutta, was struck with the increasing importance of the Hindoo, Parsce, and Greek merchants. Of late several Greeks of Constantinople, and others who had “houses”

in Western Europe, have settled in Calcutta, and they import not only the habits of business by which their race is characterized, but also its good and evil social peculiarities. The natives, however expert in the tricks of commerce, and however gifted in the foresight which is essential where trade assumes the risks of the gambling table, and the cunning and unprincipled have the best chances of success, are rivalled by the Greeks. The habits of the native merchants of Bombay were noticed when the capital of that presidency was described. The life of the native merchants of Calcutta has been thus described by a traveller who was not unfriendly to them:—"The native merchants are men of intellect, well up in all the moves on the mercantile chess-board. You are surprised to find them so familiar with commerce and commercial usages. Naturally sharp and quick to learn, by being brought, after graduating in the English school, in contact with business men from every coast, they become familiar with all the tricks of trade. If they wish to purchase, they appear before you as sellers; if they have indigo to dispose of, they will inquire for seeds; and if freight is to be engaged, they will offer you a ship. Intuitively they understand all the clap-trap of the Stock Exchange; with astonishing cleverness they put the market up and down with as much ease as the most experienced bulls and bears of the West; and before or after the arrival of a mail you meet them where you least expect it—always a little in advance. No Europeans were equal to cope with them in managing prices, in regulating prices, or in dodging round sharp corners, till the Greeks dropped down among them; but since so many of them have appeared in Calcutta, the natives have had to keep their eyes wide open."

The social habits of every native class has been described in previous pages, except those of the merchants of the Indian metropolis; and as this is a class which has grown up under British and foreign influence, a notice of its habits of domesticity and intercourse in private society was reserved until the social habits and character of the Indo-European commercial class should come under review. It has not been easy to obtain much knowledge of the mode in which the banyans and native merchants of Calcutta spend their time, when away from general observation. The following account by a gentleman who enjoyed the hospitality of some of them is therefore the more interesting:—

"I visited the residence of the Dutt family, where all the opulence and luxuries that wealth commands are scattered about the rooms. Paintings and engravings, mosaic

from Rome and porcelain from Sèvres, English and French furniture, and everything Indian and European that they can get hold of, is purchased to adorn their residences. The large rooms of valuable merchandize resembled more an ill-assorted pawnbroker's shop in London than anything else I could think of. I found the Baboo almost naked, in his bedroom, on the floor, a punkah over him, and in his hand an English history of the Russian war. The room was beautifully furnished, but the pictures that adorned the walls showed the licentious taste of the Bengalee. He was most familiar with the geography, the commerce, the politics of other nations; wanted to know the effect of the late wonderful production of gold, and how it would operate on the silver coinage; asked if the losses still continued as heavy in the Australian trade as at first, and if our cotton crop in the States would exceed three millions of bales, and if in case of peace clipper-ships would depreciate. His religion, he said, would not allow him to go abroad, but nothing would be more pleasant to him than to visit Mount Vernon. Ashootas Day had a beautiful place, and before his death gave a most expensive nautch, combining the immoralities of the European with the luxuriant and voluptuous habits of the natives. He denied himself nothing that money would give him. The careless way of speaking of him, 'that he had been burnt up' makes one still more repugnant to their idol worship. I was also entertained by Baboo Rajendur Mullick, whose princely estates and great wealth are noticeable above many others'. Dutt's place is far less expensive, for Baboo Mullick lives the gentleman, and devotes his time to ornamenting his house, by purchasing everything that comes from other parts. The more costly the article, the better is he pleased. Animals and birds filled the garden, and his aviary contained the feathered tribes of every land, from the ostrich to the emu—the mandarin duck of China to the bird of paradise. The late Earl of Derby contributed something to the collection. I saw several goats from Cashmere, the kind from whose wool the celebrated shawls are made. The goats thrive poorly out of the mountains, and there were only five left out of some two hundred that the Baboo owned. The Baboo is most gentlemanly in his manners, and well informed in ancient and modern history, speaking English with remarkable fluency. He had several lacs invested in the company's paper. A few weeks since he gave a most magnificent nautch. The large area in the centre was covered, and lights and lanterns shone over the expensive fountain and the orna-

mented stage. These nautches are peculiar to India, and when given by a king, a prince, or a millionaire, distinguished foreigners are often invited. I had the chance of being present at one on a small scale, got up for the amusement of a young Bostonian from Canton and myself, by some of our American friends. The music at times is harsh, and then dies off with soothing harmony. The musicians were all seated, and the guests, native and foreign, were provided with lounges, sofa-chairs, &c. The entertainment was given at a native's house, a few miles out of town, and the dancing-girls were engaged a day or two before. Gesticulation, action, and the elastic movements of the body, are the peculiar features of the dance: they commence with a slow, graceful motion, scarcely moving their feet, but working their hands and arms; then becoming more animated, with a livelier chant, their whole form keeps time to the tune, till they appear much excited; their movements at first chaste, become voluptuous; and the music inspires to still more powerful excitement, till the dance is terminated with louder strains and more lascivious motions. Other dancers then take their place, but the dance is unchanged. Two of the girls only appeared at the same time. All of them were covered with jewels. I counted as many as fifteen gold and silver bracelets on one arm, not to mention necklaces and chains: they had bells on their ankles, and rings on their fingers, jewellery in their ears and noses, which gave them a most original appearance, and showed how fond these natives are of ornament. All they can make, all they can get and save over and above their maintenance, goes for ornaments; and many of those who seem the poorest have valuable jewellery on their persons. Coolies, even, who can save a few rupees invest in buying jewelled ornaments for their children; and hence robbery and murders occur where the inducement is so conspicuously advertised." The amusements of Calcutta are for Europeans scant and poor; he says—"beyond their own residences, and off the esplanade, foreigners have little to amuse themselves with, for theatricals and concerts, lectures and exhibitions, do not thrive on Indian soil. Kate Hayes, however, for a while dispersed the general apathy; but a few nights of the Italian music at the prices were amply sufficient. There are many amateur singers in the city, and their occasional re-unions are said to be attractive. A star actor or prima-donna need never expect to realize a rapid fortune by visiting Calcutta; for the population is not equal to a small town in a Western State. Seven thousand, they tell me, is about the mark."

According to the testimony of most English writers and travellers there is much social intercourse in all the great cities of India among the British. The civilians and military in the company's service prefer each associating with one another, to the company of independent settlers. But the officers of the royal army and clergymen are much in request by the company's servants. Formerly the missionaries were very unfashionable, but of late years they have become much more influential, and they are invited to the best circles. The members of the Indo-European press form an important element of the community, and these are far more feared than loved by the company's servants; but the power of the pen has become too formidable for those who wield it to be overlooked; and besides, many in the profession of literature have realized in India considerable property, and have therefore formed a status independent of that acquired by their literary reputation and power. In Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, more especially, this class has become important and respected.

Social life among the English planters and settlers in the interior is sometimes dreary enough, especially as they are generally located in flat and well irrigated parts of the country, far apart from other Europeans. Where their pursuits have enabled them to fix upon a diversified part of the country, their life is less monotonous, as they can hunt the wild boar, or it may be the tiger, and either sport is sufficiently perilous to be exciting. The chief planters and independent settlers are indigo planters, as cotton and rice are generally cultivated by the ryots or zemindars. The habits and situation of the planters have been noticed under the head of commerce. A popular London periodical* presents a very just picture of the life of an indigo planter in the following terms:—"An European indigo planter in the interior of India leads an isolated life, which, however, is not without its enjoyments. His business, though it has its anxieties, is not irksome. He is generally a farmer and a sportsman, and master and owner of a fine mansion, with plenty of elephants. Arabian horses, cows, sheep, goats, and dogs, and perhaps a few tame leopards and tigers. His elephants, besides being useful in enabling him to ride over his plantations, will carry him better than any other animal, when out in the jungles tiger hunting. The planter often lives twenty or forty miles from any other European; but this does not prevent him from constantly making and receiving visits. Moreover, his time is well taken up with

* Dickens's *Household Words*.

paying his people, superintending his vats, and settling disputes among the neighbouring farmers. In his own districts the planter is perfectly independent, being looked up to with awe and respect by all around him. In their hour of trouble the poor, miserable, hard-worked, and ill-fed ryots or labourers always fly to the British planter for protection against the oppressions of their own masters and countrymen."

These solitudes of Indo-English life are not relieved by the intercourse of intelligent natives. The impossibility of communicating freely in any language prevents intercourse in such neighbourhoods as afford any respectable native gentry: but generally the planter is settled where there are none such; he is surrounded by jealous zemindars, or his neighbourhood is peopled by ryots, to whom these zemindars may find a fit parallel only in the Legree of Mrs. Stowe's affecting tale of American oppression of the negro. If the planter be a single man, which is not unfrequently the case, he often lives like an outcast, far away from home and friends, and from the amenities and enjoyments of civilised life.

In the great cities there is often a constant meeting of natives of wealth and dignity in public assemblies, and on public promenades. This does not, however, occur in many places; but it is to be seen in the presidential capitals, especially in the great and gay metropolis; also in Kurrachee, Poonah, Serampore, and a few other places. In all the capitals of the three presidencies there is a mingling of Europeans and natives in the public drives and great thoroughfares of pleasure. It is least so in Madras, although in that populous presidential metropolis there is a considerable European and a large native population of positive and relative respectability. The throngs assembling on the public carriage way and esplanade at Bombay were described at considerable length in the notice given of that city in the geographical portion of the work. There European, Jew, Arab, Parsee, Hindoo, Mohammedan, Jain, Jat, Persian, and Cingalese crowd together the grand evening promenade, and form a scene at once attractive to the ethnologist and the politician. Yet it is observable how much the natives retire among themselves, Jew with Jews, Parsee with Parsees, Mussulman with Mussulmen, and the English are left, by the voluntary action and taste of the natives, as well as from their own exclusiveness, to pursue the path of pleasure alone. At Calcutta this is not so much the case. Probably the native merchants there are not so rich as some, especially the hard bargaining Parsees of Bombay; but there are many wealthy natives having a

purpose in living near to the centre of imperial government. Great zemindars and talookdars, deposed and pensioned rajahs and native princes, and many who still hold the reigns of government within some province of the great peninsula, visit the capital where the majesty of England is represented by the presence of a viceroy, where it is expected that European agents can be found, who for rupees—the ever potential instrument of policy in the opinion of the native—will assist in the intrigues which Calcutta is believed not only to tolerate, but for which it is supposed to afford a most ample scope. Thence, if necessary, correspondence can be maintained with England, where lawyers and members of parliament are known to reside whose poverty exposes them to the temptation of corruption.

After the annexation of Oude there was a large influx of complaining talookdars and zemindars to Calcutta, and the reception they met with from the government, and the European population generally, exasperated them. The object of these men was to secure their interests in the land of the annexed province, and it was not merely their disappointment in this object, but the contempt with which they were treated, which roused their resentment. This will easily be conceived when it is remembered that these men were the Oude aristocracy, and when the tenure by which their landed interests and influence were held is understood. The details given under the head of land revenue will partly explain this to our readers, but in order to present the force of the double exasperation which moved these talookdars and zemindars of Oude to retire from their contact with their British masters at Calcutta, it is necessary to observe here that in Oude the state has the right of a very large portion of the gross produce or rents of the soil, but not a right in the soil. This has been held for unknown ages by the zemindars, who, with a few partial exceptions, have survived the oppressions of former governments—whether Hindoo or Mohammedan—and whose hereditary tenures could not now be confiscated, without producing results far more serious than those unacquainted with the native feeling may imagine. The talookdars, again, or feudal lords, are sometimes zemindars, or owners of a portion of their talooks—but more generally only lords superior of a number of villages, through whom the village zemindars pay their rent to the government. Lord Canning's proclamation extends to the rights of both classes: and, if sanctioned by parliament, would for ever prevent the allegiance of the mass of the people in Oude; for, in

Hindoo villages, almost every cultivator is a joint sharer in the land (a zemindar), being a descendant from a common ancestor. Supposing, even, the government in India really possessed the right of destroying the hereditary landed tenures of a large province, it would be, politically speaking, a great mistake to attempt to exercise it, as it could never be enforced, unless you could put to death every zemindar in Oude, *i.e.*, almost every man in arms in that province, and a vast number more not in arms, but who would, no doubt, instantly join their brethren if they found their hereditary rights seized. England, in fact, could not send out troops enough to carry out such an order. Little did the British think, who met the gay cavaliers of Oude on the esplanade of Calcutta, after the petitions of these men were spurned and themselves contemned, that the treatment under which their vengeance was formed and fostered would so soon try the energy of our empire, and consign so many of our fairest and bravest to bloody graves.

The extreme contempt for the natives which characterizes the English in India, which is perhaps nowhere cherished more than in Calcutta, not only at government-house, but among the independent settlers, and which makes itself so felt of an evening on the esplanade, has not only incited Indian chiefs to rebellion, but has sustained the English in their most daring efforts to quell revolt and carry their conquests all over the peninsula. Alluding to this result of the feeling, and to its probable and possible consequences as indicated by the revolt of 1857-8, the *Friend of India* has the following remarks, written after the fall of Lucknow:—"We are beginning to learn the strength of our foe. We hear now no more stories of want of gunpowder and ammunition, of muskets either turned into fuses or bartered for a little food, of rebels dying by hundreds, and disunion breaking out in their camp. We no longer expect impossibilities, to conquer a host with some ten men, or to defend a town with a garrison weakly provisioned and hampered with women and children. Yet the old proud contempt for all races but our own still continues; at one time a source of weakness, at another of the most heroic action. At first it left Delhi without troops, and the capital unguarded, the king of Oude or his ministers to plot sedition, and native regiments to burn down bungalows. When the rebellion had broken out it caused General Havelock, with a force scarcely three thousand strong, to advance gallantly into Lucknow and save the garrison, and Colonel Powell with five hundred men to drive five thousand rebels from an in-

trenched position; it enabled General Neill to save Benares, and contributed not a little to the series of victories won by General Havelock. If knowledge be power, ignorance sometimes is not less so, and the man who knows not when it is impossible for him to gain a victory seldom sustains a defeat. This contempt for our foe has had as great an influence upon individuals as upon masses. What else enabled Lieutenant Willoughby and his gallant companions to make a stand at Delhi; what enabled Lieutenant Osborne to maintain his post at Rewah, and Lieutenant Hungerford at Mhow; what else encouraged Sir John Lawrence in the Punjab to denude the province of European troops and send them to Delhi? The emotion is now, however, passing away; it has served its purpose, and the man who thought it before cowardly to shrink from a dishonourable foe now takes the precautions which can alone secure a thorough vengeance. The commander-in-chief, therefore, rightly delayed his advance on Lucknow until his success was certain."

On the esplanade at Calcutta the English, and superior classes of natives, meet every evening, but while they pass and repass one another, the native merchants, it may be with more costly equipages, and the native chiefs on finer horses, more richly caparisoned, and themselves gorgeously apparelled, this display of native wealth and jewelled grandeur seldom tempts the English from their cold and haughty reserve, and the smallest conceivable intercourse takes place between the two races. Mr. Train, who wrote from an American point of view, and for American readers, like Bayard Taylor, and other Americans who travelled in India, thus describes the esplanade, and the gay concourse which occupies it:—"The esplanade, thus far, more than all else in the Bengal capital, has left the most lasting impression on my mind when the sun shuts off his burning brightness, when the Indian day has departed, and the Indian evening is born. About the hour of five o'clock the stranger is introduced to a scene of gaiety and gladness, a picture of oriental and Anglo-Saxon life that it would be difficult to cross from off the memory's tablet. I am no enthusiast, nor can I paint; my youth has been buried among the dry leaves of commerce—the cobweb realities of the counting-house—the invoice, the ledger, and the ship—and now, on the restless drifting of never-ceasing change, I am purchasing dearly enough, by absence from my family, my first draught of oriental custom and Indian habits. The evening drive, however, as delightful as it is strange, would make me forget my commission account, were not the familiar names

of clipper-ships always before me as they range along the anchorage. All there is of European and Western life in Calcutta is reflected every evening on the course, and as I lie off so lazily in my barouche I can but contemplate the scene so singularly beautiful. Isaac Marvel should have driven on the course after he had been brooding over his sea-coal fire. There is the holy river coursing far up above the city—far away beyond the suburbs; past the hunting-fields of the fierce Mahrattas, winding its many coils through the palace-gardens on its sacred banks; past the umbrageous banyan, the palm, the sycamore, and cocoa-trees; past heathen temples, rusting under the corroding influence of climate and of time; and, as it loses itself in the distance far beyond Barrackpore, your imagination traces it beyond your visual reach, wending its tortuous way through the vast possessions of the honourable company, and the paddy-fields, that give so many millions nourishment; past the wheat, and the corn, and the indigo plantations; near where the poppy blossoms bloom under government, to raise a few more laes to pay the army; past the zemindars, whose tyrant power grinds the life from the poor ryot; past the Saracenic ruins of Hindoo temples, interesting, because so grey with age; by the sepoy camp, where English officers are the lords of native regiments; until we finally lose it among the valleys that base the mountain ranges of the towering Himalayas. Lost as you may be in reverie, your fancy is arrested by the soul-stirring music of the regimental bands, in the garden inclosure, where nurses and children most do congregate, and where, in the little harbour, you may find an American apple or an American ice. The thrill of martial airs ringing through the trees, and the voluptuous breeze of the Indian evening fanning off the burthensome cares of day, would put you asleep in your easy-moving carriage were your senses not kept always active by the passing and repassing of 'fair women and brave men.' All that is attractive in Calcutta may be seen at the daily reunion of the drive. The scene is most unlike anything I ever witnessed. The Praya Grande of Macao faces the water, and so does the grassplot at Singapore, the Bund at Shanghai, the Botanical Gardens at Sydney, the governor's road to his new residence on the banks of the Derwent, in Tasmania, but not as the esplanade looks upon the Hoogly, for here you combine so many attractions. Some seventy American banners have been streaming during the day from the beautiful clippers of my own fair land; and the flags of England, and of France, and Continental States, have been furled for

the night, again to open their gaudy colours in the morning. The ships of all nations are crowding one another in long rows, three and four abreast, for miles along the pleasure ground, some deeply laden, and waiting impatiently to commence their voyage, and be towed to sea; others have just arrived, and in ballast trim."

Mr. Train, having visited Fort William, and given some inaccurate descriptions of it in a military sense, affords a glimpse, which is faithful and well described, of the people who frequent the esplanade, in the singular throng of their varied nationalities:—"On returning through one of the military roads, I found the esplanade crowded with elegant equipages; and evening after evening I was borne along the drive, watching the interesting spectacle—now walking in long rows, and now hurrying on in delightful confusion, carriage behind carriage, their occupants dressed as for a ball. You saw all that was gay in the capital; and many are the romantic stories of love and of gossip which are told you if your companion be a lady, and of thrilling and hairbreadth escapes if of the other sex. Where a community have held an evening levee at the same hour, and at the same place, day after day, Sundays not excepted, for generations, in an Indian country, there must be many incidents on record of the romance and misery of Indian life. Some of the equipages would not fail to be noticed in Hyde Park; and many of the Arab horses on the green would attract attention in Rotten Row.* The distinguished potentates of the company spare no expense in endeavouring to eclipse their neighbours; and salaries, surprising to the officials of other lands, are squandered as quickly as they are received. The governor-general's carriage is lost sight of the moment some of the native princes make their appearance, and the commander-in-chief of the army, the members of the council, who receive forty thousand dollars per annum, and other high-salaried officers of the civil service, are not able to cope with the luxuriant extravagance of baboos, who count their wealth by lacs of pounds. Count d'Orsay, as he is dubbed, because he was horsewhipped for twice throwing a bouquet into a lady's carriage, seems to be the native Beau Brummel of the course in everything but wealth, for his estates are princely. There must be white blood in his veins, for his complexion is fair, and his features are noticeable for their regularity. The

* Mr. Train seems to be under the impression that the fashionables of London ride their best horses in Rotten Row. This is an error; the average value of a horse there during the gayest time of the London season has been computed at £60.

baboo mulicks are also out in their splendid teams; and I notice another native 'b'hoi in a New York buggy; and there is Ghoolam Mohammed, on a beautiful Arab, prancing; and near by is the belle of Calcutta, the beautiful Miss —; but the Indian climate has driven the roses from her cheek, and the lilies that have displaced them tell of ill-health, and a longing for her English home. Hindoos of high rank, dressed in their attractive garb of many colours, and Mussulmen, whose fanaticism has often made them brave in war; rajahs with a princely pension, and princes whose wealth cannot be counted; military leaders who have won position and honour by bravery, and those who have never seen action, although grey in the service: these, and more, are passing, and merchants are here, and tradesmen. A little way on you see a row of buggies, the turn-out of the American captain, who, when riding with his own team, looks as proud as the best of them. I enjoyed the course; it was so cheerful to meet again with those whom we had met, to gaze again upon the shipping, to note again the massive strength of Fort William, to feel the refreshing coolness of the sea air as it came up the river with the tide, to fall, perhaps, into a dose as the distant music trembles on the air, and, awaking, to notice some barouche with livery more gay than the rest, or some lady, who knows she is the object of attraction. The Calcuttaites have become so habituated to the evening drive, that they would as soon forego their meals or their ablutions as omit the daily reunion, which combines the pleasure of society with the luxury of recreation."

The unwillingness of the British to associate with the natives cannot arise from inferiority of manner. A distinguished modern writer says "the lowest of the people, if fate raises him to be an emperor, makes himself quite at home in his new situation, and shows a manner and conduct unknown to Europeans similarly situated." This queerly and awkwardly written sentence is evidently intended to convey the idea of a superior capacity on the part of the natives for positions of honour and dignity. It is to be doubted whether any such superiority exists. Mr. Campbell's praise of the Indians is in this respect as exaggerated as in many others. Europeans have frequently risen from low stations to positions of great eminence and dignity, and maintained their places with an eminence of mind and glory of circumstance of which we have not similar examples in Hindoo history; but it is certain that the natives, take them class for class, can conduct themselves, as to the courtesies and amenities of life, as well as

the citizens of the more polished European states. There is, however, a constant tendency to deterioration in Hindoos of exalted station observable by Europeans, and which tempts the British to respect more a native who has raised himself by his parts than those who can boast a princely lineage; indeed, Mr. Campbell ends the passage just quoted by adding, "but his son is altogether degenerate!" * .

The indisposition of the English at Calcutta to mingle in native society can hardly be wondered at when the contempt which the peculiar meanness and weakness of the Bengalee character is calculated to inspire is taken into consideration. Moreover, the horrid degradations of the Hindoo religion, and its influence upon the whole native character, is nowhere more thoroughly exhibited than in Bengal. The higher classes are not exempt from the common subjection to the debasing power of Hindoo idolatry. It is difficult for a European to associate with a man who he knows has murdered his female offspring, or the woman who has exposed her child to be swept away by the Ganges; with persons who have left their sick parents to be devoured, while yet living, by the tiger or the alligator; who have countenanced and mingled in the filthy obscenities of Indian temples; or who have, under the ostensible show of a costly tribute to their dead kindred or servants, allowed the heartless and horrid neglect of the funeral pyre. These things are all practised in the very neighbourhood of Calcutta; and even the stranger, who pays a short visit, cannot fail to witness them if he have any curiosity. The author of *Young America Abroad* shows how a foreigner indirectly justifies the British residents of that city in not desiring any intimate intercourse with the natives, of whatever rank or class. In the immediate vicinity of the Indian metropolis he visited temples and funeral pyres, and thus gives account of both:—"The same day I went through several heathen temples, seeing all that I was permitted to see, and that was enough to disgust one with their unseemly worship. It was some religious festival, and a large concourse blocked the avenues; but we were permitted to push our way along. About fifty kids were lying with their heads off, all sizes and all colours, a bell ringing from the temple at the dropping of every head. One man, more religious than those about him, brought in a young buffalo, and great was the rejoicing; the bell rang several times, and the singing, shouting, and gesticulations, created the greatest confusion. Some of the priests were desirous that I should

* Campbell's *Modern India*, p. 64.

offer up a goat, but I declined joining in the ceremony, for the whole performance was most revolting. It was, however, not half so disgusting, nor was it so strangely peculiar, as the ceremony which I saw going on in several of the smaller temples. Once seen, it will not easily be forgotten. Veiled females were continually pouring in and out. The temple has within a Hindoo god that represents the creative power of man, and the ceremony of the *Linquam* is supposed to be the cure of barrenness and sterility. There are several days of the year that Hindoo wives who have never been so fortunate as to bring any addition to the household resort to this temple. There are different idols in different parts of India, but I believe none are so effectual as the Brahmins themselves. I also rode down to the burning ghaut, and witnessed, till it almost made me sick with nausea, the disgusting sight of burning their dead. The smoke was rising from the dying embers of several bodies, and in three instances the funeral pyre was just lighted. After having been brought to the banks of the river, where they are left to die, if their friends have the means of purchasing the wood, and paying for the ceremony, they are at once placed upon the pyre, and covered up with the burning timber, till their bodies have been entirely consumed. The picture was painful, nauseating, most unpleasant to the senses; and you only care to see it once, and then a few moments will satisfy you. You cannot but feel stupefied at the sight. Some poor skull, not wholly destroyed, you may be treading on; and pieces of bones, where the relatives were too poor to pay for more fuel, you see buried in the ashes. A most foul stench fills the air. At all hours of the day corpses are brought down, and the unseemly levity of the naked wretches who stir up the fuel, and more especially when they show you the body by running a pole into its side, would hasten your departure, did you not arrest your steps to gaze upon the hungry flock of ravens, and crows, and carrion kites, who approach the corpses before the fire has ceased to burn, within a close proximity, to seize upon the least atom saved from the flame. Hundreds of them were within a few feet, intently peering into the ashes, while the more dignified adjutants were perched upon the house-tops and on the walls, waiting for their share of the entertainment. No one molests them; for the birds are sacred, and eat up the filth about the city. When too poor to buy the privilege of burning their relatives, they let the tide wash them off the beach—some of them, perhaps, before the life has left the body—and they are floated off to

sea. I have often heard the captains of ships tell of the bodies fouling the anchors, and of the sickening stench that arose in cleaning them when some half a dozen had lodged there; and whenever I drank the water of the Hoogly, or partook curry or fish at breakfast, I could not but be reminded of the human shrimp-traps and fish-bait of which I had so many times heard. I have seen little, but all I wish to see, of Indian worship. Next month, April, some of those days, when the torture is the worship, I will give the stranger the opportunity of witnessing that which I do not care to behold, for already I have seen enough to disgust me with the common people—their habits, their customs, their dress, their treachery, their duplicity, and their religion. One able-bodied Chinaman, in appearance at any rate, is worth half a dozen natives of Bengal, for, as a race, the former are far more sightly than the latter."

The uniform disposition of the British in every part of India to neglect native society has been much animadverted upon. It has been said that the manners of the people are very different in different provinces: the effeminate Bengalee bears no resemblance to the manly Rajpoot; the swarthy Madrassee is not like the Scinde descendants of the Arabs; the people of the coasts on the Bay of Bengal are very dissimilar to the tall and well-made Oudeans; the abject Cingalese offer no points of comparison with the manly Sikh and Affghan: yet the English associate with none. It is not understood by those who thus call our Indo-Britons to account for their distant bearing that, however dissimilar in race and creed, there is an extraordinary social identity among all the races of India, and class with class, a singular sameness of moral type in all parts of the peninsula. Although there are many classes, almost all the classes are found more or less everywhere; and hence the same general features of society exist alike in every part of India, even when there is a considerable difference in personal appearance and language. In effect it has become one country; and though many different races have entered it, and have been by peculiar institutions kept in many respects separate, each has in its own sphere pervaded the country. All have become united in one common civilization—the same system of Hindoo polity has been overlaid by the same system of Mohammedan government—inhabitants of one part of the country have served, travelled, and done business in all other parts indiscriminately; and so altogether, while the different degrees in which different elements have been mixed,

produce exterior differences, the essential characteristics of all are the same.*

It has been said in reply to language of this kind, that, in the region of politics at all events, the English, and the native party attached to them, might move together; that wherever the Englishman goes he is a politician, and wherever he rules he is essentially so; that the natives are also keen politicians, and therefore those of the British party would necessarily be brought into a juxtaposition with the English, affording the latter opportunity for cultivating native society among the men under the most favourable auspices. It is not known to those who thus reason that the masses of the people have no politics, although sometimes they appear to act from political motives, when they are only moved by their interest in their land as cultivators, or their interest in their religion as fanatics. The chiefs and their ministers in the independent provinces, or the deposed rajahs who hope to be restored to their dominions, are of course politicians so far as their regal interests are concerned, but the masses have no nationhood, no political theories or principles, and no aims, such as we call political. Socially they are one people in spite of every diversity of class, creed, colour, and custom existing among them; politically there is no cohesion—they are as the sand scattered before the storm.

The people of India have no political feeling in common; no two tribes, classes, or castes of Hindoos pull together in politics. This, which, in the first instance, is no doubt in a great degree the consequence of political slavery, is now still more the cause of it. Natives of different classes associate much together, have their alliances and enmities in common; but employ one of them in the service of government, and he has no particle of political sympathy beyond his own subdivision of a class, if even so much. Political nationality there is none. Even in matters of public concern between the people and the government, there is little public spirit. They have so long lived under an alien and despotic government, that they feel little bound to assist it; so that if, in the pursuit of criminals and such matters, a native is immediately touched himself, he is active enough—but so long as this is not the case, he moves not in the matter, and renders little assistance.† Under such circumstances the English in India and the natives must continue politically and socially separate, however related by mutual interests.

* Campbell's *Modern India and its Government*, pp. 36, 37.

† Ibid. pp. 62, 63.

There is, however, one part of India which seems to be an exception to the want of nationality, and that sense of political importance which a strong nationality creates—Oude. The people of Oude, believing themselves descended from the ancient Israelites, and inhabiting the very centre and seat of that ancient empire, are passionately attached to their country. Notwithstanding all the robbery and violence of the late king, the people preferred the independence of their country, remaining exposed to the most crushing oppression and devastating plunder, to the government of England under the auspices of peace, security, and an equitable taxation. Bishop Heber relates how a British officer, riding at the head of a party through Oude, conversed with those near him as to the frightful state of anarchy around them: he asked them if they would not like to be placed under British government? Whereupon the jemindar in command of the escort, joining his hands, remarked with great fervency, "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that!"—"Why so?" said the officer; "are not our people far better governed?"—"Yes," was the answer, "but the name of Oude and the honour of our country would be at an end." The jemindar was a Mohammedan, and the bishop adds, "Perhaps a Hindoo ryot would have given a different reply." * Events have since proved the reverend traveller to have been wrong, for the Hindoo ryot joined the Mohammedan talookdar and zemindar in a sanguinary struggle for independence. With this exception of Oude, no national feeling would rouse the Indians to arms. Even when the Sikhs made so grand a struggle, it was more for the ascendancy of the Khalsa faith than for the glory of the Punjab.

Having shown the absence of all social or political sympathy between the two races, British and native, and the unlikelihood of their coming into closer communion unless great changes be wrought in the principles and tastes of both, it will not surprise the reader to learn that the disdain which marks the general bearing of Europeans to the natives, pervades even the high places of government. Distinguished princes attend the assemblies and levees at government-house, but they are made to feel, and sometimes with keen humiliation, that they are subjugated and tributary.

A glimpse of Calcutta society in its highest phases will interest the reader. This shall be given in the words of a foreigner, who, invited to an entertainment at government-house on the arrival of Lord and Lady Can-

* Heber's *Journey*, vol. ii. p. 90.

ning, with more frankness than good taste, has related his observations:—"The several entrances through the gateways to the palace had a most imposing appearance, both sides of the well-made road being lined with lamps of cocoa-nut oil, blazing from every post in the grounds, a sight as novel to me as the Chinese lanterns which so tastefully illuminate the gardens of the Shanghai merchants when they wish to exhibit more than usual magnificence. At the main doorway there were some two hundred servants squatting in rows in the large entrance hall, dressed in more than all the colours of the dolphin and rainbow—whether private servants, or those belonging to the house I did not learn, but could not but notice their peculiar sitting posture, like so many pelicans on a beach. Walking through the lower hall, passing at every turn the sepoy guard, we were shown up a long staircase, and ushered into the reception room. I passed through the outer hall to see the dancers, whose numbers fairly crowded one of the largest halls I ever witnessed. Before joining in the dance I wished to have the 'lions' of the evening pointed out, and I was particularly fortunate in having for a companion the accomplished Miss —, whose name I find against No. 11 for a polka. Lord Canning, in a stiff black state dress, stood at the head of the room, in front of the chair of state—a native officer standing on either side—with what I supposed was the mace of office. The new governor seemed fairly lost amid the blaze of chandeliers, whose dazzling brightness reflected from the prismatic glass made my eyes ache so much that I lost half the enjoyment of the evening. Lady Susan Ramsay, the daughter of Lord Dalhousie, was on the right, leading off, with all the gaiety of youth, the first quadrille—her partner some gallant officer of the Indian army, who wore upon his breast the medals of many battles. The daughter of the commander-in-chief was in the same set, and received particular attention from the elegant aide-de-camp by her side. Lady Canning did not dance while I was present, but reclining upon the regal chair, received court from her honoured lord and the several distinguished civilians and military officers present. The formality of her reception was freezing. Her dress was of white tulle over a white satin skirt, looped up with red roses, with a head-dress of red velvet and pearls—not, in my opinion, elegant; but the blaze of diamonds compensated for what was wanting in taste. She still possesses the marks of early beauty, but time and the dissipations of her exalted position in London have diminished her attractions. I found more amusement in promenading through

the wide passage ways, and in noticing the cliqueish movements of the guests, than in dancing. In the outer room, Lord Dalhousie was receiving his friends, but seldom rose from the couch without showing that too much exertion gave him pain, for physically, his constitution is shattered by hereditary and other insinuating diseases; but his mind strengthens with the weakness of the body. Administrative ability and decision of character are stamped upon his countenance, and judging from his features he must be capable of bearing great mental labour. Poor man, what is all his greatness, with incurable ill-health always staring him in the face! Notwithstanding the exertion of the punkahs, the rooms were oppressively warm, and the dancers found more colour in their usually pale cheeks than they had noticed for many a day; but as a general rule their complexion was not improved by the addition. The music of the well-organized bands at the extreme end of the dancing-saloon was most exhilarating, and served to give the only animation the formality of the ball allowed. Later I saw a significant movement of the great leaders towards the stairs, all pairing off with punctilious ceremony, and following on I found myself in the supper-room, a room even larger than the saloon, the tables arranged after the shape of three-fourths of a square, with a long one in the entrance aisle adjoining, and seats and plates for at least fifteen hundred guests; and yet there were many who remained without a place, myself among the rest, for I was too busy noticing the movements of those around me. Everything that money can purchase in the East helped to ornament the banquet and administer to the palate; at other times the most conspicuous dish of an Indian table is curry, in as many forms as there are castes in Bengal, but that dish is never seen upon the supper-table. The banquet-hall was too large to be adorned, and the guests too numerous to enjoy themselves, and the supper passed off with only the motions of the eaters and the rattling of the plates and knives. As silently as they entered they left the table, and again the dancers were on the floor; but I was not among them, for I found peculiar interest in watching the motions of the state prisoners, and distinguished natives, who, dressed in the picturesque costume of their country, had been invited to partake in the festivities of those who had brought them to their present humiliating position. Kings, princes, and rajahs, or their descendants, were there bowing and cringing under the iron rule of military power. There was the grandson of the great warrior chief who so long kept the English at bay in the almost impe-

netrable fastnesses that nature had made for him, and also in that stronghold of which European architects must have drawn the plan—Seringapatam—Tippoo Sultan, the son of the great Hyder Ali, Ghoolam Mohammed, and his son, Feroze Shah, were the descendants of those great men who, three generations ago, were the terror of the Deccan; and had his great ancestor lived to hold his power, Ghoolam would have been the most powerful and the wealthiest of all the Indian princes. These two have just returned from England, where they were courted and *fêted* by crowned heads and noble peers, the most distinguished lions of the day—but at government-house they pass unnoticed, and are taught to remember that they are dependant upon an English pension. There, too, were the brave Sikhs of the mountain passes; those bold chieftains who fought like tigers in their dens, Shere Singh and Chuttur Singh, who held their country during that memorable campaign of 1848–9, and, overpowered by the superior force brought against them, after going through the celebrated battles of Chillianwallah and Gujerat, were finally brought to bay at Rawul Pindie, where, after the most obstinate war, they surrendered their sabres to Sir Walter Gilbert, the able general, who was made a G.C.B. and a baronet for his bravery and judgment on that occasion. It was pitiful to see brave warriors so painfully humiliated, for they moved about the room in their stocking feet like so many automats, shrinking and cowering before their conquerors, evincing the greatest pleasure in receiving the least attention from the civilians in the room. Their appearance without shoes is by order of the governor-general, to remind them of their disgrace, and to enforce proper respect for those that hold the sway; this, I am told, is the custom of the land. This last tax upon their pride might at least have been passed over, for why strike them while they are down? These princes, it will be remembered, were the chieftains of the Punjab, and their surrender was the signal of annexing that great kingdom to the British empire. The amirs of Seinde, I believe, were also among the dark faces—warriors, as brave as they have been unfortunate, the captives, or rather the victims, of Sir Charles Napier, who, following the model of the great Roman general, and Perry on the lakes, and of Bosquet at the Malakoff, marked his despatch by its brevity. The pun was too good to be lost, and the simple Latin word ‘*peccavi*,’ went forward to the governor-general—*I have sinned*. No more were shown me, but I believe there were several other distinguished chieftains,

who are now but pensioners. There were also specimens of native scholars, men of great abilities as lawyers and advocates, present; men whose intellect would cope in argument with Western minds, and whose high position in the company’s courts stamps them with the unmistakable mark of genius. I suppose that Hur-Chunder Ghose, the native judge of the small-cause court, may be considered one of the most accomplished men of the time. His manners bespeak the gentleman, and he seems as familiar with the world’s history as those who make it their especial study; and the native counsel to the government, Rama Purshad Roy, is another ornament of the Bengal bar, and possesses the confidence of all who are brought in contact with him. Native bankers, too, and native merchants, were noticeable among the oriental costumes; there was Pursunnee Roomar Tadjore, assistant clerk of the legislative council, cousin of the famous Dwarkanauth (who made such a *furor* when he arrived in London, petted even by peeresses, and especially noticed by the queen, who presented him with her miniature; and yet this man, I am told, was a greater scamp in his way than Tippoo Sahib, for while he was giving one lac of rupees to some charitable institution, he was grinding two lacs out of his half-starved ryots); and there, also, was Rum-Gopal Ghose, a merchant of kingly wealth, but not loaded down with jewels like some of the rest. Many of these princes and natives, not of royal family, were walking jewellers’ shops. Pearls, emeralds, and diamonds, and precious stones of priceless value, flashed in the light of the candelabras, and were reflected back from the mirrors; and silks and satins, too expensive to be purchased, marked some of the more princely of the native guests. Some of the state prisoners were seen to walk directly before Lord Dalhousie, perhaps to show his countryman present that their rank was higher than his, or that they were as bold as he was proud, hesitating, at first, as if making up their minds, and then advancing. The ball is not a fancy ball, and yet it would almost seem so to a stranger, for the dresses of the native dignitaries at once attract the observer; and these, together with the gay uniforms of the Indian officers, sprinkled about the room, in marked contrast to the plain black dress of the well-paid civilian, gave a picturesque appearance to the entertainment; with the heads of the army and navy, intermingled with a regiment of deposed princes, and ladies dressed in the present many-coloured fashions, there was a tableau not often seen in the west. About one the guests began to leave, and passing

through the reception-room, gave a parting shake of the hand, or, where not so well acquainted, a farewell bow to the distinguished man who for eight years past has so ably ruled, say his friends, the destinies of British India. I need not say that I was disappointed with the government-house. Without, the green uncovered lawn is peculiarly English, and I'll admit I liked the emerald look; but not a tree gives shade to the grounds, for trees breed mosquitoes and barricade the air, said my informant; but really I cannot endorse the excuse, for what is more beautiful than the umbrageous coolness of their shadow? There is one break to the monotonous and bare appearance of the grounds, and that is the miniature garden plot, where flowers and shrubbery grow in tropical beauty. The four huge brick-and-mortar ends of the house, topped off with the iron dome in the centre, present no attractive style of architecture, and there is nothing more commanding within. You will notice nothing more marked, while promenading from room to room, than the luxurious wealth of space, and the parsimonious poverty of furniture.

"Lord Canning has launched his bark on the wave of Indian public opinion; but he has done it clumsily enough, for I saw him land with flags streaming over and about him, and the cannon roaring from the fort; the state carriage waiting for him, and the noble-looking horsemen of the native cavalry showing their pride in being the body-guard of the governor-general; yet, as he slowly moved along the sepoy lines, which were ranged along either side of the roadway, from the Chandpaul Ghaut to government-house, where the great dignitaries of the land were waiting to give him welcome, he gazed vacantly upon the novel sight! and even when passing European officers who saluted him, and fair ladies who waved their handkerchiefs, there was no recognition from his lordship, while Lady Canning acknowledged, and most gracefully, too, the courtesy. How odd that he should be so very austere! When he arrived at government-house his manners were formal, even to his acquaintance, Lord Dalhousie. Public opinion is dead in India, else most certainly there would be more animation and less coldness in a state reception. How different all this looks from the Anglo-Saxon customs! A few months, and if he shares the fate of those who have gone before him, Lord Canning will be the best-abused man in India, for the young Bengalees are radicals."

The above picture was not drawn by a man of courtly habits or accustomed to so-

ciety in the grades of life where he found himself, but it presents to us the social life of the high places of the Indian metropolis, from a point of view important to regard it.

The withdrawal from India of the great annexer and able administrator affords another glimpse of high life in India:—"Lord Dalhousie's departure was early announced, and arrangements during the past few days have been consummated to usher him out with the same pomp and circumstance with which Lord Canning was ushered in. As early as four o'clock the regiments began to gather, and by half-past four the companies had lined the road from the palace to the steamer. And here, again, I had the opportunity of admiring the drill and tactics of the sepoy troops. Many of them are noble-looking fellows, and some of the native officers compare favourably in form and movement with the white man. The household troops, or body-guard, are all picked men, and you would not wish to see a finer body of cavalry. At five o'clock the guns from the fort began to roar, and we at once knew that his lordship had started from government-house. An hour later the governor was in his yacht, the regiments were marching to their barracks; the friends of the governor, under Prinsep's monumental tablet, had given the last wave of the handkerchief and resumed their carriages and their gossip; the pleasure-seekers were again upon the course, to comment upon the occurrences of his departure; the coolies began to disperse; the cannon were hushed, the bells ceased to vibrate, and Lord Dalhousie was on his way to England, to be censured and be praised, while Lord Canning was left to govern India."

The foregoing descriptions of Anglo-Indian life are interesting as coming from the pen of a foreigner, and as revealing the present state of English feeling towards the natives from the most recent observations. They confirm the remarks of Bayard Taylor, the celebrated American traveller and *litterateur*:—"There is one feature of English society in India, which I cannot notice without feeling disgusted and indignant. I allude to the contemptuous manner in which the natives, even those of the best and most intelligent classes, are almost invariably spoken of and treated. Social equality, except in some rare instances, is utterly out of the question. The tone adopted towards the lower classes is one of lordly arrogance; towards the rich and enlightened, one of condescension and patronage. I have heard the term niggers applied to the whole race by those high in office; with the lower orders of the English it is the designation in general

use ; and this, too, towards those of our own Caucasian blood, where there is no instinct of race to excuse their unjust prejudice."

It is mournfully true that the conduct here described too much resembles the conduct of Englishmen where conquest has carried their arms, or colonization induced them to settle. The whole career of the English in Ireland from the days of Henry II. to the present time has more or less exemplified this. The spirit of the English towards various aboriginal tribes in our colonial dependencies still further illustrates it; the proclamation of Independence by the states of the American Union would never have resulted from questions of taxation or law, but for the uniform contempt with which we treated our own people in the American provinces. It is in vain, however, for writers like Bayard Taylor to accuse Englishmen as especially guilty in this respect; they are, in fact, less to be censured, however blameworthy, than many other nations. Americans, Dutch, Portuguese, Spaniards have all violated the laws of Christian duty and Christian charity to a greater extent in the same way. Undoubtedly a new feeling was gradually infusing itself into Indo-English life, when the mutiny so violently disturbed everything; and should the effect of that terrible earthquake subside, and India assume her wonted repose, such as under English governance it had attained, the sweet breath of Christian charity will make itself felt in the great cities of India—

"And over hills, with peaky top engrailed,
And many a tract of palm and rice."

Whatever be the physical advantages of India, if Christianity be allowed to fulfil her own mission, her moral advantages will be greater; while she enjoys

"A summer fanned with spice,"

she will also exult in the atmosphere of justice and love, and all that is true and good and benign in Christian England will waft its influence to those shores. They who despair of such results, not only judge Christianity wrongly, but are inattentive to the slow progress of civilization in every form in Asiatic countries. No description of secular improvement develops itself so fast in any part of Asia, as to entitle those who despair of Christian efforts in India to justify their despondency by the tardy progress which religious influence makes. What department of civilization has succeeded more rapidly than the extension of religious truth, even although none has obstacles in human nature, and in Indian social life, so numerous and in-

veterate to contend with? The government has not succeeded in inducing a right appreciation of order or of equal laws; nor has it, with infinitely more appliances, and a longer time for experience than modern Christianity has possessed, secured its objects anywhere in India. Are the cultivators prosperous and contented, the sepoy dutiful and true, the police efficient and faithful? Immense sums have been expended on secular education: where are the results? We know there are results, and they are in many respects beneficial; in others they are, at all events for the present, dubious; but do not the best friends of secular education in India lament the disproportion between the money, time, and talent, employed on the one hand, and the good fruits on the other? Have English settlers, such as sugar and indigo-planters, reported that the zemindars and ryots have co-operated with them, and acknowledged the benefit derived by the introduction of capital, and the demand for labour created in their neighbourhoods? Have all the commissions, agencies, bounties, persuasions, and efforts of whatever kind, succeeded in inducing the cotton cultivators to pick and to pack it clean, and to send it to the merchant in a marketable form? Do the merchants of Calcutta and Bombay proclaim to the world that English precept and example have infused commercial integrity among the banyans and native traders? If, in every other direction, improvement proceeds at the slowest pace, what grounds have men who have themselves effected little, perhaps nothing, for detracting from the efforts of the Christian church to improve the people of India, or of doubting its ultimate triumph? while after repeated failures or little success they still cherish the expectation of seeing India commercially, agriculturally, legally, educationally, and politically, much improved. Writing of the Christian church—not of a sect or a denomination—it may be truly alleged that there ought to be no doubt, and there can be no doubt on the part of a candid examiner of the evidence, that the success of Christian missions, Christian schools, and various other missionary instrumentalities, has far exceeded that obtained by any other description of effort for the welfare of India. There is still, however, much to be done by all good men for India, and it is well worth doing; for as the *Calcutta Review* has justly recorded, "the more thoroughly this country is examined and compared with other lands, peopled by orientals, the more clearly will it be seen what a splendid heritage has been bestowed by its conquest on the English crown; and what a glorious work has to be performed in ele-

vating it to its proper place among the nations. Not only has it excellences peculiar to itself, but in all that it shares in common with other Eastern lands, few can surpass the position which it occupies. In its manufactures, the features of its landscapes, the structure of its cities, and in its monuments of ancient grandeur, it falls not a whit behind other portions of the Eastern world. Its boundless plains, laden with crops of rice, wheat, mustard, &c., are far more extensive, and not less fertile, than those of Roumelia and Egypt. The icy capes and mountains of Siberia cannot be compared with the higher ranges of the Himalayas, whose proud peaks, covered with eternal snow, rear their heads in silent grandeur to the heavens. The wide-spread valleys of Cashmere and the Dhoon, are not less lovely than that of Samarcand, or even than the far-famed vale of Tempe itself. Benares, Delhi, or Lucknow will well compare with Cairo or Constantinople. The strange arches of Orissa, and the towers of the temples at Puri and Konarak, find no parallel but in the cyclopean wall of the Peloponnesus, and in the treasury of Mycenæ. The Alhambra is proud among palaces, but Bayard Taylor declares it to be far surpassed by the palaces of Akbar and Shah Jehan. The tombs of the Mamelukes are numbered among the celebrities of Cairo, but they are more than equalled by those of kings, priests, and nobles, scattered widely round the cities of Agra and Delhi. The Church of St. Sophia, and the Mosque of Solyman, are the pride of Constantinople; but among all Mohammedan buildings, whether mosques or mausolea, nothing can come up to the exquisite beauty and wondrous grandeur of the Taj Mehal. These things appear plain to travellers, who, from personal experience, are able to compare the scenery and the monuments of one land with those of another." These words are true, and justify a deep interest in India, not only on the part of those commercially or politically concerned, but of those who, as men of benevolence or Christianity, desire to influence her social condition beneficially, and to throw the light of civilization, knowledge, and charity, into the dark places of her error, cruelty, and degradation.

The social peculiarities of India have attracted the attention of statesmen and *litterateurs* in England, and our tales and novels begin to afford a place to Indian officials and heroes, as well as our graver works a place for the serious discussion of her concerns. The social life of India, ancient and modern, now interests the English people, and not only the inhabitants of these islands, but of Europe and of the United States. All

thoughtful men must at last arrive at the conclusion that so long as the religions of India prevail, it will be impossible to modify the moral and social condition of the people.

It is a grave fault with independent settlers in India that they seldom appreciate the country. This is often the case even with the civil servants of the company, although thoroughly imbued with the Philo-Indian spirit, noticed elsewhere in these pages. Nowhere else in the world do educated men work so hard. Wearied out with heat and labour, they have little disposition for exploring the country, and enjoying its noble scenery. To make a fortune, and return home, is the grand object with all. Very numerous is the proportion of those who have resided in the capitals of the presidencies who never travelled a day's journey into the interior. It is no uncommon thing to meet in this country "old Indians," as Europeans who have returned home after a long residence there are generally termed, who are more ignorant of the peculiarities of Indian scenery, the physical features of the country, and the social life of the people, than persons of their class and station in England who have never visited that country. When the reader reflects upon the glorious scenery, and the attractive objects of nature and art which India possesses, this will seem extraordinary, notwithstanding the incessant toil to which Europeans in India are exposed. The *Calcutta Review* accounts for it in these terms:—"Unhappily, we have very few, if any books, that can be regarded as complete guides. Heber's travels, one of the best in former times, is now much out of date. The routes he describes are unfrequented, and his modes of travelling have become obsolete. A work, therefore, which describes in a lively and readable way objects most worthy of observation cannot be without interest." It is upon the principle expressed in this passage that the author of this History has presented so much in detail the country and its people in the descriptions given in these pages.

The events of the great mutiny of 1857-8 have opened up a new social question connected with India—the treatment of her criminals. The Duke of Wellington, when the Hon. Arthur Wellesley and serving in India, complained that capital punishment was too frequently resorted to by the British, and too much relied upon as a means of checking vice among the Hindoos. Other great officers and civilians have also recommended incarceration, chains, the lash, infliction of the loss of caste in various forms, and transportation, as substitutes for capital punishment, far more effectual in deterring

from crime. These views appear to have been justified by events; for while the natives act with the uttermost contempt of death, they dread bonds and banishments. When the celebrated Moolraj offered to surrender Mooltan, he stipulated for his life, which was accorded; but when he learned that his sentence was transportation to another part of India, he passionately lamented his fate, and begged them in preference to deprive him of life. More than one of the rebel chiefs, who headed the revolt and insurrection of 1857, committed suicide under sentence of transportation. From the numerous instances in which the natives prefer death to being banished from their country, it is plain that the existence of penal settlements beyond the seas, to which the guilty will be expatriated, is an appeal to the apprehensions of the people well calculated to deter from guilt. The government has recently come to the determination of fixing upon the Andaman Islands as a place for Indian convicts, who will, in the result of the revolt, be very numerous. As those islands did not fall within the scope of our geographical descriptions, and they have since assumed political importance, some description of them is desirable. They are situated in the Bay of Bengal, near the sailing track from the Straits of Malacca to Calcutta, between 92° and 93° east longitude, and 11° and 12° north latitude. The Nicobars lie between them and Sumatra. They lie parallel with the Archipelago of Mergui; the nearest land on the continent is Cape Negrais, in Pegu, near the mouths of the Irrawaddy. Our knowledge of the Andamans is so slight that probably, after an investigation by scientific men, much valuable information may be procured, and their resources more thoroughly developed. The neighbouring islands, the Nicobars, have received more attention; M. Haensel, who resided there for many years as a Moravian missionary, communicated much information to the Danish government, which is to be found in their archives. In 1848, the Danish government came to the determination to abandon all claim to sovereignty over the Nicobars; and on the final removal of Danish authority the chiefs of the island of Lar Nicobar hoisted the British flag, and expressed their desire to acknowledge the supremacy of the British government. It seems desirable, considering the lawless and desperate character of the classes we are now deporting to the Andamans, that no time should be lost in taking them under our protection, as their vicinity might lead to constant attempts on the part of the convicts to escape; and from various accounts the character of the native islanders

in the Nicobars presents a most favourable contrast to that of the wild and savage tribe which is found in a very limited proportion in the Andaman group. The Nicobars, particularly the Lar Nicobar, abound also in pine apples, plantains, and most other tropical fruit, including a species of bread-fruit tree, termed by Mr. Fontana, the *mellori*, and of which he has given a full account in a memoir, published in the third volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 161. The coffee-tree, we are also informed in the same paper, in two years yields fruit; and wild cinnamon and sassafras are found, as well as yams, the latter for three or four months of the year only. Cocoa-nuts are to be had in abundance. Fontana observes of the Nicobars:—"Almost the whole of these islands are uncultivated, though there are a number of large valleys that might be rendered very fruitful with a little trouble, the soil being naturally fertile." An exact plan of these islands may be seen in the *Neptun Oriental*. In *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. viii. p. 430, there is a brief notice of the Andaman Islands, from Hamilton's account of the East Indies. This quaint old writer has the following very curious account, which, if any reliance can be placed upon it, may be productive of important material advantages:—"I saw one of the natives of those islands at Atcheen, in anno 1694, who was then about forty years of age. Taken prisoner when a boy of ten or twelve years of age in the wars in which he had accompanied his father, they saved his life, and made him a slave. Some years after, his master dying gave him his freedom, and he having a great desire to see his native country, the southernmost island of which is the Chitty (Andaman is distant about a hundred leagues from Atcheen), ventured to sea, being fair weather and the sea smooth. Arriving among his relations he was made welcome, as they expected he had been long dead. When he had stayed a month or two, he took leave to be gone again, which they permitted on condition that he would return. He brought along with him four or five hundred weight of quicksilver, and he said that some of the Andaman Islands abound in that commodity. He had made several trips thither before I saw him, and always brought some quicksilver with him. When I saw him he was in company with a seid, whom I carried a passenger to Surat, and from him I had this account of his adventures." There is not any mention of quicksilver in the valuable reports made to the Bengal government by Captain Blair, the first superintendent of the Andamans, or by Colonel Kyd, who succeeded him in that post; but it seems a point

well worth ascertaining, and which will, no doubt, receive attention from the head of the Board of Control. Should Captain Hamilton's account prove correct, and mines can be worked by the convict mutineers, we may turn our re-occupation of these islands to a better use than resulted from our former temporary residence in them. In the *London Encyclopædia*, vol. xiv. p. 296, under the head "Mercury," Professor Jameson describes—"Species: 1 native mercury, 1 fluid mercury. It occurs principally in rocks of the coal formation, associated with cinnabar, corneous mercury, &c. Small veins of it are rarely met with in primitive rocks, accompanied with native silver," &c.

The importance of making the Nicobars also penal settlements will probably appear, for the number of convicts will be great. If the revolt spring from facts or principles, which must continue to operate even when the flames of insurrection are extinguished in blood, then there can be little hope for long to come of the prosperity of our Indian dominions, or the happiness of the races by whom they are peopled. The remembrance of sanguinary defeat, the presence of overbearing power, may repress action; but the desire to avenge defeat, and snap the colossal chain, will sustain vague expectations and animate popular vigilance for a surprise more complete and terrible. Under the Agra government, where the

people are bold and profess soldierly qualities, the cultivators of the land are more loyal than in the lower provinces under the Bengal government, where the people are unsoldierly and unfitted to maintain an active and vigorous resistance. The insurrection was thus more or less intense in different sections of the people, and was local both as to the army and the inhabitants, both classes of insurgents being natives of the same regions. But should a more general military revolt arise, or a more extensive popular insurrection, it will be necessary to have penal settlements co-extensive with the whole group of islands, if the convicts are to be engaged in any productive labour. It is well to be prepared for such an emergency. It will soon become known through the native press that such preparations exist for inflicting the penalty upon crime or treason which is most of all dreaded by the Hindoos.

While, however, England shows her power to wrest from the centre of Indian society the highest or the lowest whose treachery, turbulence, or guilt, may render it desirable to expel them from the fair land they had dishonoured, still the hope must be cherished that good government will, in spite of priest or fakeer, win the affections of the populace, and convince them of the benefit of our rule, and that the bright day of India may at last arise upon a loyal, contented, enlightened, and prosperous people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ANCIENT INDIA.—CHRONOLOGY.—HISTORICAL RECORD.—BRAHMA.—MENU.—THE GREAT WAR.

IN the chapter on the commercial intercourse between the Western nations and India, we collected the few historical references which can be gleaned from the Greek writers previous to the time of Alexander. The Indians yield to no people in their extravagant claims to a very remote existence. Hundreds of thousands of years is comparatively a short period in their calendar. The Hindoo chronology supplies no trustworthy landmarks, no fixed eras, no comparative history to guide us;* and the absurdity of its pretensions would be too puerile for notice, were it not applied rather to explain their indefinite notions of eternity than any mundane revolutions. In the *Vishnu Parana*, a system

of Hindoo mythology and tradition, translated by Professor Wilson, the following explanation of it is given:—"Brahma is said to be born, a familiar phrase to signify his manifestation; and as the peculiar measure of his presence, a hundred of his years is said to constitute his life; that period is also called *param*, and the half of it, *pararddham*. I have already declared that time is a form of Vishnu;* hear now how it is applied to measure the duration of Brahma, and of all other sentient beings, as well as of things which are unconscious, as the mountains, the

* Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, p. xlvi.

* *Vishnu*, the origin, existence, and end of all things, undistinguished by place, time, or property. The world, the Hindoos believe, was produced by him, exists in him—he is the cause of its continuance and cessation: he is the world.

oceans, and the like. Fifteen twinklings of the eye make a *kashtha*; thirty *kashthas*, one *kala*; and thirty *kala*'s one *muhurta*; thirty *muhurtas* constitute a day and night of mortals; thirty such days make a month, divided into two half months; six months form an *ayana* (the period of the sun's progress north or south of the ecliptic), and two *ayan*as compose a year; the southern *ayana* is a night, and the northern a day of the gods; twelve thousand divine years, each composed of three hundred and sixty such days, constitute the period of the four *yugas*, or ages. They are thus distributed: the *krita* age has four thousand divine years; the *treta*, three thousand; the *dwapara*, two thousand; and the *kali* age, one thousand: so those acquainted with antiquity have declared. The period that preceded a *yuga* is called a *sandhya*, and it is of as many hundred years as there are thousands in the *yuga*; and the period that follows a *yuga*, termed the *sandhyansa*, is the *yuga* denominated *krita*, *treta*, &c. The *krita*, *treta*, *dwapara*, and *kali*, constitute a great age, or aggregate of four ages; a thousand such aggregate are a day of Brahma, and fourteen *Menus* reign within that term. Seven *rishis*,* certain secondary divinities; Indra, Menu, and the kings his sons, are created and perish at one period; and the interval called a *manwantara*, is equal to seventy-one times the number of years contained in the four *yugas*, with some additional years. This is the duration of the *Menu*, the attendant divinities, and the rest, which is equal to 852,000 divine years, or to 306,720,000 years of mortals, independent of the additional period. Fourteen times this period constitutes a Brahma day; the term Brahma being the derivative form. At the end of this day a dissolution of the universe occurs, when all the worlds, earth, and the regions of space, are consumed with fire; the dwellers of *maharloka* (the region inhabited by the saints who survive the world), of such days and nights is a year of Brahma's composed; and a hundred such years constitute his whole life."†

Professor Wilson, in a note on this passage, remarks:—"This scheme, extravagant as it may appear, seems to admit of easy explanation. We have, in the first place, a compu-

tation of the years of the gods in the four ages, or—

| | | | |
|----|----------------------|------|-------|
| 1. | Krita Yuga | 4000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . . . | 400 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa . | 400 | |
| | | — | 4800. |
| 2. | Treta Yuga | 3000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . . . | 300 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa . | 300 | |
| | | — | 3600. |
| 3. | Dwapara Yuga . . . | 2000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . | 200 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa | 200 | |
| | | — | 2400. |
| 4. | Kali Yuga | 1000 | |
| | „ Sandhya . . . | 100 | |
| | „ Sandhyansa . . | 100 | |
| | | — | 1200. |

"If these divine years are converted into years of mortals, by multiplying by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, we obtain the years of which the *yugas* of mortals are respectively said to consist.

$$\begin{aligned} 4800 \times 360 &= 1,728,000. \\ 3600 \times 360 &= 1,296,000. \\ 2400 \times 360 &= 864,000. \\ 1200 \times 360 &= 432,000 \text{ a mahayuga.} \end{aligned}$$

"So that these periods resolve themselves into very simple elements; the notion of four ages in a deteriorating series expressed by descending arithmetical progression as 4, 3, 2, 1, the conversion of units into thousands, and the mythological fiction, that these were divine years, each composed of three hundred and sixty of men. It does not seem necessary to refer the invention to any astronomical calculations, or to any attempt to represent actual chronology."*

Of these ages the three first in order are said to have expired, and in the current year, 1858, of the Christian era, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-two years of the last. With such claims to a long established national existence, the authenticated history of India is very modern. No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander: and no connected narrative of its transactions, or materials for its composition exists, until we descend to the period subsequent to the Mohammedan invasions. The only sources from which any knowledge of Indian antiquities can be derived are the Greeks and the natives of India themselves. The former we have already explored; and we shall now confine ourselves to an examination of what the latter has preserved. These are of a two-fold character, writings and monuments.

The books which claim the highest antiquity, that are the oldest, and esteemed the most weighty authorities of the Brahmins for

* The great *rishis*, or mind-born sons of Brahma, are variously enumerated, as seven, eight, nine, as far as seventeen. They are reputed the immediate ancestors of all kinds of living beings, and are, therefore, called *prajapatis*, lords of creation. For a detailed account of them and their posterity, see the *Vishnu Parana*, b. i. chaps. vii. and x.

† *Vishnu Parana*, p. 25.

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 23. Note 4.

their religion and institutions, are the Vedas. There are four of them, said to have been originally one, and contributed, as we now find them, by a divine or divinely-inspired person, named Vyasa.* They are entitled, respectively, the *Rich* or *Rig-Veda*; the *Yajush* or *Yagur-Veda*; the *Saman* or *Sama-Veda*; and the *Atharvana* or *Athar-Veda*; and in one compound word *Rig-yajusamatharva*. Many passages are to be found in Sanscrit writing, which limit the number to three.† Indeed, the *Athar-Veda* may be regarded rather as a supplement than as one of the four.‡

The *Rig-Veda* is composed of metrical prayers or hymns, the oldest form in which the divinities of all nations were addressed, termed *Suktas*. The absence of any obvious dependence upon one another, as Professor Wilson observes, is sufficiently indicative of their separate and unsystematic origin.§ That they are the compositions of the *rishis*, the patriarchal sages, to whom they are ascribed, they bear internal evidence in the references which they occasionally make to the name of the author, or of his family. Two of the Vedas have been translated recently into the English language: the *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, in three volumes, by Professor Wilson, with copious and valuable explanatory notes, and the *Sama-Veda*, by Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay; and also the *Vajasneyi* portion of the *Yagur-Veda*|| has been commenced by Dr. Webber, of Berlin. It differs from the *Rig*, and approaches near to the ritual form. In it several prayers and invocations are borrowed from the latter. The *Sama-Veda* is little else than a recast of the *Rig*, being made up, with few exceptions, of the very same hymns, broken into parts and arranged, for the purpose of being chanted on different ceremonial occasions.¶ The *Athar-Veda*, or supplementary Veda, comprises many of the hymns of the *Rig*. It is evident from the general appropriation of the formulæ of the *Rig-Veda*, by the three others, that it is the original, and is therefore justly entitled to the highest respect, and is valued for its great historical importance. It is in reality the fount from which is derived the knowledge of the old and most genuine forms of the institutions, religious or civil, of the Hindoos. Besides the *Sanhitas* the term *Veda* includes

an extensive class of compositions designated collectively *Brahmina*. Of these the most interesting and important is the *Āitareya Brahmina* of the *Rig-Veda*, consisting of singular legends, illustrative of the condition of Brahminism at the period of its composition.* None of these have been published. This is to be deeply regretted, as we are assured by Professor Wilson that in them is developed the whole system of social organization, and the distinction of caste fully established. The *Suktas*, the prayers and hymns, had an independent existence, in all probability, long previous to their having been collected and arranged as they now are in the *Sanhitas*: indeed the traditions of the Hindoos confirm this opinion, and attribute the authorship of each to a *rishi*, or inspired teacher, by whom, in Brahminical phraseology, it has been *seen*—that is, revealed—being considered the uncreated dictation of Brahma.

The age of the Vedas has been the subject-matter of much discussion among the learned; Sir William Jones has made an unsatisfactory attempt† to fix the date of the *Yagur-Veda* at B. C. 1580, by computing the lives of forty-two pupils and preceptors, who successively received and transmitted the doctrines contained in the *Upanishad*, from the time of Parasara, a Hindoo sage, and the father of Vyasa, whose epoch is fixed by an astronomical test. The date assigned to them by Colebrooke‡ from other data, is fourteen centuries before Christ. Professor Wilson, arguing from the indisputable evidence which the hymns supply of the form of religious worship, and a state of society very dissimilar to those to be met with in all the other scriptural authorities of the Hindoos, whether Brahminas, Upanishads, Ithasas, or Paranas, and the genealogical and historical traditions, the origin and succession of regal dynasties, and the formation of powerful principalities preserved in other records, and all unknown to the *Sanhita*, concludes that one thousand years would not be too long an interval for the altered conditions which are depicted in the older and the more recent compositions, and in his opinion the Vedas date from about the twelfth or thirteen century B.C.§ After all, these dates are purely conjectural. However, it may be fairly pronounced that the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* rank with the oldest surviving records.

Great are the advantages which the internal evidence of these ancient books, the Vedas, presents to the antiquarian in investi-

* Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii.

† Ibid., vol. viii. p. 370.

‡ *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Introduction, p. viii.

§ Ibid.

|| Montgomery Martin was not aware of the existence of Professor Wilson's translation, or Dr. Webber's labour. He asserts (p. 14 of his History) that the *Sama-Veda* only was translated.

¶ Professor Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, vol. i. p. ix.

* Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, vol. i. p. xi.

† Haughton's *Institutes of Menu*, Preface, p. xii.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 483.

§ Wilson's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, vol. i. p. xlviii.

gating the social and political, as well as religious condition of the Hindoos. For a true appreciation of the early history of mankind, and for a comparative study of the religions of the East, says Max Müller, a knowledge of the Vedas is indispensable,* and also for an acquaintance with the religious condition of the ancient Hindoos. The assumption of some eminent scholars that the Hindoos were originally a nomadic and pastoral people is negatived by the Vedas. The contrary is evident from the repeated allusions to fixed dwellings, villages, and towns. If pastoral, it is proved they were also agricultural, by their frequent supplications for abundant rain, and for the fertility of the earth, and by the mention of their cereal products, as, "Verily he has brought to me successively the six, connected with the drops as a husbandman repeatedly ploughs for barley."† They were a manufacturing people; for the art of weaving, the labours of the carpenter, and the fabrication of golden and iron mail,‡ are alluded to. They were also a maritime and mercantile people, familiar with the ocean and its phenomena: their merchants are described as pressing earnestly on board ship, and covetous of gain; and a naval expedition is represented as having been frustrated by shipwreck. The adoption of an intercalating month for the purpose of adjusting the solar and lunar years is stated. The mention of hundred-oared ships, chariots and harnessed horses, are of frequent occurrence.

The *Paranas*, eighteen in number, are evidently derived from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindoo belief,§ and record the fabulous achievements of gods and heroes. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great Indian epics, the *Rama Yana* and the *Mhaha Bharrat*. They expand and systematize the chronological computations, lists of royal races, and give a more definite and correct representation of historical traditions. Though the name *Parana* implies "old," the *Paranas* are not merely the repositories of ancient traditions. With these are incorporated much matter, the peculiarities of which are characteristic of far later times. They undoubtedly comprise details illustrative of the early history of India; and it may be fairly presumed, considering what has been recently done, that their stores will be further developed, with essential results, and that by their aid what is at pre-

sent merely conjectural, may be converted into historical certainty.

Besides the two great classes already noticed, there is a third class, the *Sastras*, composed chiefly of annotations on ancient works; and a fourth, comprising dramatic works, fables, couplets, and light compositions. The two great epics are generally classed with the *Paranas*, which shall be treated of in a subsequent page.

Interesting monumental inscriptions have been found on stone and metal. It is very recently that attention has been directed to their importance, and however limited the historical information yet furnished by them, we are encouraged to anticipate extensive and satisfactory results. Indeed, the few deciphered, coincide with, although they do not to any considerable degree illustrate, the written volumes.

The Hindoos assert that they are the descendants of Bharrat, one of nine brothers, whose father was lord of the universe, and that the portion of it allotted to him was that described in the *Institutes of Menu*:—*

"Between the two divine rivers *Saraswati* (Scrsooty), and *Drishadwati* (Caygar), lies the tract of land which the sages have named *Brahma-verta*, because it was frequented by gods. That country which lies between *Himawat* (Himalaya), and *Vindhya* (the Vindean of the Greeks), to the east of Vinasana, and to the west of Prayaga, is celebrated by the title of *Medhyadesa*, or the central region.

"As far as the eastern, and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains just mentioned, lies the tract which the wise have named *Aryaverta*, or inhabited by respectable men.

"That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performance of sacrifices."

This tract of land, described by Elphinstone† to be about one hundred miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-four miles long, and from twenty to forty broad, was, in the opinion of the Hindoo, the cradle of his race. Neither his records nor his traditions point to any previous settlement, and among the neighbouring chain of towering mountains on the north, their mythology places the mansions of their gods. Orme, in his *History of India*, observes that "this country has been inhabited from the earliest antiquity by a people who have no resemblance—either in their figure or manners—with any of the nations contiguous to them;" and that "although conquerors have established themselves at different times in dif-

* Müller's *Rig-Veda-Sanhita*, Preface, v. 2, p. lxi.

† Ibid., First Ashtaka, Second Adhya Varga x. v. 15.

‡ Varuna clothes his well nourished person, wearing golden armour. Ibid., Varga xviii. v. 11.

§ Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, p. iii.

* Chap. ii. v. 17, 21, 22, 23.

† Vol. i. p. 388.

ferent parts of India, yet the primeval inhabitants have lost very little of their original character." How trivially they have been affected by the revolution of centuries, may be inferred from the following translation from the geographical poem of Dionysius :—

"To the East a lovely country wide extends,
India, whose borders the broad ocean bounds;
On this the sun, new rising from the main,
Smiles pleased, and sheds his early orient beam.
The inhabitants are swart, and in their locks
Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
Various their functions: some the rock explore,
And from the mine extract the latent gold;
Some labour at the loom with cunning skill,
And manufacture linen; others shape
And polish iv'ry with the nicest care;
Many retire to river's shoal, and plunge
To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,
Or glittering diamond. Oft the jasper's found,
Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too,
Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all,
The lovely amethyst, in which combine
All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
Washed by a thousand rivers, from all sides
Pours on the natives wealth without control."

As their patriarchal ruler and legislator the Hindoos claim Menu, whom they assert to be the primeval sage and progenitor of mankind. Sir William Jones informs us that the name is clearly derived, like *menes*, *mens*, and *mind*, from the root *men*, to understand, and signifies intelligent. An attempt to identify the period at which the first Menu lived would be a fruitless task, as the calculation would assuredly be involved in an "inextricable labyrinth of imaginary astronomical cycles." He was the reputed son or grandson of the creating deity, Brahma, and from him his posterity, the human family, are called *Manavas* or *Manussahs*, offspring of Menu. Dara Shueuh, quoted by Sir William Jones,* was persuaded that the Menu of the Brahmins could be no other than him to whom the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans unite in giving the name of Adam. The alleged revelation made to him by Brahma has descended to the present day, and is extensively known as the *Institutes of Menu*, of which a translation was made by Sir William Jones. It is esteemed by the Hindoos as the oldest and holiest text next to the Vedas. In the Vedas he is highly distinguished by name, and whatever emanated from him is pronounced "a medicine for the soul;" and the sage Vrihaspeti, who is now supposed to preside over the planet Jupiter, says in his law tract that "Menu held the first rank among legislators, because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that no code was approved which contradicted him; that other Sustras retain splendour only so

* Preface to the *Institutes*.

long as Menu, who taught the way to just wealth, to virtue, and so final happiness, was not seen in competition with them."* It is classed as one of the four works of supreme authority, which ought never to be shaken by arguments merely human. Of its contents, authority, and influence on Hindoo society, we have largely dwelt elsewhere.

Whether Menu was a real personage or myth, the influence which the institutes that bear his name have had in the formation of the social relations of the Hindoos, commands for him a place amongst the first of historical personages. The writings of the Hindoos mention fourteen of this name, and that it was the seventh and not the first of them whom the Brahmins believe to have been the child of the sun, and preserved in the ark from the general deluge, and the brother of Yama,† the judge of the shades below.

Amid all the nations—west, east, north, and south—who have preserved remote traditions, and even those unaffected by the teachings of Jew, Christian, or Mohammedan, the great and appalling event of the Deluge has been handed down. The genesis‡ of India—as is well remarked by Colonel Tod§ in his valuable work, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*—dates from this epoch. This divine visitation is thus recorded, in the glowing description of oriental feeling, by the *Agni-Parana*:—"When ocean quitted his bounds, and caused universal destruction by Brahma's command, Vaivaswata || Menu (Noah), who dwelt near the Himalaya Mountains, was giving water to the gods near the Kritmala River, when a small fish fell into his hand. A voice commanded him to preserve it. The fish expanded to an enormous size. Menu, with his sons and their wives, and the sages, with the seed of every living thing, entered into a vessel which was fastened to a horn on the head of the fish, and thus they were preserved."

What a singular confirmation is this Hindoo tradition of the scriptural narrative in its leading features! It may be here appropriately remarked that the traditions of the East refer to the West, of the West to the East, of the far North to the South, and of the far South to the North, as the cradle of their race, all wonderfully converging to the Asiatic

* Preface to the *Institutes*.

† Yama is the son of the sun, and regent of the infernal regions. He combines the offices of Pluto and Rhadamanthus. He is the judge of the dead, and the souls of both good and bad appear before his tribunal. The former he dispatches to Swurga, or Elysium; the latter to Naraka, or Tartarus.

‡ From the Sanscrit primitives, *Jenem*, birth, and *eswar*, lords.

§ Vol. i. p. 21.

|| Son of the sun.

locality (the Mosaic Eden), in which the progenitors of mankind had their being. In the *Bavishya* it is stated that Vivaswata (the sun-born) Menu ruled at the mountain Soomer or Meru,* and from him was descended Ca-coosta Rajah, who obtained the sovereignty of Ayodhya (Oude), and that his descendants filled the land, and spread over the earth. Tod thus essays to identify Soomer:—"This sacred mountain is claimed by the Brahmins as the abode of the Creator; by the Jains as the abode of Adnath, the first lord: they say he taught mankind the arts of agriculture and civilised life. The Greeks claimed it as the abode of Bacchus. In this vicinity the followers of Alexander had their saturnalia, drank to excess of the wine from its indigenous vines, and bound their brows with ivy, sacred to the Baghis (Creator) of the East and West, whose votaries alike drink of 'strong wine.'"† The Hindoos placed the cradle of their race not within the Indus, but to the west, amongst the hills of the Caucasus, whence the sons of Vaivaswata migrated eastward to that river, and onward to the Ganges, and located themselves in Kosulya, the capital of Oude. Few spots, as Tod remarks, possess more interest than that elevated central region of Asia, whence the Hindoos mention they issued, where the Amu, Oxus, or Jihoon, and other rivers have their rise, and which both the Soonya and Hindoo races (Sacæ) claim as the hill sacred to the great patriarchal ancestor.‡

The fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, translated by Professor Wilson, contains, he assures us, all that the Hindoos have of their ancient history. Though a rather comprehensive list of dynasties and of individuals, few indeed are the events it records. It is asserted to be a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences.§ The professor—than

* The rulers of mankind lived on the summit of Meru, towards the north. Meru is a fabulous mountain in the centre of the earth, fully described in the *Vishnu Parana*, p. 116. On it the Hindoos allege are the cities of the gods, and the habitations of celestial spirits. Many of the notions entertained respecting it seem to have been suggested by the actual geography of central Asia, between the Himalaya and Allai Mountains.

† Tod, vol. i. p. 22.

‡ Ibid.

§ Professor Wilson is not in favour of the conclusion here arrived at. The traditions of the Paranas lend no assistance to the determination of the question whence the Hindoos came; whether from Central Asia, as Sir William Jones supposed, or from the Caucasian mountains, the plains of Babylonia, or the borders of the Caspian, as conjectured by Klaproth, Vans Kennedy, and Schlegel. It would have been obviously incompatible with the Paranic system to have referred the origin of Indian princes and principalities to any other than native sources. It is not, therefore, to be expected that from them any information as to the foreign derivation of the Hindoos should be obtained.—WILSON'S *Vishnu Parana*, p. lxi.

whom no European is a superior authority on Indian antiquities—thinks that there is nothing shocking to probability in supposing that the Hindoo dynasties and their ramifications have spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the great war of the *Mhaha Bharrat*, an event which he is disposed to ascribe to about the fourteenth century before Christ, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about two thousand six hundred years before that era. According to this computation, the authenticated history of India dates from as early a period as the credible history of any country in the world.

The holy land of Menu and the Paranas, as has been already said, lies between the Drishadwati and Saraswati rivers. This was the land with which the adventures of their first princes and the most eminent of their sages were identified, and the abode of Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas and Paranas. The Paranas pass over the earlier stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayodhya (Oude). This is the district in which the solar and lunar races had their origin.* They were descended from Vaivaswata Menu. The one, living under the designation of Surya (children of the sun), reigned in Oude; the other, Chandra, (children of the moon), at Pratishthana, or Vitora, between the Jumna and the Ganges. The dynasties prior to Krishnu precede the time of the great war, and the beginning of the kali age. To that period the princes of the solar dynasty offer ninety-three descents, the lunar but forty-five, though they both date from the same age. Ayodhya continued to be the capital of the most celebrated branch of the family of Vaivaswata, namely, the posterity of Ikshwaku. In the *Vishnu Parana* there is a description of the conquests made in all directions, and the colonies planted from this centre. Its position affords great facilities of approach to the east, west, and south, and we find that a branch of the line of Ikshwaku had extended to Tirhut, and furnished the Maithila kings; and the descendants of a son of Vaivaswata had reigned in Vaisah, in Southern Tirhut, or Saran. The enterprise and good fortune of the lunar branch was not second to that of the solar. The first ruler of Pratishthana, situated to the south from Ayodhya, was brother of Ikshwaku. The sons of his successor Paruravas extended

* The great families of ancient India were distinguished as *Surya-vansas* and *Sama-vansas*, according as they derived their lineage from the sun or the moon. These pretensions are not yet laid aside. The Rances of Odeypore claim to be members of the Surya-vansa, whilst the Jharegas of Cutch and Scinde, as branches of the Yadu family, are still the representatives of the lunar race.

their power in every direction to the east, to Kasi, Magadha, Benares, and Bahar; southward, to the Vindaya hills, and across them to Vidarbha or Berar; westward, along the Narmada to Kusasthali and Dwaraka, in Gujerat; and in a north-westerly direction to Mathura and Hastinapura. There are existing evidences to corroborate the conclusion that settlements were also made in Banga, Kalinga, and Dakhin, though at a far subsequent period. For this information, obtained from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, we have to thank the facilities afforded by the learned and eminent translator. And these are the only historical facts which can yet be gleaned from the numerous legends, which are the only means afforded of distinguishing from fifty to seventy generations of contemporaneous dynasties.

After these follows in succession Rama,* a personage whose identity has been established, and who occupies a very prominent position in the history of his race, the hero of its oldest and greatest poem, the *Rama Yana*. He is described as a conqueror of the highest renown; the deliverer of nations from tyrants, and also of his wife Sita from the power of the giant Ravana, King of Lanka (Ceylon). He is reported to have been essentially aided in the achievement by an army of monkeys, commanded by Hunman, the high-cheek-boned. This prince, in all probability, possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan, and subdued no small portion of the Deccan, and also penetrated into Ceylon. He is said to have been excluded from his hereditary throne, and to have devoted many years of his life to ascetic devotion. However glorious may have been a portion of his reign, the close was disastrous. Having imprudently slain his brother Lachman, the partner of his dangers and his triumphs, his regret or remorse was so poignant that he cast himself into a river, and there perished. His followers deified him: by posterity he has been worshipped as a personification of the deity, and his ally Hunman, in some places, receives equal honour.† Sir William Jones, in his enthusiastic partiality for the East, has suggested, with very little success, an explanation of the fabled absurdity of his having been assisted by monkeys:—" Might not his army of monkeys have been only a race of mountaineers

* Tod reckons fifty-seven princes from Ikshwaku to Rama; Sir William Jones gives fifty-six; Bentley agrees with Sir William Jones; Colonel Wilford's list Tod pronounces of no use; and other authors of repute abstain from any enumeration, prudently abiding the time till critical search shall succeed in enabling us to correct the errors of Indian chronology.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259.

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whom Rama had civilized." He even attaches some degree of credibility to the tale:—" In two or three places on the banks of the Ganges the Indian apes, at this moment, live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity." *

After Rama, sixty princes of his reign succeeded to his throne, but the seat of empire, in all probability, was translated, as Elphinstone surmises, from Oude to Canouj.

The great war celebrated in the *Mhaha Bharat*,† next presents itself in Indian history. The belligerents were two branches of the reigning family. The object of contention was the territory of Hastinapura, probably on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which still bears the ancient name.‡ The disputants were members of the Lunar family, sons of two brothers, Pandu and Dhritarashtra, but aided by allies from remote quarters. The sons of the former, five in number, were Yudishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna, by one of his wives, Pritha, and Nakula and Sahadiva, by his other wife, Madri. The family of Dhritarashtra was as numerous as the progeny of Priam, with one daughter only. Dugodhana was the eldest of the hundred sons, and detested his cousins with bitter and unrelenting hate.

In the East any one tainted with leprosy was disqualified from reigning; and Pandu, the pale, as his name expresses, was, in consequence of his pallor, suspected of possessing the seeds of that disease; therefore, though by birth the heir to the throne, he was set aside. He surrendered his claim to his brother, and sought a remote retreat in the Himalaya Mountains; and there, released from the cares of a crown, passed his life in retirement. On his death, the companions of his seclusion conveyed his orphan sons to

* The banner of Arjuna, one of the Pandavas, had as its armorial bearing a painted representation of Hunman. It is worthy of remark, that it was also the device exhibited upon the flag of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, when captured by Lord Combermere.

† The text of the *Mhaha Bharat* has been printed at Calcutta, in four quarto volumes. The work was commenced by the committee of public instruction, and completed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Selections from it have been edited by Francis Johnson, Professor of Sanscrit, East India College, Herts, from whose interesting preface and copious and learned notes, has been compiled the details in the text. Elphinstone is of opinion that the story of the *Mhaha Bharat* is much more probable than that of the *Rama Yana*, and contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on fact, and, like the *Iliad*, is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors. It was probably written in the fourteenth century before Christ.

‡ Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 390.

Hastinapura, and introduced them to their uncle as his nephews. This representation was doubted; and, indeed, not without ground, as the poet assures his readers that Pandu was only their reputed father, they being in reality the children of his wives, who had bestowed their favours on several divinities. Thus Yudishthira was the son of Dharma, the god of justice, the Pluto of Hindoo mythology; Bhima of Vayu, or god of wind, the Indian Æolus; Arjuna was the son of Indra, the god of the firmament, Jupiter Tonans; and Nakula and Sahadeva were the sons of two personages peculiar to the Hindoo mythology, their Dioscuri, twin sons of the sun, the Aswini-kumaras. Pandu, having never repudiated them, these princes were recognized by their uncle, and taken to his guardianship.

The sons and nephews of the ruling sovereign were at variance from early boyhood, and nature seems to have organized them for the prosecution of their feud. The sons are represented as envious, arrogant, and malignant; the nephews as moderate, generous, and just. The first flagrant manifestation of enmity was the clandestine attempt of the sons of Dhritarashtra to destroy by fire the residence of Pritha and her three sons. The intended victims having been forewarned of the projected danger, escaped privily by a subterranean passage, and it was believed that they had perished in the flames. They fled to the forests, and concealed themselves in their fastnesses, and there assumed both the garb and mode of life of Brahmins. In their seclusion, fame brought to their ears the report of the unrivalled beauty and perfections of Draupadi, the "five maled single female flower," as Sir William Jones calls her, the daughter of Draupadi, king of the upper part of Doab; and they prepared to attend the Swayambhara, a rite familiar to the readers of *Nala*, an episode in this epic at which a choice of a husband is made by a princess from the midst of congregated suitors. They accordingly visit his court, and win the fair lady. Their achievements and success were bruited far and near. They were sent for by their uncle, and left joint heirs of his sovereignty with his sons. Yudishthira and his brothers ruled over a district washed by the Jumna, the capital of which was Indraprastha. Dhuryodhana, with his brothers, were the rajahs of Hastinapura, on the Ganges. The ruins of the latter city, it is said, are still traceable on the banks of the Ganges, and a part of the royal city of Delhi is still known as Indraprastha. The proximity of these two capitals, and consequently of the territories of which they respectively were the seats of government, is a

proof that, as in modern times, so also in ancient, India consisted of a number of petty independent principalities; but it does not necessarily follow that there did not exist, at some period, a supreme monarch, who, by the terror of his arms, had rendered his feebleness contemporaries his tributaries. Shah Alem was titular sovereign of India, and coins were struck in his name when a prisoner in the hands of Scindiah, and a pensioner of the English government.

The Pandava princes spread far and wide their conquests. The articles brought to them as tribute, catalogued in the great poem that perpetuates their deeds, contribute materially to elucidate the civil and political phases and territorial divisions of ancient India.

After the partition of the kingdom, a new impulse was given to the feelings of envy and hatred which festered in the hearts of the sons of Dhritarashtra. Yudishthira resolved on celebrating the Raja Suya solemnity, a sacrifice at which princes officiated in a menial capacity, and made presents in acknowledgment of submission. The assumption of duties of such great and enviable distinction exasperated the animosity of his cousins, who were present. Amid the gaiety and revelry of this solemnity, the celebrant was insidiously provoked to hazard the loss of his palace, wealth, kingdom, wife, brothers, and eventually himself, on the cast of the die. The game played appears to be a kind of backgammon, where dice were thrown, and pieces moved. By the remonstrances of the aged monarch Dhritarashtra, personal liberty and lost property were restored; but the inveterate passion for play prevalent among the ancient, as well as modern orientals,—some of whom, for instance the Malays, when all else is gone, stake their families, then themselves,—together with the incentives of his artful adversary, tempted him again to the dangerous risk. It was now stipulated that, in case he lost, he and his brothers should pass twelve years in the forests, and the thirteenth year incognito. If discovered before the expiration of the last year, the whole term of exile was to be reimposed, and submitted to. His previous ill luck still attended him, he was again the loser, and the full penalties were unrelentingly inflicted. With his brother and mother he retired to his forest home, and led a life of sylvan simplicity, unchequered by political enterprise or adventure, as an humble and unpretending forester, resigned, but hopeful. At the expiration of the twelfth year, the Pandavas entered the service of King Virata in different disguises, and ingratiated themselves into the king's favour, to whom, at the close of the

thirteenth year, having faithfully observed their covenant, they make themselves known, secure his alliance, and obtain his aid to avenge their wrongs, and vindicate their rights of sovereignty.

In the ensuing war, a new personage of great eminence amongst the deified heroes of India makes his appearance on the stage. Krishnu is a relative of the antagonistic cousins, and reluctant to identify himself with either party of the belligerents. Prescient of the future, he proposed to Duryodhana the choice of his individual aid, and the co-operation of an immense army. Duryodhana unwisely preferred the latter, and Krishnu, himself more than a host, enlisted under the banner of the Pandavas, and became the charioteer of his friend and favourite, Arjuna. To his undaunted prowess and military capacity were due the splendid triumphs of his friends. The glowing descriptions of the battles, the personal feats of arms, rival in vividity and variety the recitals of the *Iliad*. Soldiers and chiefs innumerable "bit the dust," and in succession fell beneath the weapons of their foes. Bhishma his great uncle, Drona his military preceptor, his friend Karna the King of Anga, his ally the King of Madra, the commander-in-chief of King Duryodhana, and, last of this illustrious series, fell in single combat the royal chief himself, beneath the mace of the valiant and victorious Bhimal. The surviving chiefs attempted to avenge his fall by a nocturnal attack on the camp of the Pandavas; they were repulsed with great slaughter by the opportune assistance of Krishnu.

Dhritarashtra, borne down by affliction, accompanied by his queen, Gandhari, and his favourite ministers, retired to a hermitage, and there obtained "felicity, or died."

An inundation buried beneath its waters Dwaraka, the capital of Krishnu, and this hero, in common with all his people, perished.

When his wars were over, Yudishthira became the victim of poignant regret, and deeply lamented the past. He abdicated his hard-won throne, and, with his faithfully attached brothers and mother, Draupadi, once more retired to the Himalaya, on their way to the nursery of their race, the holy mountain Meru. On their journey, the avenger of their former misdeeds visited them, and each in succession dropped dead by the wayside, and Yudishthira and a faithful dog that followed them from Hastinapura were the sole survivors. Indra came to convey the prince to

Swarga, Indra's heaven. This favour he refused to accept, unless his faithful dog should bear him company.

Here terminates the earthly career of the Pandavas; but the poet has not yet disposed of them: like Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, and other epic poets, he accompanies his heroes to the "realm of shades." The importance of this episode, replete with valuable and authenticated information of Hindoo literature, and the asserted verity of the leading incidents which constitute the basis of the poem, will contribute to reconcile the reader to the poetic and fabulous embellishments.

It deserves to be noted, that among the allies enumerated as aiding in this war, are chiefs from the Indus, and from Calinga, in the Deccan, and some who it is maintained belonged to nations beyond the Indus, and *Yavanas*, a name which is applied, as several consider, in early oriental works, to the Greeks. "It is by no means an impossibility," Professor Johnson observes, "that the King of the Yavanas (Greeks) should be a competitor at Draupadi's Sway-ambara—at least, according to the notions of the author of the *Maha Bharat*, to whom the Greeks of Bactria and the provinces bordering on the Indus were probably familiar." * The Asiatics have always called the Greeks by names evidently derived from their Asiatic residence, or Ionians. Even as late as the ninth century, when the Greek writers and the Greek empire were well known to the Mohammedans, the Greeks were called *Yunanis*. *Yavan* is derived from the same term, which, as written in Hebrew characters, may be read either *Ion* or *Javan*, according to the vowel points. So in its Pali form the word is *Yona* or *Jona*, as the edict of Asoka upon the rocks of Orissa and Gujerat records the name of Antiochus, the Yona, or Jona rajah. A curious additional proof that the Greeks are intended by the word *Yavana* occurs in the example of a rule of Sanscrit grammar for the application of the present participle of the *atamane-pada*: it is *sayana bhunjate Yavanah* (the Yavanas eat sleeping)—that is, recumbent, a position likely to have attracted notice, as quite different from the attitude in which, as far as we have reason to believe, any Asiatic people took their food.

Twenty-nine—some say sixty-four—of the descendants of the Pandus, succeeded to the throne. Their reigns are not distinguished by any recorded incidents, and all that survives to mark their existence is their names.

* Page 89.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ANCIENT HISTORY:—THE KINGDOMS OF MAGADA AND CASHMERE.

THERE is a prince, whose name appears in the great Indian epic as an ally, who challenges special attention, namely, the King of Magada,* a province of Bahar. The line of his descendants presents an unbroken succession from the war of the *Mhaha Bharrat* to the fifth century of the Christian era, and its authenticity is singularly corroborated by evidence from various quarters.

Sahadeva was king of Magada at the close of the great war, and his descendants were, for two thousand years, lords paramount and emperors of India;† and their country continued to be the seat of learning, civilization, and trade. Though Magada proper was confined to the Southern Bahar, it subsequently comprehended the provinces extending eastward to the Ganges.

The first king of Magada, so-called, was Jara-Sandha, literally, Old Sandha. His memory still survives in the traditions of the country, and pilgrimages are made to his tomb, to the east of Gaya in South Bahar, in the low hills of Raja-giri, or the royal mountains.

The thirty-fifth king in succession from Sahadeva, was Ajuta Satru, in whose reign Sakya, or Gotama,‡ the founder of the Buddhist religion, flourished. "It is an important fact connected with the Buddhistical creed." Turnour observes,§ "that the ancient history, as well as the religion, are developed by revelation; and by the fortunate fiction of limiting the period intervening between the manifestation of one Buddha and the advent of his successor, a limitation has been put to the mystification in which historical data had been involved anterior to the coming of Gotama." Turnour fixes the entry of Gotama Buddha upon his mission B.C. 588, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Bimbisaro, sovereign of Magada, another name for Ajuta Satru; and his death B.C. 543, seven years later than that assigned by Elphinstone. The Birmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and other Buddhist annals written out of India thus agreeing, identify the exact period at which Ajuta Satru ruled over India. The paucity

* So called, according to Captain F. Wilford, from Magas, who came from the Dwipa of Saca, and settled there.

† *Vishnu Parana*, p. 82; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 32.

‡ For a full account of this personage, his religion, and innumerable followers, see p. 48, &c., of this History.

§ *History of Ceylo*: p. 52.

of such illustrations enhances the value of this, and intensify the hope that a more extended cultivation of oriental literature will add considerably to a knowledge of ancient India. This dynasty ruled during one thousand years, the number of kings, according to the *Vishnu Parana*, after Sahaveda, being twenty-one.

The last of the series was Repunjaya. This prince was slain by his minister Sunika, who established his own son, Pradyota, on the throne, and he transmitted the sceptre to his descendants. This dynasty consisted of fifteen, to whom the *Parana* assigns a period of four hundred years. The Buddhist authorities differ materially as to the duration of the reigns, and Professor Wilson is of opinion that a date of about six centuries may be claimed, with some confidence, for them.

To Mahananda, the last prince of this series, was born a son, Nanda, surnamed *Mahapadma*, the Avaricious, whose mother was of the Sudra, or servile race, and hence he was called a Sudra. Though avaricious, his memory has descended to posterity as that of a just, equitable, and indulgent prince. He was also renowned by his valour, and signalized by the success of his arms and the extent of his conquests. He reduced to submission all the kings of the country; and, like Parasama, crushed the Kshatrya race, and, in the language of the *Parana*, is said to have brought the whole earth under his umbrella.* He had two wives, Rathnavati and Mura. By the first, he had eight sons, Sumalya and others; by Mura, he had Chandragupta, and many others, who were collectively called Mauryas, from their mother, as the other sons went under the common appellation Sumalyadicas, derived from their brother's name. Colonel Tod, in his *History of Rajpootana*, surmises that Maurya is a corruption of Mori, the name of a Rajpoot tribe. The Nandas reigned one hundred years, according to the text of the *Parana*; but the learned translator and annotator of that work thinks it would be more compatible with chronology to consider the nine Nandas as so many descendants.

Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas possessed, that is, succeeded to, the throne; for Kautiya placed Chandragupta on the throne.† The last-named prince is the most important personage that

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 468.

† *Ibid.*, p. 469.

appears in this regal list. His identity is established by more than one credible authority, indeed, authorities above suspicion; and this identification marks an authentic era, as did the advent of Gotama, in the confused chronology of the Hindoos. It can be scarcely doubted, Professor Wilson deliberately observes, "that he is the Sandrocottus—or, as Athenæus writes it more correctly, the Sandrocoptus—of the Greeks, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, and Seleucus Nicator, who began his reign B.C. 310, and concluded a treaty with him B.C. 305." There are two versions of the circumstances which contributed to facilitate the elevation of Chandragupta to the throne. That which deals in the marvellous, and appeals more interestingly to the imagination, must, on the historic page, give place to that which exhibits the more homely features of historic truth.

When Nanda had advanced in years, he provided that on his demise his kingdom should be equally divided amongst the Sumalyadicas, and a decent allowance was settled on his other children, the Mauryas. This invidious distinction was probably suggested by the degraded caste to which the mother of the latter belonged. The more favoured brothers being jealous of the latter, conspired to put them to death. Chandragupta alone escaped, saved through the protection of Lunus; and to manifest his lasting gratitude assumed the name Chandragupta, or "saved by the moon." He fled, accompanied by a few friends, crossed the Ganges, and with all possible speed sought refuge and aid at the court of Parvateswara, lord of the mountains, king of Nepaul. Here he was kindly received and hospitably entertained. Assisted by this prince and his allies, the Yavans, Sacas, and Ciratas, with a powerful army he marched against his enemies, and soon came in sight of the capital of Prachi.* A battle followed, in which king Ugradhwana was entirely defeated, after a dreadful carnage, and fell amongst heaps of slain. The city was immediately beleaguered; and Sarvartha-siddhi, the governor, seeing the impossibility of successfully resisting a foe so formidable, abandoned his post, and fled to the Vindaya Mountains, and there led a life of austerity and devotion. Chandragupta having achieved, by the support of his friends and allies, all that he could have ambitioned, in the hour of his triumph did not testify a due appreciation of the great obligations he owed them; though he had stipulated, in the event of his success, to yield up half of his dominions in remuneration of their services, he refused to part with any of his territories, but expressed his

* An ancient name of Magada.

willingness to load them with thanks and rich presents.

Nanda, the father, had an old and attached minister named Mantri-Rakshasa, who rendered him services of the highest character, and on his death was appointed the prime-minister also of his son and successor Ugradhwana. This man, on the fall of his royal master, transferred his services to Parvateswara, who, deeply chagrined by the ungrateful conduct of his *protégé*, who had perfidiously violated all his pledges, and by his own inability to enforce reparation, had retired to his kingdom meditating vengeance.

In the Nepaulese king the wily Mantri-Rakshasa found a tool keenly edged for his purpose. By working on his worst passions he incited him to send an assassin to take the life of Chandragupta. Such an attempt being apprehended, the latter prince took every precaution for his safety, and not only averted the peril, but, through the agency of the assassin, accomplished the death of Parvateswara; and what was more to his advantage, through the offices of some mutual well-wisher, Rakshasa, his bitter foe, was eventually reconciled, and the close of his reign, which was protracted for many years, was not only undisturbed, but also characterized by justice and equity. While living he was adored by his subjects, and his memory was cherished with sacred reverence for centuries after his death.

The particulars handed down by the Greek writers, in relation to this prince, agree in a great measure with the summary above given from the *Mudra Rakshasa*. Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander*, states that Chandragupta had been in that monarch's camp, and had been heard to say that Alexander would have found no difficulty in the conquest of Prachi had he attempted it, as the king was despised, and hated too, on account of his cruelty. He is mentioned by Athenæus, Diodorus Siculus, and Quintus Curtius; but Wilford states that the two historians last mentioned are mistaken in saying that Chandram* reigned over the Prasu at the time of Alexander's invasion, as he was the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator. He also expresses his suspicion that he kept his faith with the Yavans (Greeks) no better than with his ally the King of Nepaul, and that this may have been the motive for Seleucus crossing the Indus at the head of a numerous army, but, finding him prepared, thought it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which he yielded up the conquests he had made, and, to cement an alliance, gave him one of his daughters in marriage.† Chandragupta appears to have agreed, on his

* Chandragupta, so named by these historians.

† Strabo, b. xv. p. 724.

part, to furnish Seleucus annually with fifty elephants; for it is related that Antiochus the Great, his successor, went to India to renew the alliance with Sophagesemus, and received fifty elephants from him. Sophagesemus he conceives to be a corruption of Shivacasena, the grandson of Chandragupta. In the *Paranas* this grandson is called *Ascecard-dhana*, or "full of mercy," a word of nearly the same import as *Ascecasena*, or *Shivacasena*, the latter signifying "he whose armies are merciful, and do not ravage and plunder the country."*

Several Sanscrit authorities verify the number of sovereigns, and the period of rule assigned by the *Vishnu Parana* to this dynasty, namely, ten successors, and one hundred and thirty-seven years.

Of these his grandson Asokavardana, or Asoka, is the most celebrated. His reign is variously stated at thirty-six years and at twenty-six. Educated in the tenets of the Brahminical faith, he in after years was converted to Buddhism, and is handed down to posterity as one of the most zealous supporters of that creed. He is said to have maintained in his palace sixty-four thousand Buddhist priests, and to have erected eighty-four thousand columns or topes throughout India. A council was held in the eighteenth year of his reign, in which a vigorous system of propagandism was organised, and missions established in Ceylon and other quarters. According to the Buddhist chronology, he ascended the throne two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Buddha (B.C. 325). This date is irreconcilable with that already fixed for the reign of his grandfather, and that allowed to his father. His reign is more accurately placed between the years B.C. 234 and 198. Professor Wilson presses other evidence besides the biblical into his service to identify and authenticate the reign of this prince. "It is certain," he proceeds, "that a number of very curious inscriptions on columns and rocks by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter, and in the Pali language, exists in India, and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than the members of the Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Syria and Egypt, in the latter part of the third century before Christ. The Indian king appears always under the appellation *Pryadasi*, or *Pryadarsin*, 'the beautiful,' and is entitled *Devanam-piya*, 'the beloved of the gods.' According to the Buddhist authorities *Pryadasi* is identified both by name and circumstances with Asoka, and to him, therefore, the inscriptions must be attri-

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 286.

buted. Their purport agrees well enough with their character, and their wide diffusion with the traditionary report of the number of his monuments. His date is not exactly that of Antiochus the Great, but it is not far different, and the corrections required to make it correspond, are no more than the inexact manner in which both Brahminical and Buddhist chronology is preserved, may well be expected to render necessary."*

In following the history of the Mauryas, of the race of Nanda, it was considered advisable to descend to the reign of Asoka,—a remarkable period, and identified as it has been shown by native evidence,—rather than pause in the reign of his grandfather, for the purpose of introducing a memorable chapter of Indian history, in which is detailed, from Greek and Roman sources, the invasion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great,—an event which, however glorious as a brilliant strategic achievement, whatever its momentary influence on the countries bordering the Indus, produced no abiding effects on Indian polity, and whose influence, it would appear, has not even enriched the traditions of the Hindoos. Its external influences, however, were not so transient. The pages of Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Curtius, confirmed by recent inquiries, prove that a great mass of information regarding the Indians was conveyed to Europe by the followers of Alexander; and the flourishing Greek kingdom established, as the result of that expedition, in Bactria on its north-western confines, maintained a correspondence for centuries between the East and West.

The reign of Asoka is a point at which a pause may be, advisedly, made to direct attention to collateral tributaries, which lose their identity and commingle in the great stream of history. Cashmere has the next and best claim.

CASHMERE.

Another contemporary and long-established kingdom of India, Cashmere, challenges attention; the only one whose history, such as it is, comes down to us in a consecutive narrative.

To that painstaking and very able oriental scholar, Mr. Colebrooke, Europe is indebted for the *Raja Tarangini*, or history of Cashmere, a copy of which, that had belonged to a Brahmin who died some months previously, he secured from his heirs in 1805. The original had been presented to the Emperor Akbar by the natives of that country. It is the only Indian composition yet discovered, Professor Wilson vouches, to which the title of history can with any propriety be applied.

* Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, p. 469, note 23.

Whatever may be its value in elucidating the local history of Cashmere, it contributes nothing directly to the illustration of the antiquities, or the social or political condition, of the other principalities of India, of which it forms, relatively, only a small portion. It may, however, enable the historian to determine the dates of persons and events in other states, as it is stated by Sir William Jones "that the dates are regular, and for a long time both probable and consistent"* — benefits perhaps commensurate with those realized by the publication of the *Maha-Wanso*, or Great History of Ceylon, by the late Mr. Turnour.

The *Rajah Taringini* has hitherto been regarded as one entire composition; it is however, in fact, a series of compositions written by different authors and at different periods—a circumstance that gives greater value to its contents, as, with the exception of the early periods of the history, the several authors may be regarded almost as the chroniclers of their own times. The first of the series is the *Raja Taringini* of Calhana Pundit, the son of Campaca, who states his having made use of earlier authorities, and gives an interesting enumeration of several which he had employed. The list includes the general works of Suvrata and Narendra; the history of Gonerda† and his three successors, by Hela Raja, an ascetic of Lava; and of his successors to Asoka, by Padma Mihira; and of Asoka and the four next princes, by Sri Ch'havillacara. He also cites the authority of Nila Muni, meaning probably the *Nili Parana*, a Parana only known in Cashmere; the whole catalogue forming a remarkable proof of the attention bestowed by Cashmerian writers upon the history of their native country—an attention the more extraordinary, from the contrast it affords to the total want of such records in other Indian states.

The *Raja Taringini* contains the history of the princes of Cashmere for upwards of four thousand years.‡ Major Rennell, so far from doubting the tradition which records that a lake once submerged the valley of Cashmere, bears his creditable testimony that appearances alone are sufficient to convince, without the aid of tradition or history, "that it was a mere

natural effect, and such as may be apprehended in every case where the waters of a river are inclosed in any part of their course by elevated lands. The first consequence of this stoppage is, of course, the conversion of the enclosed land into a lake; and if this happen near the fountains of a river, and the ground is solid, it is likely to remain a lake for ever, the river not having force enough in its infant state to work its passage through the mountains. Hence it is that more lakes are found near the sources of rivers than in the lower parts of their courses." He then proceeds to quote several proofs of the correctness of his suppositions.* The waters having subsided, Kushup, renowned for the austerity of his manners, first induced the Brahmins to inhabit it. When, in the course of time, the population had increased, they felt the propriety of initiating an established form of government, and for this purpose summoned a general assembly. Their election was a judicious one. The ruler of their choice was famed for his virtues, and so ingratiated himself with his subjects, that they never regretted their voluntary submission, and monarchy became an established and respectable institution, and continued so till the reign of Gonerda. This Gonerda† was slain in a battle fought at Mehtra, in which one of the leaders was Jarasandha, King of Bahar, Magada, and his opponent Kishen, by the hands of whose brother the sovereign of Cashmere was slain. To avenge his fall, his son, Damooder, attacked Kishen and his relatives on the banks of the Scinde, on their way to celebrate a marriage feast at Candahar, and lost his life in the action. The victor, Kishen, bestowed the kingdom on his posthumous son, who was succeeded by thirty-five princes, whose names live neither in the records or traditions of their country, a fate richly merited by their personal vices and tyranny. A consecutive list is not given in the *Ayin Acberi* of the princes who subsequently occupied the throne. A few are named whose reigns are distinguished by some remarkable incidents, which served to constitute epochs in the history of Cashmere, but no reliable data is supplied to mark the years or the centuries. We are informed that Loo was a just king, and the founder of Kamraj, the city of Looloo, vestiges of which existed in the days of Akbar, and probably do now.

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 2.

† From the period of the first settlement of Cashmere to the reign of Gonerda, the first prince whose name has been recorded, the country was governed by a succession of fifty-two princes of the Caurava family, whose reigns formed a period of 1266 years. (Wilson's *Introduction to the History of Cashmere*, vol. xv. p. 10; *Asiatic Researches*.)

‡ For a geographical description of Cashmere, see p. 115, &c.

* *Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, p. 107.

† Owgnund, Augnand, or Gonerda, as appears from the transactions of his reign, was contemporary with Krishnu and Yudishthira, and a relation of Jarasandha, King of Magada, to whose assistance we are here informed he led an army. The confederates were opposed to Krishnu, in the province of Mathura, and defeated. Kishen and Krishnu are identical.

It is said the buildings were eighty crore * in number.

Ashowg, identical with Asoka, established during his reign the rites of Brahma, and those of Jyen subsequently. He is described as a prince who ruled with equity; his son Jelowk was a prince of great administrative ability, who extended his conquests to the seashore, and on his return to Cashmere brought in his suite from Kanoje, formerly the capital of Hindostan, many learned and wise men, from whom he selected seven to preside respectively over the following departments—justice, exchequer, treasury, army, commerce, royal household, astrology, and alchemy.

In the reign of Rajah Werk the Brahmins rose superior to the Buddhists, and burnt down their temples. His reign is fixed by Professor Wilson B.C. 490.

Mihiracula, or Mehrkul, B.C. 310,† made extensive conquests. A curious tale is recorded of this reign, which, divested of its metaphorical character, discloses the general laxity of morals which then prevailed. A large stone appeared in one of the rivers of Cashmere, and entirely blocked it up, and whatever was cut away from it in the daytime grew again in the course of the night. The workmen abandoned their labours in despair. Then a mysterious voice proclaimed that if a virtuous woman touched the stone with her hand it would disappear. Royal proclamation was made, and woman after woman was brought, who touched it without producing any effect. The king had the women put to death for their incontinency, their children for their illegitimacy, and the husbands for conniving at this wholesale harlotry. Three million lives had been forfeited, when an humble woman, a potter, was found, free from taint; her virgin touch dispatched the magic stone, and gave an open channel to the rock-obstructed stream.‡ A reign so sanguinary was terminated by a death deserved by its atrocities. As he advanced in years he became the victim of an excruciating disease. His suffering, it appears, made him keenly feel the torments he had recklessly inflicted upon myriads. To expiate his crimes, he resolved on a voluntary death, and a funeral pile was erected for his obsequies. An obstacle here presented itself. He had appropriated the endowments of the higher orders of the priesthood, and appointed to the dis-

charge of the sacerdotal functions an inferior and disreputable caste—the Gandha Brahmins, a low race. The consequence was, that now, in the hour of his extreme need, no one could be found duly qualified to perform the ceremonies of his cremation, those impure tribes of Doradas, Bhoteas, and Meechhas, the recipients of his favours, alone being accessible. The Brahmins of Aryadesa were invited, by the offer of liberal treatment, to return. A pile was constructed of military weapons, to the summit of which the repentant monarch ascended, and amid its flames he yielded up his spirit, purified, as he believed, from those sins, which, his traditions taught him, were expiated by his voluntary immolation.

Vaca, or Beek, the son of this last noticed monarch, succeeded to him. His name has been perpetuated in connection with a city which he founded on the banks of the river Vacavati, called Lavanotsa, and a religious rite at which he assisted. The names of his immediate successors are the only known surviving memorials of their reigns.

Kubaret, or Gopaditya, governed with wisdom and justice. He was a prince of eminent piety, and in whose reign they report the golden age, *Satya*, was restored. He imposed a strict observance of the ritual and distinctions of caste, reformed the priesthood by the ejection of evil-doers, and the enforcement of rigid discipline; he encouraged Brahmins of literary reputation and exalted virtue to resort to his kingdom, and throughout his dominions all were strictly prohibited from destroying animal life, and all ranks of people were enjoined to abstain from flesh meat. According to the Mohammedan authorities, he built a temple near the capital, called Takht Suliman, which, with several other places of Hindoo worship, in later ages, was destroyed by Sekander, called the Idol-breaker, one of the first Mohammedan kings of Cashmere. After a reign of sixty years, he was succeeded by his son Kurren, or Gokerna, of whom it is merely related that he built a temple.

Jewdishter, or Yudishtira, surnamed the Blind, from the smallness of his eyes, was the last of his race who mounted the throne of the Cashmere. By his sensual indulgence and insupportable tyranny, he so estranged his subjects, and outraged the feelings of neighbouring princes, that, by a combination of the Cashmerians and the kings of Hindostan and Thibet, according to the *Ayin Acberi*, he was defeated, captured, and ignominiously cast into prison. Professor Wilson states that when he found resistance hopeless he fled, and secreted himself in the woods and moun-

* A crore comprised one hundred lacs, or ten millions, an incredible number.—*Hand-book of British India*.

† The dates here assigned are from the adjusted chronology of Professor Wilson, on whose authority—and there exists no higher—they may be accepted.

‡ *Ayin Acberi*, vol. ii. p. 181.

tains with his women and a few followers. Doomed to exchange luxury for privation, the downy couch for the sharp rock, and the harmony of minstrels for the wild dashing of cascades or the wilder horns of the mountaineers, he at last found a refuge in the court of some compassionate prince, where, according to general belief, he died in exile.*

As this reign terminates the close of a dynasty, and, according to the chronology we have followed, has brought the narrative to the beginning of the second century, to a

period nearly coinciding with that at which the history of the kingdom of Magada was interrupted, and as near the epoch of Alexander and Chandragupta as we could conveniently approach, it is advisable to resume the thread of our history where we diverged, and devote a chapter to the expedition of the great Macedonian, and its consequences, the only truly historic and well-authenticated episode in the ante-Mohammedan records of India, and the point from which contemporaneous annals afford us an insight into the transactions of the countries beyond the Indus.

CHAPTER XXX.

INVASION OF THE GREEKS—ALEXANDER THE GREAT—SELEUCUS NICATOR—THE BACTRIAN GREEKS.

THE conquests made in India by the Persian monarch Sesostri[†], and which constituted his wealthiest and most lucrative satrapy, descended to his successors, and, it may be inferred, remained subject to them down to the fall of that empire, and the imposition of the rule of the Greeks.

The fall of Darius, the appropriation of his home empire, the discomfiture of Bessus, and the subjugation of Bactria and the countries which lay between the Oxus and Tanais, or Transoxantes, the defeat of the King of Scythia, and subsequent alliance, and the overthrow and acquisition of Sogdia, enabled Alexander, in the tenth year of his reign, and the seventh after his invasion of Persia, to direct his immediate attention to the state of India.

The perilous situation of Persia, and its eventual subjection, in all probability, inspired the Indian satrapy with the hope of being able to proclaim its independence. The occasion appeared to be the most favourable for the attempt. The great extent of the Persian empire, the remote situation of India, the violent opposition, which might be reasonably calculated on, from the powerful satraps whose territories intervened between the Indus and the seat of government, the length of time which would be devoted to the organization of the new government, all combined to confirm the assumption that they might act with impunity. India was too rich a prize to be easily relinquished; its products, borne on the wings of commerce to the far West, were long previously articles of necessity to the wealthy, refined, and luxurious Greeks. A

more intimate acquaintance with these enriching productions, obtained through Persian channels, and the fact, which their fiscal returns recorded, that its tributes constituted nearly one-half the public revenue of that wealthy empire, decided the Macedonian on imposing his yoke upon them.

The history of Alexander the Great is the theme of every schoolboy's declamation. No personage is more familiar to every tyro, in some phases of his character. The means by which he secured the supreme command over the combined forces of the congregated states of Greece, the rapidity with which he spread far and wide his conquests, the vastness of his military conceptions, his untiring energies, mastery of details, and administrative capacity, have been universally recognised, and have placed him in the van of the most able and most illustrious of heroes. The destruction of the city of Tyre, the Western emporium of the commerce of the East, and the stores of the Indian province, and probably the cognition of the fact, that whatever nation from the remotest antiquity monopolised that trade became the arbiter of the destinies of the world, inspired the first thought of carrying his arms into the far East.

The brilliant achievements which crowded the history of the campaigns which led to the total discomfiture of the Persian armies, the flight of Darius, and the total subjugation of the great empire founded by Cyrus, though they furnish the most thrilling chapters of history, have no direct claim to a place in Indian story.

The battle of Arbela was the last stand made by Darius for his throne and personal

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 31.

† See page 366.

safety. The plains washed by the Tigris on the west, about sixty miles to the east of the site of Nineveh, the modern Mossoul, was the arena of the defeat. Abandoned by his army, and attended by a few body-guards, Darius fled eastward, and sought refuge beyond the range of the Gordyene Mountains, which guard the western frontiers of Media, calculating that the conqueror's progress would be retarded, if not entirely stopped, in regulating the affairs of the empire now at his mercy, and in appropriating the treasures exposed to him in the three southern capitals of the empire—Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa. These events transpired at the close of the year B. C. 300.

An interval of six months elapsed after the battle of Arbela, during which Alexander was occupied in the plunder and demolition of the far-famed Persepolis, and the pacification of Persia proper; and Darius had taken his residence in Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan, the capital of Media, and the birthplace of Cyrus the Great. His day-dream of being left here in safety and obscurity was soon dissipated. The Macedonian could brook no living competitor. His army was soon in motion, and the refugee was now compelled to seek a more remote asylum. Eight days after that precipitous flight, Alexander entered Ecbatana, and here he laid down a new basis for his operations. This royal stronghold—a description of which has been transmitted in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon—the ordinary summer residence of the Persian monarchs, he made his principal depot, and garrisoned it with seven thousand men. Here, as a place of the greatest safety, he deposited the immense mass of wealth he had accumulated during the progress of his triumphs, amounting, it is stated, to 180,000 talents, equal to £41,000,000. After a very brief stay, he resumed his pursuit of the fugitive, who had forwarded his wives, baggage, and treasures, amounting to over a million and a half, to Hyrcania, on the south-eastern shores of the Caspian. The approach to this locality was difficult in the extreme, the mountains which intervened were passable at one defile only, called, from its commanding position, the Gate of the Caspian. His determination had been to prosecute his flight till he had reached the satrapy of Bactria, the government of Bessus, who stood high in his estimation, and was still the partner of his toils and misfortunes. Here he calculated that his safety would be insured; he relied on the distance of that country, the bravery of its inhabitants, and probably on its proximity to the remotest and the wealthiest of the eastern divi-

sions of the Indian empire. To strengthen his chances he had resolved on the further precaution of devastating the countries through which his journey lay, and thus deprive his enemy of the supplies required for such a protracted expedition. The road from Ecbatana to Bactria, along which both the flight of Darius and the pursuit of Alexander lay, passed along the broken ground skirting the southern flank of the mountain range Elburz, and of this route the Caspian Gates formed the worst and most difficult portion. Alexander hoped to anticipate his arrival at this pass,* and to accomplish it used all expedition. Fear had accelerated the speed of Darius, and ere the approach of Alexander to that post he had placed the steeps of the Taurus between them. The difficulties of the journey did not retard the pursuit; though the fainting soldiers and lifeless steeds strewed the line of march, onward hastened the wearied pursuers. In eleven days they reached Rhages, within a day's march of the pass.

The escape of Darius across the mountains destroyed all the expectations Alexander had entertained of overtaking him, and consequently he here halted his forces for five days, in order that they might recover from their excessive fatigue. He also directed his attention to the pacification of the Parthians, on whose confines he then was.

An enemy more proximate, treacherous, and relentless, accompanied the ill-fated prince. When Darius had entered Hyrcania, several of his followers returned to their habitations, and others submitted to the victor. Some of his officers—the chief of whom was his favourite, Bessus, the mainstay of his hopes—conspired against their sovereign, seized upon him, and held him in custody. Intelligence of this circumstance was speedily conveyed to Alexander, who felt that now there was a more imperative need of speed than ever. Accompanied by a body of choice troops, lightly accoutred and with only a moderate supply of provisions for two days, he prosecuted his march the next night and following day without intermission. Allowing a short respite for refreshment he resumed his journey, and after a march of two nights and one day, he reached the camp from which the intelligence of the outrage on Darius had reached him, but the enemy had previously abandoned it. He ascertained that Darius had been taken away a captive by Bessus, who had usurped the imperial title with the approval of the army, with the exception of

* On the part of Mount Taurus south of the Caspian, in Armenia. (See Strabo, vol. ix. pp. 508-523; Herodotus, vol. i. p. 125; Grote, vol. xii. p. 256.)

the Greek mercenaries, who, though faithful to the Persian monarch, were too weak to afford him protection. The leading conspirators were the satraps of the remote eastern provinces, Drangiana, Arachosia, and Bactria, the inhabitants of which were the bravest of all the Asiatics; and to them was committed the royal captive, fettered with golden chains,* and confined in a covered chariot. Grote opines that, under the desperate circumstances, the plan pursued by the conspirators was perhaps the least unpromising that could be proposed, the double flight of Darius having destroyed all hope in him.† The conspirators had resolved to proceed with all expedition eastward, and to reach Bactria and Sogdiana, and there to organize a powerful resistance. The hereditary monarch, with all the resources of his vast empire, had failed in two great battles, and had been driven to seek safety in ignominious flight. The conqueror was not the man to afford to the subalterns of Darius an opportunity of completing their plans; as soon as he ascertained their designs, he resolved on immediate pursuit, to overtake them, and rescue their prisoner. In this crisis expedition was everything; with the scanty resources at his command, he precipitated his arrangements, and though men and horses were fatigued with incessant labour, he ordered his troops to march, and with all the alacrity which he could inspire, they continued the pursuit all that night and till noon the next day, when they reached a village in which Bessus, his suite, and guards, had pitched their tents the previous evening. Alexander here learned that the Persian fugitives were intent on pursuing their flight that night; he inquired if there was any shorter route than that they had taken; he was told there was, but that it lay through a desert destitute of water. Not deterred by even these physical disadvantages, he adopted that route, and when he found that his infantry could not master the difficulties of their situation, five hundred of the cavalry having been ordered to dismount, their horses were supplied to the captains of foot and the most approved men of that service, all heavily armed. Another body had been dispatched along the main road, which Bessus and his companions had pursued. That night four hundred furlongs were accomplished, and early the next morning he came in sight of the flying enemy. The result was, that the mere appearance of resistance was presented: at the sight of Alexander they turned their backs without striking a blow, and fled

in the utmost disorder. Darius, who resisted all the efforts made to induce him to leave his chariot and seek safety on horseback, pierced by the javelins of his captors, was left behind. Arrian states that before Alexander had seen him, he had expired of his wounds, in the fiftieth year of his age, and B. C. 330. Alexander sent the body to Persia proper, there to be interred in the royal mausoleum amongst his regal predecessors.

The fall of his feeble opponent deprived Alexander of the advantages which would, necessarily, result from his rescue from the hands of his rebellious subjects, and threatened a more tedious protraction and vigorous prosecution of the war. The countries which extended from beyond the Caspian Gates to the north-western extremity of India, as well as India itself, though tributary to Persia, were very imperfectly known. This, added to the facts that contingents led from these extensive and remote districts were the bravest soldiers of the empire, and that the revenues of India, the most easterly of them all, as previously shown on the authority of Herodotus, constituted one-third of those of the entire twenty divisions of Persia, must have presented a more troubled future to the conqueror.

Bessus had the reputation, amongst his compatriots, of being a brave man, and an experienced commander. His treatment of his sovereign had but very little effect upon the devotion of his followers and accomplices, and may have been looked upon as a laudable act by all but the invaders, as it offered the only rational hopes of a successful struggle. The complicity of guilt, and the frustration of any hopes which the perpetration of their crime might have led them to expect from Alexander, destroyed by the indignation with which the crime was denounced, and the magnificence with which the funeral obsequies were celebrated, must have convinced them that their last resource was in a combined and obstinate effort.

A foretaste of the formidable character of the desperate resistance which might be expected from the more remote, and, as reputed, more warlike tribes, was experienced by Alexander in the expedition which he undertook, soon after, into the mountain occupied by the Mardi, a single tribe, as brave as they were poor, and who displayed great valour, inflicting upon the Macedonians serious loss. From the Mardi he hastened through Zeudracarta, the chief city of Hyrcania; then eastward through Hecatompylæ to Susia, the capital of the province of Aria, pursuing the direction, if not the road, the conspirators had taken. Here very important

* Arrian, Curtius, and Grote, vol. xii. p. 248.

† Ibid., p. 249.

news reached him—that Bessus had usurped the insignia and title of King of Asia, and assumed the name of Artaxerxes; that he had at his disposal a large army, composed of Persian troops, and a great number of Bactrians, and he expected that his warlike neighbours, the Scythians, would send a considerable accession to his force. No time was to be lost—not a moment for preparation to be afforded to the enemy. All his forces were made ready for the occasion; and evidently, though Arrian and the other ancient writers omit to state the fact, this military organization, and the direction of the march, were the results of his resolve to crush Bessus and his pretensions at the first opportunity. Bessus had judiciously matured his plans. Satebarzanes, governor of Aria—through whose country Alexander had passed a short time previously, and who was an officer he had reinstated in authority—shared his confidence. Alexander had the mortification to learn, as he was hastening to Bactria, that he had slain the few Greeks who had been left behind for his protection, and had summoned a general muster, in order to raise an army for the assistance of Bessus, which, united to his, would be a match for the Macedonians. Alexander's measures were as prompt and as masterly executed as usual; he retraced his steps, and effectually crushed the incipient rebellion.

This was the work of only a few days. He as rapidly arranged the affairs of that province. Being in the meantime joined by his rear division, he marched into the territories of the Zarungei, or Drangi, the modern Seiestan; but Barsaentes, one of those concerned in the murder of Darius, and prince of that country, on his approach, fled to the Indians “on the other side of the river Indus.” This fact, stated, in the words quoted, by Arrian, deserves particular notice, as does the sequel, that “they [the Indians], having seized him, sent him to Alexander, who, for his treachery, commanded him to be put to death.”*

The autumn and winter† were spent by Alexander in reducing Drangiana, Gedrosia, Arachosia, and the Paropamisidæ, the modern Seiestan, Affghanistan, and the western part of Cabul, lying between the Gazna on the north, Candahar or Kelat on the south, and Furrah on the west. The entire subjugation of these extensive countries was necessary to the accomplishment of his avowed object, the complete conquest of Bactria, and to his concealed—that is, so far as the omission of all allusion to it amongst the authorities—and

ulterior object, the subjection of India. The second revolt of the Arians, and the bravery of the resistance they this time offered, threatened serious consequences, had not the fall of their general in a well-contested battle crushed all after-opposition. The elements were the fiercest enemies Alexander encountered, and his troops suffered severely from cold and privations, passing through plains deeply covered with snow, and enduring all the extremities of want.

The Paropamisidæ were separated from Bactria by a high chain of mountains, to which the Macedonians gave the name Caucasus, out of compliment to their prince, who wished to traverse them. Near the southern termination of one of the passes of this mountain range, by the moderns termed Hindoo Koosh, to the north-east, it is maintained by respectable authorities, was founded a new city, called Alexandria ad Caucasum. A colony of seven thousand Macedonian veterans was planted there. In crossing the Hindoo Koosh from south to north they probably marched by the pass of Bamian, which Wood maintains is the only one of four passes open to an army in winter.* It was at the close of this season the bold attempt was made to cross this mighty range. The army spent seventeen days in achieving this hazardous feat.†

The man who feared no danger, and who had surmounted every obstacle, encountering Nature in her most terrific mood, soon overran Bactria, although Bessus had taken very wise precautions to impede, if not obstruct, his approach, having laid waste all the country in his line of march. Drapsaca, Aornos, previously pronounced impregnable, and Bactria, the modern Balk, fell in rapid succession into his hands, and the unfortunate Bessus fled beyond the Oxus, the boundary between Bactria and Sogdiana. The Oxus was soon reached, nor did its precipitous banks, nor deep stream, rapid and six furlongs wide, the most formidable river the Macedonians had ever seen, long retard their progress. When Alexander arrived at its course, he found no possible means of transit. As a final resource, he ordered all the skins which the troops used for their tents to be collected and inflated, and made water-tight, and by this contrivance, in the course of five days, he and his entire army is reported to have passed over the river in safety. The enemy offered not the slightest opposition. In a few days, deserted and betrayed, Bessus fell into the hands of his enemy, and eventually suffered a severer and a more ignominious fate than he had in-

* B.C. 330-29. This fact clearly proves that close relations existed between the Indians and the Western satraps.

† Arrian, b. III. c. xxv.

* Wood's *Journey to the Oxus*, p. 195.

† Curtius, b. VII. c. v. Grote, without quoting his authority, says fifteen days.

inflicted on Darius.* Having inflicted this summary punishment, the Macedonians hastened northward, and reached Maracanda (Samarcand), the capital of Sogdiana, and then the Jaxartes, which they mistook for the Tanais, the boundary between Europe and Asia. Here terminated their northern progress, about the forty-second degree of latitude, and sixty-ninth east longitude. Here Alexander built a town, called, like many others, after him. The rising of the Sogdians and Bactrians in his rear was the immediate cause of his return. To their complete subjugation he applied his masterly ability; and though a brave race, strongly supported by their allies, the Scythians, and led by a prince brave and popular, Spitamenes, after several hard-fought conflicts, they were reduced to such a state of subjection, that a Grecian kingdom—the Bactrian, previously noticed—flourished there for centuries. Of the transactions of these campaigns, the writers so often quoted, and who furnish the materials of this history, give a full and trustworthy account. The accuracy of Curtius' description of the general features of Bactria and Sogdiana, is attested, in the strongest language, by modern travellers. But, unfortunately, so little is known of these regions, that of all the localities named by him, except Maracanda, now Samarcand, the river Polytimetus, now Kobik, and Bactria, now Balk, nothing appears certain.†

In the winter of the year B.C. 229 Alexander crossed the Hindoo Koosh. In the summer of B.C. 227 he began his march back to the same mountain range, having plucked fresh laurels, and contracted some deep stains. The massacre of the innocent and unsuspecting Branchidæ, the assumption of Asiatic despotism, the death of Clitus, the provoked conspiracy of the Pages, the torture and execution of Calisthenes, although startling incidents, crowding the eve of the invasion of India, are no part of its story, the leading historical and topographical notices being preliminary and illustrative.

Preparatory to his march on India he recalled the bravest, and, at this period of his career, the most confidential of his generals, from Sogdiana; assembled his forces, raised a body of Bactrians thirty thousand strong, and, leaving a force of fourteen thousand

foot and horse, under Amyntas, at Bactria, to keep his newly-conquered subjects in awe, he directed his journey southward, and in ten days re-crossed the Hindoo Koosh.

It has been previously conjectured that, from the commencement of his pursuit of Bessus, he had in contemplation the invasion of India. In Bactria he had opportunities of consulting natives of that country, fugitives from their home, and of ascertaining what prospects of success presented themselves. Curtius states that Alexander turned his attention towards that country, because it was esteemed rich not only in gold, but in gems and pearls, which, he says, were applied to excessive decoration rather than magnificence, and that the shields of the Indian soldiers were said to glitter with gold and ivory.* The Indian mercenaries by their bravery had provoked his hostility, and the severity of his treatment of a band of them who had defied his arms in the defence, in the late war, of one of the towns, will serve to show how determined and annoying to Alexander must have been their resistance. So long as their general survived they repulsed the Macedonians with the utmost bravery; when he fell, and many of his soldiers in battles, they sent a herald to Alexander, who agreed with them that they should enter into his service. They accordingly came forth from the city, armed, and encamped by themselves in an elevated position, opposite to the Macedonian tents, with the intention of stealing away by night, and returning home because they did not wish to fight against their friends. That very night they were surrounded, and cut to pieces.† This crime wanted even the shadowy pretext here given, for Plutarch states that he seized the mercenaries on their march homeward, and put them to the sword.‡

When Alexander arrived at the Cophenus (the Cabul River) he dispatched a herald to an Indian prince named Taxiles, and others of his rank on this side the Indus, to summon them to come forth and meet him as he approached their territories. Plutarch, whose love of anecdote led him to estimate a man by his wit rather than by the greatest sieges or most important battles, gives a highly amusing dialogue which occurred between them at their first meeting.§ There are other passages of Indian literature which lead to the conclusion that it is likely to have ensued. "What occasion is there for wars between you and me, if you are not come to take from us our water and other necessities of life, the

* Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, vol. ii. p. 489. Langhorne. Curtius says he was delivered up to Oxathres, the brother of Darius (b. xvii.) Appian, on the authority of Ptolemy, states his death with no reference to severities (b. iii. c. xxx.)

† The valuable researches of Burnes, Wood, Morier, and others, have done much already, and will stimulate to further investigation in a field rich in ancient monuments and coins, and whose ancient history would be so interesting and instructive.

* Curtius, b. viii. c. v.

† Arrian, b. iv. c. xxvii.

‡ Plutarch, Introduction to the *Life of Alexander*.

§ Ibid.

only things that reasonable men will take up arms for? As to gold and silver, and other possessions, if I am richer than you I am willing to oblige with part; if I am poorer, I have no objection of sharing your bounty." Charmed with his frankness, Alexander took his hand, and answered, "Think you, then, with all this civility, to escape without a conflict? You are much deceived if you do. I will dispute it with you to the last, but it shall be in favours and benefits, for I will not have you exceed me in generosity." Therefore, after having received great presents from him, and made greater, he said to him one evening, "I drink to you, Taxiles, and, as sure as you pledge me, you shall have a thousand talents."* Whatever may be the credit of the main part of the story, it is to be feared that the Macedonian did not behave so magnanimously. Arrian, always partial to his hero, asserts that the Indian prince presented the most valuable presents India could supply, and made him a promise of twenty-five elephants. Hephæstion was sent forward to construct a bridge for the transport of the troops across the Indus, and to reduce to submission the nations through which his course lay. Taxiles, and the other princes of the country, accompanied his army, and executed all commands imposed, with the exception of Astes, prince of Peucealotis, who, after nobly defending his city for thirty days, was captured and slain.

Alexander, with a band of targeteers, and half the army, marched against the Aspîi, Thyraî, and Arasaci,† and, passing near the river Choes, or Choaspes, through a country rough and mountainous, he rapidly reduced the independent principalities, which, acting in the absence of any organization, however bravely they resisted, could offer no effective nor prolonged opposition. In one of the storming affairs Alexander nearly received his deathblow from one of these hardy mountaineers; a dart pierced his armour, and wounded him in the shoulder. He was saved by the strength and thickness of his coat-of-mail. This engagement must have been severely contested. Ptolemy and Leonnatus were both wounded in the conflict. From a few admissions of the Greek historians, it is evident that

* Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 502.

† The Aspîi, or Aspasiî, a tribe of the Paropamisadæ, at the south foot of Hindoo Koosh, on the Choes, or Choaspes, now Kahmeh. Thyraî, or Gorya, the capital of a small district of the same name, at the foot of the same range, north of the Punjab, on the banks of the Suastes, one of the tributaries of the Cophenes. Arasaci, or Assaceni, the territory of this tribe, appears to have lain between the Indus and Cophenes, or Cophen, at their junction, and adjoining the valley last noticed, now called Panjko. c.—SMITH, *Dictionary of Geography*. Grote thinks they cannot be now identified (vol. xii. p. 303.)

Alexander was encountered by men who had all the essentials of a formidable enemy but combination. Their efforts were desultory, and their warfare was of the guerilla order. The army of the Aspasiî, Arrian relates,* was posted on the banks of the river, within two days' march. Ptolemy, at the head of a large force, was dispatched to dislodge them. The enemy retired to the mountains, having first set fire to the city which they abandoned, and there prepared to defend themselves. From this post the Grecian general resolved to expel them, and gallantly placed himself on foot at the head of the advancing party. When the Indian general saw him approach, he boldly advanced in the van of his force, nor did he relax his ardour until he came within spear's reach of his adversary, Ptolemy; he then hurled his spear with such force and aim, that it struck upon his breastplate, but could not penetrate his well-wrought armour. Ptolemy struck him then through the thigh, and having slain him, according to the Homeric practice, still prevalent, stripped him of his armour; but the brave mountaineers again and again renewed the fight around the body of their chief, and were with great difficulty finally forced to retreat to the steeps; and even this repulse was not accomplished, till a large reinforcement had opportunely arrived, under the command of Alexander in person. After this engagement he marched against one of their fortresses called Arygdus; but the enemy, on his advance, set fire to it, and then abandoned it. The situation of this town, and the strength and convenience of its position, recommended it to Alexander as an eligible post to strengthen his line of communication with his territories, and late conquests to the west and the north. He had it rebuilt, and peopled it with such of the natives as had willingly submitted, and with those veterans of his army, broken down by the inroads of old age and the fatigues of the service. In the meantime he did not neglect to attend to those who had fled. He soon ascertained their location, and set out in search of it. He at length arrived at the foot of a precipitous mountain, and encamped there. Ptolemy, having been sent to reconnoitre it, reported that the number of fires burning on it exceeded those in the Grecian camp. Leaving a sufficient force for the protection of the camp, Alexander set out with the rest of the army. When Alexander arrived within sight of the enemy's fires, he divided his forces into three parts, one of which he committed to the command of Leonnatus, one of his body guards; the second to Ptolemy; he himself assumed the

* Arrian, b. vii. c. xxiv.

command of the third, which he led against that part of the Indian army where the strongest array presented itself. Though placed on an eminence, in a situation of great strength,—either relying on their courage and numbers, or despising the paucity of the Macedonian army,—the enemy rashly descended into the plains to give battle to those troops led by Alexander in person. There can be but little doubt, from the details, as given by Arrian,—the most to be relied upon of all the ancients who treat this subject, though he does not state it directly,—that the Indians, when they descended from their stronghold, presumed they were proceeding to encounter the Macedonian army in complete array. They had no suspicion that two powerful divisions, were approaching in other directions, under competent generals, to create powerful diversions. To their cost, they soon found that the danger they so boldly faced, was not so perilous as the tactics of their great military opponent, that not one but three battles were to be fought, and that the enemy they so lately despised was become a triple-headed monster. Sanguinary was the conflict with Alexander, but he, as ever, proved resistless. Ptolemy had not the advantage of contending in the plain, he had to ascend a steep hill, possessed by the forces left to protect the camp, and who apprehended no surprise. He moved his army to where the ascent was easiest, and, conscious of the bravery of the assailed, to tempt them to seek safety in flight, he prudently forbore to surround the whole hill with his troops. Here, it is said, the battle was also terrible, both “in consequence of the disadvantage of the ground on the part of the Macedonians, and because the Indians of that province far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits; however, they were at last driven down from the mountains.”* Leonatus had a similar reception. The nature of this engagement may be imagined from these facts: that forty thousand men were taken, and above two hundred and thirty thousand head of cattle, out of which Alexander chose the best and largest, that he might send them into Macedonia for a breeding stock, for “they excelled the Grecian cattle in bulk and beauty.”

The next people that attracted Alexander's attention were the Assaceni. Their army was reported to be composed of twenty thousand cavalry and thirty thousand foot, besides thirty elephants, all ready for the field. To prepare for an encounter with this army, as formidable in reputation for bravery as in numbers, he assembled troops from all available quarters, and enlarged his army to the

greatest possible extent. He passed through the territories of the Gurœi; crossed the river of that name, not without great difficulty, not so much in consequence of its great depth and the violence of its current, as from the circumstance that its bed was overlaid with round and slippery stones, over which neither man nor horse could with safety pass. The successful accomplishment of what the natives considered an insurmountable difficulty so disheartened them, that they retired from a post they might have still longer maintained to the annoyance of the invaders, and sought refuge in their strongholds.

Masaga was the capital of this people, to attack which, when Alexander approached, the inhabitants being strengthened by the co-operation of seven thousand mercenaries from the interior of India, boldly resolved not to await his assault under the defences of their walls, but to meet him in the field, and trust the issue to the God of battles. They had also the daring to make an attempt to storm the Grecian camp. Alexander, perceiving this, drew out his forces in order of battle; and to deprive the enemy of the advantages of the shelter their walls would afford, in the event of their discomfiture, he had recourse to a stratagem which was successful. On their approach, he ordered his Macedonians to fall back on a hillock about a mile in their rear. The Indians, deceived by the feint, hotly pressed on the retreating foe. When they had approached within the reach of darts, on the preconcerted signal the whole army turned and fronted their pursuers. Under a fierce discharge of darts and arrows, surprised by the rapidity of the movement and the suddenness of the charge, the Indians in turn broke ground and sought the security of their bulwarks, leaving two hundred of their force dead behind them. Alexander then resolved on besieging the town, and shortly after he came before it, he received a wound in the heel from an arrow. This served as a further stimulus to his ardour: on the next day he advanced his battering engines, and a breach being made, the Macedonians entered with their wonted intrepidity; but here, again, they were met breast to breast, and such was their reception that Alexander sounded a retreat. The following day the assault was renewed, and a large wooden tower having been drawn to the battlements, from its shelter showers of arrows were discharged on the besieged. So determinedly brave was the defence, that on this day also the Macedonians were completely baffled. On the third morning the Macedonians again attempted the place, and from the tower threw a bridge to

* Arrian, b. iv. c. xxv.

the top of the breach. By this a body of targeteers crossed over, but such was the precipitation with which the soldiers crowded to enter the city, the bridge gave way, and all upon it fell with it from its elevation. The Indians reaped all the advantages of the disaster. With loud shouts they rushed upon their prostrate assailants; others from the walls hurled showers of stones and darts and all kinds of missiles; and some issuing from the small posterns, between the towers, in the walls, completed the destruction of those who had fallen. Fresh troops were sent from the camp to the succour of the besiegers, and to cover their retreat. On the fourth day Alexander projected another bridge, from other works, with similar success. At length all his efforts to capture the town having failed, terms of capitulation were agreed to. At Bazira and Ora the Macedonians met with a brave resistance. At Ora a number of elephants were captured; these, the historian Arrian states, were appropriated to the use of the army.

When the intelligence of the fall of Ora had reached the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Bazira, they fled from their city in the dead of night to Aornos, a place of great security; a position which has commanded a prominent place in history, though its geographical identity has hitherto baffled all speculation. The situation of Bazira, a fort of the Assaeni, was somewhere at the south foot of Mount Paropamisus; and it is, with some probability, maintained that it is the Bajore, or Bisore, of modern times, north-west of Peshawur, but its site is by no means certain.* And in this respect it shares the common fate of the localities in this direction, mentioned in the narrative of Alexander's Indian proceedings. Only a few places have as yet been identified—namely, Maracanda, the modern Samareand; the river Polytimetus, the modern Kohik; and Bactria, or Zariaspo, the modern Balk. The recent extension of the British power in the north-west, will bring the classic lands of the Macedonian operations within the sphere of antiquarian and scientific investigation, and a few years must, necessarily, bring to light the materials—abundant it may be fairly assumed, though unheeded or unrecorded—which have been left by the followers of the great conqueror of Asia. The capture of this rock has been looked upon as the most extraordinary achievement of the most extraordinary man who has yet trod the human stage; and

though the history of its capture has formed hitherto a page of Grecian story, its equally appropriate locale is the Indian records. The Greek historian,—or rather the Egyptian, being a native of Alexandria,—Appian, gives the particulars. Aornos is described as the most stupendous natural fortress in all the East. The Indians had long deemed it impregnable. According to the old traditions of the country, the gods had essayed in vain to take it. Three times it is reported to have defied the efforts of the invincible all-conquering Hercules, the reputed ancestor of the Macedonian. The rock is described as being twelve miles in circuit, and the lowest part of it three quarters of a mile above the plain. Did not its great strength impose the prudence of dislodging its warlike occupants, the prospective glory of accomplishing that which had defied all his predecessors was sufficient to incite Alexander to the perilous enterprise. A precipitous, dangerous, and solitary path, the work of human labour, was the only means of ascent. On the summit was a fine spring of pure water, which welled forth a plentiful stream, that leaped down its craggy sides. A wood encircled a great portion of its ascent, and its surface supplied as much arable and fertile land as was requisite for provisioning a garrison of one thousand men. Alexander sent forward Hephæstion with orders to make preparations for bridging the Indus, while the great conqueror himself remained to have the distinction of directing the advances, and of securing the occupation of this fortress. He designed, should he not succeed in reducing it, at first, either by assault or stratagem, to weary the garrison by a protracted siege, or starve them into submission. Treachery lent its mercenary aid to facilitate the hostile projects of the beleaguers. The secret path was disclosed, and Ptolemy sent in command of a sufficient force to avail himself of the opportunity. Ptolemy, having triumphed over every difficulty of the situation, and, through this rugged and dangerous path, having gained the summit, as he had been commanded, reared a burning torch on that part of the hill whence it could be most distinctly seen. This being observed by Alexander, he prepared for an assault on the following day. The assailants were fiercely received and eventually repelled. The attacking force under Alexander having been thus obliged to withdraw, the Indians directed their whole strength against Ptolemy, and a dreadful conflict ensued, the besieged having resolved to demolish the rampart which he had thrown up for his protection, while he endeavoured with all his might to defend it. Galled by the incessant discharges of the

* Arrian, b. iv. c. xxviii; Curtius, b. viii. c. xi; Diodorus, b. xviii. c. lxxv. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*; Grote, vol. xii p. 304; *Bengal Journal*, 1854.

Macedonian archers, the besieged were compelled to retreat on the approach of night to their former position. During the following night Alexander dispatched an Indian scout, on whose fidelity and aptitude he could rely, to communicate to Ptolemy his orders, that when he perceived him about to storm the rock below, he should, on his side, make a simultaneous attack, and thus prevent the besieged from concentrating their force on the point of assault. At break of day Alexander led his division to the place where, as has been above related, Ptolemy had ascended, being satisfied that if the difficulties of that ascent were surmounted, and both forces united, the enemy would be soon driven from their stronghold. Breast to breast was the fight maintained without relaxation; the one party struggling to ascend, the other to hurl them downwards; while at convenient intervals the wearied warriors of the front rank, were relieved by fresh succours from the rear. Through the entire day this personal conflict was vigorously sustained; at last the Macedonians reached the top, and were received by their exulting friends. The united forces, without respite, made a combined attack—again in vain; night closed the encounter without any further advantage being gained. Alexander now despaired of carrying the fortress by the unaided prowess of his men, and had recourse to his strategic skill for aid. When daylight appeared, he ordered his troops to bring from an adjacent wood, each one hundred poles or stakes, and with these materials he caused a huge rampart to be constructed from that part of the hill where their entrenchments were to a level with the summit of the rock possessed by the Indians, that from this elevation they might be enabled to annoy the enemy with their darts and arrows. While this laborious and exposed operation was in progress, Alexander was cheering his toiling soldiers with word and example.

The army carried on the rampart the length of a full furlong during the day, and, on the following, on the portion thus completed, he stationed his slingers and engineers, who defended the workmen from attack. Thus in three days the work, as originally designed, was finished. On the fourth a little hill, as high as the defences of the enemy, was gallantly carried and secured by a spirited charge; to this, as a terminus, Alexander decided on prolonging the rampart. The boldness of this undertaking, and the skill and rapidity with which it was executed, made the Indians despair of being longer able to hold their position. They now resolved to abandon it, and in order to effect their purpose on the following night, unperceived by the enemy,

they had recourse to an artifice. They sent a herald to Alexander to announce to him that they were ready, on certain conditions, to surrender themselves into his hands. Their concealed intentions were to lull his suspicions by these negotiations, and under the favour of the darkness of the night to steal away, and betake themselves to their homes. Alexander was informed of their design, and availed himself of it. He allowed sufficient space for their purpose, by withdrawing the sentinels, and in person awaited their descent. When the defences were evacuated, accompanied by seven hundred of his guards and targeteers, he himself first entered the rock which the enemy had just deserted, and his troops, by helping one the other, climbed up after him. Once in possession, a pre-arranged signal was given, and the main body of the Macedonians fell upon the disorganised and unprotected garrison, and cut many of them to pieces. Hundreds, seized with panic and fear, in their flight fell headlong from the precipices, and perished. Alexander was thus in possession of the rock which had defied the assaults of all previous assailants, and tradition included amongst those, Hercules, his ancestor. Having offered sacrifice, and supplied the place with a sufficient garrison, he entrusted the command to Sisicottus, an Indian prince, who had, in previous years, fled from his native country, for some cause, to Bessus, in Bactria, and had in that country, and during the present campaign, rendered Alexander most essential services.

The site of this stronghold has been a subject of inquiry to several modern scholars. The discrepancies which exist in the description of it by Arrian and Curtius have added to the difficulties. The most elaborate and valuable paper on the subject is the "Gradus ad Aornos," by Major Abbot, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, No. 4, 1854. His views are here quoted, and if he has not decided the question, he has supplied materials which are calculated to lead to its early solution. The train of investigation which he has pursued was suggested by the very Reverend J. Williams, Archdeacon of Cardigan, in his *Life of Alexander*, the best biography of the Macedonian which has appeared in the English language, in which it was suggested that it was to be sought on the right bank of the Indus:—"The whole ac-

* "The rock is not known to me from modern authorities, nor do I know of any traveller who has examined this remote corner. It is on the right bank of the Indus, close to the river, but I have no means to ascertain the exact site. A traveller going up the right bank from Attock could not fail to find it."—ARCHDEACON WILLIAMS' *Life and Actions of Alexander the Great*, New York edition, p. 293.

count of the rock of Aornos is a faithful picture of the mountain Mahabunn. It was the most remarkable feature of the country, as is the Mahabunn. It was the refuge of the neighbouring tribes. It was covered with forests. It had good soil, sufficient for one thousand ploughs, and pure springs of water everywhere abounded. It was 4125 feet above the plain, and fourteen miles in circuit. It was precipitous on the side of Embolima, yet not so steep but that two hundred and twenty horses and the war engines were taken to the summit. The summit was a plain where cavalry could act. It would be difficult to add a more faithful description of the Mahabunn.* Why the historian should call the rock Aornos, it is difficult to say. The side on which Alexander scaled the main summit had certainly the character of a rock, but the whole description of Arrian indicates a table-mountain. The fortification itself, though styled the rock, does not seem to have been very lofty nor formidable. Alexander assailed it without scaling ladders the night of its evacuation, and was the first, as has been said, to ascend it. This we learn from the remark, 'that the soldiers drew one the other up the rock.' No European in modern times has ascended the Mahabunn. The accounts of natives are so vague that it is difficult to trust them; it is certain, however, that the Mahabunn has been occupied by castles in two or three places. The best known of these is called Shahkote, or 'the royal castle,' a modern name, which may refer to the visit of Nadir Shah, who pitched his tent on that spot. Another castle is said to have stood on the brink of a precipice of several hundred feet deep. To the westward is the table of Mahabunn. To the north is a ravine, and beyond it a small hill of the same height as the rock, or mound, on which the castle stood. The water on which the garrison depended was a spring in this ravine. When the mound was lost the garrison had no choice but to surrender. This site appears to answer best the description of Arrian. Ptolèmy might have easily passed round to the east, and have occupied the point on the mountain crest. The ordinary path of ascent would have placed Alexander also on the left, that is south of the fort. He would have broken ground at two hundred and fifty yards, that is beyond arrow-flight, and have driven his trench up obliquely to the fort. The capture of the small hill near, would not only have cut off the water of the garrison,

* *Mahabunn* signifies mighty forest or mighty pool. The original name had been *Mahabutt*, "mighty rock," which would account for the Greeks calling it emphatically the rock.—ABBOTT.

but in case of assault, left them no choice but to fly down the precipice on the east, where every man must have perished in the hot pursuit, whereas, when favoured by night, the paths were practicable to mountaineers well acquainted with them. From Aornos Alexander went in search of the brother of Assacenus, who had rallied his forces in the mountains, and had carried off some of the elephants. From the summit of the Mahabunn the extensive valleys of Boonair and Chumla lie spread out to view—the probable retreat of fugitives from Sohaut. When, however, the enemy had mastered the Mahabunn by the north-western spur, Alexander would have found himself in Chumla. The country was utterly deserted by its inhabitants, and Alexander does not seem to have attempted to retain possession of it by occupying it with garrisons or colonies. He probably thought the valley too remote from support, and too much shut in by the mountains."*

This is a strong case of identity, and would have been conclusive could it be reconciled to the description of Curtius, who compares Aornos to a meta (the conical goal of a stadium), and says that the Indus washed its base—that at the first assault several Macedonian soldiers were hurled down into the river. This close juxtaposition of the Indus has been the principal feature looked for by travellers who have sought Aornos, but no place has yet been found answering the conditions required. The fall of Aornos, while it added greatly to the fame of Alexander, struck terror and dismay into the contiguous states. The Assaceni fled with their elephants to the mountains. Dyrta and the surrounding country were so wholly abandoned by the inhabitants, that not one could be found to supply any information to the Greeks.

Alexander, anxious to glean some knowledge of the customs of these clans, their mode of warfare, and the number of their elephants, dispatched Nearchus and Antiochus, with large bodies of troops, to endeavour to catch some of the inhabitants. He in the meantime prosecuted his journey towards the Indus, having sent troops before him to level the road, which was unfit for the passage of his army. His scouts having brought to him some of the natives, he learned that the entire population had fled to Barisades for protection, but that their elephants had been left in the pastures near the river Indus. Conducted by these natives, he set out in quest of the elephants. Two of them, in the endeavour to obtain possession of these animals, tumbled from the rocks, and perished, the remainder

* *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1854, p. 341, &c.

were safely secured, and conveyed to the army for their use. Near these pastures he opportunely discovered a wood, extending to the river, capable of supplying ample materials for building boats. To this use they were expeditiously appropriated, and the boats being built, were forwarded to the bridge which Hephæstion and Perdicas had by this time completed. Alexander then entered that part of the country which lies between the Cophen and Indus. It was in passing through this district that he visited Nysa,* a city sacred to Dionysius (Bacchus). As soon as the inhabitants were apprised of his arrival, they sent to him their chief, Akouphus, and thirty elders, to claim his protection. These envoys having been abruptly introduced to Alexander's tent, surprised him, dusty with travel, and clad in his mail armour, his helmet beside him, and his spear in his grasp. In utter amazement at the figure before them they prostrated themselves on the ground, and for a considerable time kept silence. At length reassured by the king, their chief is reported by Arrian to have addressed to him the following extraordinary speech, which, if credit-worthy, evidences a far closer intercourse between the East and far West than is disclosed by any known passage of the ante-Alexandrian period. As a mythological illustration it proves the connection between the Asiatic and European superstitions, and historically confirms the conclusion arrived at in a former chapter, of the very early relations existing between the extremes of the ancient world. Akouphus thus accosted him:—"O king, the Nyseans entreat you, by the respect in which you hold Dionysius, to leave them free, and their own masters. Their claims are these: when Dionysius had conquered the Indian race, he returned to the Hellenic sea. From the outworn of his army, Dionysius founded this great city, as a memorial of his wandering and his victory to after generations,—even as thou thyself hast founded Alexandria in the Caucasian Mountains, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and many others hast thou founded, and shalt found, from time to time, even as thou hast shown greater exploits than Dionysius. Dionysius assuredly called this city Nysa,† after his nurse Nysa, and the country Nysaia; and that mountain which is near the city, Dionysius named Meros the Thigh, because according to fable he grew in the thigh of Jupiter. From that time have we dwelt in Nysa the free,—and we are free, and are a commonwealth, and peaceably have

we lived under the protection of our own laws. And of our origin from Dionysius we have this undoubted testimony, 'the ivy, which here abounds, and grows nowhere else in Indian soil.'"

This oration, it is said, was most acceptable to Alexander, who had an interest in having the story of Dionysius and his travels accredited, and in his being believed to be the founder of Nysa. These being taken for granted, it would be universally recognised that his own conquests were not only co-extensive with those of the mythic and divine hero, but had penetrated far beyond them. It was also conducive to his projected measures to make these fables subservient to his designs. He knew the influence their being believed in would exercise over the minds of the Macedonians, who though now over three thousand miles distant from their homes, fatigued by the labours of eight campaigns, many of them loaded with honours and riches, were about to be led, through the insatiable ambition of their restless monarch, beyond that river which to them was the bounds of the explored world, to the perilous enterprise of attempting new acquisitions, and from peoples whose bravery they had to apprehend from the stern resistance with which they had been recently so effectively opposed. It is more than probable that at this early period were heard through the camp the sullen murmurings of that discontent which at a subsequent and not very remote period, terminated the onward course of the Macedonian conqueror. That the interview narrated took place there is no reasonable doubt, and that the speech addressed to Alexander, was faithfully reported, there is every reasonable assurance to believe. But the probability is that the king took advantage of the similarity of names, and the unusual presence of the ivy, and preconcerted the dramatic interview with the deputation from Nysa, in order to gratify the pride and vanity of his Grecian soldiers, and thus reconcile them to the campaign for which he was then preparing. He conceded to the Nyseans a full confirmation of their liberties, merely stipulating that they should furnish him with three hundred horsemen as a military contribution, and a hundred of their *best men* as hostages. At the last demand the king observed that Akouphus smiled, and when asked to state the cause of his mirth, he replied that Alexander was welcome to that number, nay, to double that number of the *bad men* in Nysa, but wished to know how any city could be governed if deprived of one hundred of its *best men*. Alexander, pleased with the answer, took the cavalry, but remitted the hostages.

* A small town in the country of the Assaceni, in the Western Punjaub.

† There were several towns of that name dedicated to Dionysius.

The observations on this passage by the very reverend Archdeacon Williams are so masterly conceived, and pertinent to the subject, though at variance with the conjectures above ventured, that they are considered worthy of quotation :—"It is difficult to account for those and other traces of Hercules and Dionysius which are gravely recorded in the writings of Alexander's most trustworthy historian. The arms of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had no doubt been carried to the Indus, and the rock Aornos might have been repeatedly besieged in vain by the Persians; Greeks also from Ionia, Doris, and Eolis, might have been settled according to the well-known policy of the Persians on this distant frontier, and have carried with them the mysteries of Bacchus: yet with all this it is difficult to believe that the Macedonians, who had travelled over the most enlightened and civilized states of Asia without discovering one trace of Hercules and Dionysius, should thus find vestiges of the supposed expeditions of both heroes in the obscure corner between the river of Cabul and the Indus. Might not some Macedonians have visited Nysa during the celebration of the festival of the Hindoo god Rama, and easily recognized his identity with their own Dionysius? The following passage, from Bishop Heber's *Journal in India*, is the best illustration of the subject :—"The two brothers, Rama and Luchmun, in a splendid palace, were conducting the retreat of their army. The divine Hunniman, as naked, and almost as hairy as the animal whom he represented, was gamboling before them with a long tail tied round his waist, a mask to represent the head of a

baboon, and two great pointed clubs in his hands. His army followed—a number of men with similar tails and masks—their bodies dyed with indigo, and also armed with clubs. I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchus. Here were before Bacchus, his brother Ampelus, the satyrs, smeared with wine lees, and the great Pan commanding them."

Alexander, with the companion cavalry, and the flower of the phalanx, ascended Mount Meros, that he might see a hill over-spread with laurel and ivy, and groves of every variety of trees, and stocked with all kinds of wild beasts. The Macedonians delighted by beholding, after such a lapse of time, their fondly revered green ivy-plant, memorial of their homes and altars, wove it into chaplets and wreathed their brows, sung hymns to Bacchus, and invoked him by all his names. Costly sacrifices were offered in his honour, and sumptuous feasts of regal magnificence prolonged the solemnities. To such a pitch was the general enthusiasm inflamed that Arrian states, on the authority of some preceding writers, that Macedonians of the first rank during the banquet, their brows encircled with ivy, in religious frenzy made the mountains re-echo with long-continued acclamations of *Evœe!* and *Bacche!* From Nysa the whole army marched to the bridge erected over the Indus, as Alexander had commanded. The whole summer and winter, as recorded from Aristobulus by Strabo, had been spent in the march from Bactria and their late campaign among the mountains, and with the commencement of spring they descended into the plains.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ALEXANDER CROSSING THE INDUS, AND SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS.

THE laborious operations accomplished amidst the severities of winter, despite natural obstacles of no ordinary magnitude, and against foes not to be despised, imposed the necessity of giving some little respite to the army previous to their entering on their ninth campaign. They halted for thirty days on the western bank of the Indus, and spent their time in the performance of religious rites, and gymnastic and equestrian sports, and the indulgence of all sorts of festivities. In addition to the bridge, which, as has been stated, was completed, he found two large vessels also built, with thirty oars, besides many more small ones.

It is presumed, on grounds sufficiently satisfactory, that the Grecian army crossed the Indus at Attock. At this period the region immediately to the east of the upper course of the river owned three independent sovereigns: Abisares, whose territories lay amongst the mountains; Taxiles, who ruled over the country immediately in front, stretching from the Indus to the Hydaspes (the Jhelum); and Porus, whose dominions extended from the Hydaspes eastward—a prince who from the military resources at his command, appears to have been an object of suspicion and fear to his neighbours on every side.*

* Williams's *Alexander the Great*, p. 236.

Taxiles, whose name appears to have been derived either from the capital of his dominions, or from the office which he bore, immediately proffered his submission, and sent a princely present of two hundred talents of silver, three thousand oxen, above ten thousand sheep and thirty elephants, and a reinforcement of seven hundred Indian horse.

The construction of the bridge across the Indus has not been described by any of the historians of Alexander's Indian campaign: Arrian, who regrets the omission, thinks it was composed of vessels close bound together; and to this conclusion he is drawn, not by the fact that the extraordinary depth of the river would prevent piles being driven, but because a great work so built could not be accomplished in the short time occupied by it.

Alexander, having gained the other side of the Indus, again offered sacrifices to the gods, and then proceeding on his journey he arrived at Taxilla,* a large wealthy city, and the most populous between the Indus and the Jhelum. By Taxiles and his subjects he was received in the most friendly manner, and in return for this reception he assigned to him as much of the adjacent country as he desired. Thither came ambassadors to him from Abisares, with his brother and some of his nobles, and from Doxareus, another prince of that country, with presents also. Although Alexander treated Taxiles with such high distinction and consideration, he nevertheless left a governor in the province, and placed a garrison in the city. Here he also left all his invalids for the recovery of their health, and then moved on towards the Jhelum, on the eastern bank of which he was informed a powerful prince, Porus, was encamped with a formidable force to dispute his passage. On receiving this intelligence he dispatched an officer back to the Indus with instructions to have those vessels with which he had crossed that river taken to pieces, and transported to the Jhelum, and there put together again, and launched upon it. This was accordingly done, the smaller vessels being divided into two parts, the larger (of thirty oars) into three.

Strabo asserts that the Macedonians marched in a southern direction from the Indus to the Jhelum. It is probable, then, that the advance of the army was along the main road leading from Attock to Jellipore. On his

march he was strengthened by the accession of five thousand Indian horse, under the command of Taxiles and other native princes. As he had previously heard, on his arrival he found Porus encamped on the opposite side, with his whole army surrounded by elephants. Every spot, both above and below the main road, that presented facilities for passing, was carefully and skilfully guarded, and instructions given that wherever the enemy attempted a passage they were to be confronted. Alexander, startled by these preparations, resolved to divide his army in the same manner into several parties, in the hope of distracting Porus, and thus rendering his arrangements fruitless.

Alexander was convinced by the preparations so skilfully made for his reception that he had no contemptible opponent to deal with, and that his policy should be to deceive Porus as to his immediate intentions. He ordered his troops to lay waste the surrounding country, and while on this duty covertly to survey the river, and ascertain where it might with greatest facility be crossed. He had large supplies of corn conveyed to his camp from all the country lying to the west of the Hydaspes. The object of this accumulation of stores was to induce Porus to believe that it was his determination to remain in his present entrenchments till the waters of the river had subsided, and an opportunity would be afforded him of effecting the passage despite all opposition. With his vessels stationed at every convenient point, and the covering of his tents stuffed with light buoyant matter, as usual, and the whole bank lined with horse and foot, he suffered the enemy to take no rest, and so distracted him, that he could not calculate where the attempt to cross would be made, or what provision to make for the repose and safety of his troops.

Alexander's Indian expedition was undertaken nearly at the close of the spring, when the rainy season had already commenced in the mountains, from which all the rivers of the Punjab flow, and he passed the Hydaspes at Midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. At this time of the year the snows on the mountains, melting with the summer heat, contribute to augment the floods, and consequently the streams are both muddy and rapid. In winter, when the snow congeals, the rivers become clearer and shallower, and, with the exception of the Indus and Ganges, are fordable in some places. Alexander caused a report to be sedulously circulated that it was his resolve to abide a favourable opportunity, and not to hazard an attempt till the season would favour the enterprise. In the meantime he was anxiously

* Taxilla, a place of great importance in the Upper Punjab, between the Indus and Hydaspes. The country is reported to be more fertile than Egypt. There can be little doubt that it is represented by the vast ruins of Mankyala. Wilson considers it to be the same as Takhsasila of the Hindoos.—SMITH'S *Dictionary of Geography*.

watching an opportunity to pass over secretly and unobserved by the enemy. The dangers of attempting it openly were many and imminent. Porus was on the alert, and prepared for the contest. His tone was defiant. Curtius relates that Alexander imagined that the prestige of his name might influence the Indian prince to submission, and, with this presumption, dispatched Cleochares with a summons, "that he should pay a tribute, and meet the king at the nearest pass on his frontiers." Porus replied "that he had intended to perform one of these acts, and would meet the Macedonian at his entry, but with an army."* Alexander was also apprehensive of the effect which would be produced by the multitude of elephants in the Indian army, amounting to eighty-five of the best class, which were drawn up in the first line, well accoutred and excellently disciplined, in readiness to fall upon the Macedonians as they emerged from the stream; also lest his horses would not be able to gain the other side without much difficulty, because of the elephants, which would meet them, and frighten them with their unusual noise and aspect; and, in addition to these considerations, he was in some doubt whether they could be kept on the inflated hides, and so conveyed across the river, for the appearance of the elephants upon the banks before them would terrify them, and force them to plunge into the stream. In the rear of the elephants were ranged three hundred war chariots, and thirty thousand infantry, including bowmen. Porus, himself was mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, which towered above the rest; his armour, enchased with gold and silver, set off with effect his gigantic person. His courage, the Greeks confess, corresponded with his stature, and "his mind was the seat of as much wisdom as could subsist in an unpolished barbarian."† The river, on the banks of which the armies were intrenched, is represented to be one English mile in breadth, its channel deep, and similar to an arm of the sea.

Influenced by these various and potent considerations, Alexander resolved on having recourse to stratagem, and thus secretly to secure the unopposed transport of his army. He dispatched, in various detachments, to several parts of the river, by night, his cavalry, with instructions to raise loud shouts, and sound alarms, and to have all things apparently ready for an immediate passage. This order being faithfully carried out, Porus was alarmed, and directed his elephants to be sent wheresoever these demonstrations were made, while Alexander kept a strict watch on

his movements. These alarms having been repeated for several consecutive nights, without any further attempts being made, Porus began to relax his precautions, and eventually desisted from making his observations; and though the Macedonians persevered in their tactics, the Indians treated them with total indifference. The only precaution Porus continued to take was to place guards on several parts of the bank.

Having thus lulled the enemy into supposed security, Alexander made arrangements for a decisive move. During the explorations of the parties who were ordered to survey the river, an island was discovered about nineteen miles above the spot on which the Macedonians were encamped. This island was thickly wooded, and uninhabited, and opposite to it lay a rock, or high point of land, where the channel of the river takes a great sweep, and this also was covered with trees of various kinds. Alexander considered that this was a place suited to his objects, and that there might be advantageously and safely located a large body of his troops, without the cognizance of the enemy. He therefore gave orders for the conveyance thither of a large force of horse and foot. About nine miles up the river—that is, nearly halfway between the camp and the island—he posted some choice troops, and Craterus, with his own body of horse, was left in possession of the camp. He directed that the same uproar which had been indulged in for several nights previous should still be persevered in, and fires lighted through the camp for many nights together; and when he decided on immediately passing over, he made his preparations openly. He gave Craterus strict orders not to attempt to cross before he observed Porus on the other side either coming against them or flying from the field. "If Porus," said he, "should come out to meet me with part of his army, and leave the other part with the elephants in the camp, then do you keep your present station; but if he draws off all his elephants against me, and leaves the rest of his army encamped, then hasten over the river with all your force, for the sight of the elephants alone makes the passage dangerous for horses." To the detachment which was posted, as stated, halfway between the camp and the island, he issued instructions to divide the force, and when they perceived the Indians on the opposite side engaged in battle, to ferry over. He had taken the precaution to have the vessels, by the aid of which he had transported his army across the Indus, forwarded to the Hydaspes, and also the hides which he had inflated, and made air-tight. Having completed all the

* Curtius, vol. ii. b. viii. c. xiii.

† Ibid.

preparations which his great abilities had suggested, Providence came then to his aid. The night on which he had arranged for the passage to take place was ushered in by a fierce storm : a dense fog, say the Greek historians, covered the plain, the winds howled, the lightning flashed, and thunder pealed, while the rain fell in incessant torrents. The clash of armour, the tramp of moving hosts, and the noisy confusion of embarkation, were all silenced amid the uproar of the jarring elements. A little before day the winds were hushed, and the rain ceased, and during this auspicious respite as many of the foot and horse as the hides and skips could carry, passed into the island unobserved by the guards which Porus had placed upon the bank. Before they had passed through the island, and were ready to ascend the bank, Alexander, accompanied by some of his principal officers, followed in a vessel of thirty oars. After traversing the island the troops approached what appeared to be the opposite bank of the river, in sight of the enemy's outposts, who rode with all imaginable speed to carry the news to Porus. In the meantime Alexander, the first to ascend the bank, marshaled his troops as they landed, and then led them on in order of battle. As they prosecuted their march, however, they discovered that they had not yet reached the opposite bank—in fact, that they had passed from one island to another, separated by a small stream from the mainland. This stream was so swollen by the rain which had just fallen, that the cavalry could not find a place fordable, and apprehended that this passage would prove more formidable than the former. After some time and difficulty they were successful in finding a point at which they could cross, but even here the water reached up to the breasts of the foot soldiers and to the necks of the horses. Having at length accomplished their arduous task, preparations were at once made for an encounter. A squadron of horse, composed of his best soldiers, was posted on the right wing, and the equestrian archers to front the whole cavalry; the royal targeteers were placed in the front rank of the infantry, and some mixed amongst the cavalry; next to these were stationed the royal cohort; then the other companies of the targeteers in their several orders; and on the flanks of the phalanx stood the archers and the Arians.

Alexander's army being thus disposed, he commanded his foot, amounting to six thousand, to follow him leisurcly, and in order, and, at the head of five thousand horse, he pushed quickly forward. The archers were commanded to follow. Alexander calculated that

should Porus advance against him with all his force, he would be able to defeat him, or sustain the attack till his infantry came up; and that if on his approach the Indians should abandon their ground, he would be at hand to pursue them. As soon as Porus was informed that the Macedonians were crossing over, he dispatched his son with two thousand horse and a hundred and twenty chariots to obstruct or prevent their passage, but previous to their arrival Alexander had landed all his troops. On sight of the approaching enemy Alexander supposed that Porus, with all his forces, was at hand. Into this misapprehension he was led because the rest of the troops were shut out of view by the cavalry, which marched in the van. His scouts having reported to him the true state of the matter, he vigorously charged the Indians with his horse, and put them to flight. Four hundred of the Indian horse were slain, and amongst them was their leader, the son of the king. The chariots, in consequence of the slippery state of the ground, were rather an impediment than a service to the Indians, and most of them, with their horses, fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The communication of the particulars of this disaster, and of the death of his son, and that the greater part of the invading army had effected a passage, so painfully affected Porus that he knew not what measures to adopt; and his distraction was further aggravated by the fact that the troops commanded by Craterus, and posted directly opposite his camp, was endeavouring to pass the river. After some hesitation, he at length resolved to march against Alexander, and to give battle to his division as the strongest, and leave a part of his army and some elephants behind to resist the attempts of Craterus, and to intimidate his horse as they approached the bank of the river. The forces which he led were composed of four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, two hundred elephants, and thirty thousand foot. On his march he reached a plain both firm and sandy, which the late rains had not rendered unfit for the evolutions of his troops and chariots. Here he resolved on drawing up his army, which he did in the following manner:—First, he placed the elephants in the front, at intervals of one hundred feet from each other, in order to cover the whole body of infantry, and at the same time to strike terror into Alexander's horse. He imagined that neither horse nor foot would venture to penetrate the spaces between the elephants. The horsemen, he concluded, could not, because their horses would be terrified by the strange sight of the elephants; and the foot would not dare,

because the armed soldiers would be ready to receive them on each hand, and the elephants to trample them under their feet. The foot formed the next rank: they were not arranged in the same order as the elephants; they were stationed a little in the rear, and appeared to fill up the interspaces. On the extremes of the wings he stationed elephants bearing large wooden towers filled with armed men. The foot were defended on each flank by the horse, and the horse by the chariots, which were drawn up before them.

As soon as Alexander had reconnoitred their order of battle, he resolved to refrain from an engagement till his infantry had come up, and when they had arrived, fatigued by the operations of the passage and the march, he felt the necessity of affording them rest and refreshment. Having surrounded them with his cavalry, he left them to their enjoyments, and proceeded himself to review the disposition of the enemy. Their order of battle induced him not to charge them in front, where the great body of the elephants was posted, and the ranks of the foot much thicker in the intermediate spaces. The same apprehensions which led Porus to arrange his army thus, hindered Alexander from attacking him there first. In consequence of his great superiority in horse, he, with the best part of them, resolved on making an attack on Porus' left wing, and, if possible, to break through it. He at the same time dispatched a large body to the right, with orders to charge the Indians in the rear as soon as they were perceived to turn their horse to resist the fury of his attack. The phalanx of foot he commanded not to engage before they perceived the horse and foot of the enemy in disorder; but when they should have come within reach of their missives, to immediately dispatch a thousand archers against the left wing, that by the united charge of these and the cavalry they might be thrown into irremediable disorder. These directions were punctually and effectively executed; and when, as he anticipated and provided for, the left wing was thrown into confusion, he placed himself at the head of the auxiliary horse, and swiftly flew to complete the discomfiture which the archers had initiated.

The Indians, surrounded on all sides, first led on their horse to resist the attacks of Alexander. Conjointly, as was arranged, a fierce charge was made on the flanks, and thus they were separated into two parts. The best and most numerous were led against Alexander, and the other division faced about to sustain the attack made on it. This movement served to break the ranks as well as the courage of the Indians. Alexander, the mo-

ment he perceived the diversion thus made, without hesitation, rushed forward to receive his assailants. The determined resistance which they encountered soon cooled their ardour; the Indians turned their backs, and fled for shelter to their elephants, whose leaders stirred them up to trample down the horse. The Macedonian phalanx made preparation for their reception, and attacked with their arrows not only their horses, but also their riders. This mode of fighting was not only new to them, but had never been heard of. Wherever the elephants turned, the ranks of the foot, however serried, were compelled to give way. The Indian horse, seeing the infantry in the heat of action, rallied again, and attacked Alexander's horse a second time, but were again repulsed with loss, and forced to retreat amongst the elephants. By the casualties of the battle the Macedonian cavalry, which had been advisedly separated, were again united, and wherever they fell upon the Indians they made dreadful havoc, and the elephants, confined to a narrow space, and galled into ungovernable fury, were as destructive to their own men as to their enemies. As they plunged and rushed about, multitudes were trampled to death. The confusion was aggravated by the horse, who had fled to them for safety, and by the fact that several of the elephants had lost their leaders. The Macedonians were not so much exposed to danger from this quarter as the Indians, having the advantage of a more free and open space, and thus enabled to avoid them by wheeling out of the way, or opening a passage for them through their ranks. They slew several of them as they attempted to return. At last, worried and wearied with wounds, and toil, and "moving their fore feet heavily," they passed slowly out of the battle. Having surrounded all the enemy's horse with his, Alexander commanded his infantry to close their shields fast together, and haste, thus serried, to attack them. Few of the cavalry escaped from the carnage; the infantry shared no better fate. The Macedonians hemmed them in on every side; and at length all, except those who, as has been stated, were surrounded by the Macedonian cavalry, seeing the desperate situation of affairs, turned their backs, and fled. No sooner had the troops of Craterus perceived the advantages gained by their brother soldiers, than they began to cross the river; and being fresh, and elated by success, they pursued the flying enemy, and slaughtered thousands of them. Of the Indian foot little less than twenty thousand fell on that day; of the horse, about three thousand; all their chariots were destroyed. Two of Porus' sons were

amongst the slain; also the governor of that province, all the leaders of the elephants, the charioteers, and all the captains of the horse and foot. The entire loss of men sustained by Alexander, his historians say, amounted only to three hundred and ten.

During the engagement Porus neglected nothing which it became a consummate general and a brave prince to perform. Collected and circumspect, he was present in the thick of the fight; and as long as a single troop of his men held their ground, there was he to direct and cheer them. At length, being wounded in the right shoulder, he turned his elephant, and quitted the field. His bravery won the admiration of his adversary, and all his sympathies were roused for his preservation. He accordingly dispatched Taxiles in search of him, who, when he overtook him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his elephant, he requested him to stop, and receive Alexander's commands, for that all his efforts to escape were in vain. Porus, perceiving it was his old enemy Taxiles, by whom he was accosted, ran against him with his spear, and would have slain him had not the latter reined round his steed. This reception of his messenger did not destroy the interest which Alexander felt for his safety. He again sent an old friend of Porus in search of him, by whose persuasion and recitation of Alexander's friendly intentions, added to the exigencies of the occasion, he accompanied him to Alexander's presence. The conqueror, being informed of his approach, advanced before his army to meet him, and, stopping his horse, was seized with surprise and admiration at his fine manly figure. Porus is said to have been seven and a half feet high; and such was his physical development, that his breastplate was twice the dimensions of any other in his army.* The impression produced by his imposing presence was further heightened by his kingly bearing. The vicissitudes of his fortunes had not humiliated his lofty and dignified tone of mind. Amid the wreck of his regal power he was still the king. Alexander's first inquiry of him was "what he should wish him to do for him." Porus replied, "To treat me like a king." Alexander, smiling, replied, "That I would do for my own sake, but say what I shall do for thine." Porus told him that "all his wishes were summed up in his first reply." Alexander was highly pleased by the nobility of these answers. He not only restored him to liberty and the full possession of all his dominions, but he also added another kingdom beyond his own, and treated him so

generously, that he continued for ever after an attached friend.

To commemorate this decisive victory he caused two cities to be erected—one on the battle-field beyond the river, and the other on the site of the camp before he crossed the river: the former he named *Nicæa* (victory); the latter *Bucephala*, in honour of his favourite charger, which died in the battle without a wound, worn out by age and over-exertion.

The whole country from the *Hydaspes* (*Jhelum*) to the *Acesines* (*Chenab*) was reduced, and placed under the direction of Porus. The population of this district is reported to have been great and wealthy. Thirty-seven cities, none containing less than five thousand inhabitants, submitted to Alexander. Ambassadors also arrived from a powerful prince named *Abisares*, with a proffer of the surrender of himself and kingdom. Alexander, being advised that he had made preparations to co-operate with Porus to resist his invasion, sent him a peremptory order to appear in person, or to expect a hostile visit.

The territories between the *Acesines* (*Chenab*) and the *Hydraotes* (*Ravee*) were ruled by another Porus, a powerful prince, and previously at enmity with his namesake, and who had therefore offered his submission. Now, having heard that his enemy was in high honour and favour with his conqueror, he lost all confidence, and fled with his troops beyond the *Hydraotes*. Alexander seized on his abdicated dominions, and bestowed them on his rival. Alexander, having traversed the *Punjaub*, passed over the *Hydrastes*, and then learned that a confederation was formed of the *Cathaïans* and other free Indian states, and that they were prepared and resolved to oppose his further progress, and had selected the city of *Sangala*, strongly fortified by nature and art, as their ground for resistance. The *Cathaïans*, and their allies, the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, had a high reputation for strength and bravery. Porus and *Abisares* some time previously had united their forces against them, but were repulsed. Their reputation was a further inducement to Alexander to make them bend to his superior military prowess. Without hesitation he marched against them, and on the third day found himself in presence of *Sangala*, and the enemy drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill neither precipitous nor difficult of ascent. Their waggons they had drawn up in a triple intrenchment, by which it was fortified as if by a triple wall, with their tents pitched in the middle. The manner in which the camp was thus protected, as also the absence of elephants, is presumptive proof that these

* *Diodorus Siculus*, p. 559.

were Scythian clans. Alexander here pitched his camp, and awaited the arrival of his troops still on the march. These having arrived, and being refreshed from their fatigue, were led to an attack on the waggons. The enemy received them in their intrenchments. The only movement they made was to ascend their waggons, and thence, as from an eminence, they discharged their missive weapons against their assailants, who were composed of the cavalry. Alexander, judging his horse unfit for such an attack, led a body of foot to the charge, and, after a fiercely contested conflict amongst the waggons, the Greeks prevailed, and the Indians fled for safety to the defences of their city. In despair at the result of the battle, they resolved to evacuate Sangala in the dead of the night. This movement Alexander anticipated, and took the necessary precautions to prevent it. He surrounded the place, which was inclosed with a brick wall, and had a shallow lake on one side. The besiegers had already constructed a double rampart round the town, except on the lake side. This lake was not only undefended, but its waters were sufficiently shallow to be waded. Through it the besieged determined to ford in the night, and escape. Of this arrangement Alexander was informed, and he gave orders to Ptolemy to prevent its execution. That general brought together all the waggons abandoned by the enemy, and with them formed a barrier round the edge of the lake. The Cathaians at midnight proceeded from the city, and made their way to the hastily raised rampart, where they were received by the besiegers, and driven back. By this time the walls had been battered down, and the Greeks took the place by storm, putting to the sword seventeen thousand Indians, and capturing, according to Arrian, seventy thousand more. The Grecian loss is stated at less than a hundred, and twelve hundred wounded, several of the superior officers amongst the latter. The very great disproportion between the wounded and the slain on the side of the Greeks is accounted for by the descriptions of weapons—arrows and hand missiles—used by the Cathaians. These seldom proved fatal to foes arrayed in good armour.

Two neighbouring towns in alliance with Sangala were abandoned by their inhabitants. Alexander pursued them, but could not overtake them, except five hundred invalids, whom his soldiers put to death. Sangala was razed to the ground, and the territory added to the dominions of Porus, who was present with a contingent of five thousand men.

Sangala was the most easterly of all Alexander's conquests. His further progress was

here interrupted by the reluctance of his troops to accompany him in his projected campaign. He had reached the Hyphasis (Sutlej), the last of the rivers of the Punjab, at a point conjectured to be below its confluence with the Beas. The country beyond was reported to be rich, the inhabitants were skilful agriculturists as well as good soldiers, and possessed of a greater store of elephants than any other Indian nation. Their elephants surpassed all others in stature and strength. These reports were incentives to Alexander; and though his historians do not afford any information on the subject, it is more than probable that he was influenced by the reports which must have reached him of the wealth and magnificence of Palibothra, the Indian Babylon, reported to excel in wealth and power the Assyrian capital, the seat of the great monarch of Magada of the royal lunar race, whose sway extended over all the Indian peninsula, and who could bring into the field six hundred thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and nine thousand elephants.

It must have been observed that since his approach to the Oxus, Alexander had to maintain a series of well-contested struggles to the day on which he pitched his tents on the banks of the Hyphasis. The resistance of the Sogdians was the prelude to many a perilous conflict, and in his recent engagements his losses were severe. It is true that from his conquered provinces contingents daily arrived to swell his diminished troops, and provisions and money to supply their wants, but now every day's march in advance added to the number of the disaffected tributaries in the rear, and removed him farther from those more reliable and kindred supplies from the Ionian cities, the Greek confederates, and his hereditary kingdom of Macedon. Before the Macedonian army lay nations reputed to be brave, well supplied, and prepared. Enough had been done for glory, honours, personal distinctions and competence, and therefore general discontent pervaded all ranks that his veterans should be jeopardized to gratify an ambition which seemed to be insatiable, and to seek an endless repetition of barren victories. The part of India already conquered had not yielded those incalculable stores of gold, the promised acquisition of which had inflamed the cupidity of the troops on their first approach; nor did they find all the portable luxuries which many-tongued rumour had reported in their far Western homes would recompense their toil when they had once crossed the Indus. Rich as was the Indian soil, its people were simple, frugal, brave, and patriotic. However long these

elements had been fermenting, it was on the banks of the Hyphasis they had their first ebullition. The discontent of the toil-worn veterans was aggravated during the passing campaign by the constant torrents of rain which deluged them, and most of them were worn out with wounds, fatigue, and privations.

Frequent meetings were held in the camp, and the numbers which thronged them, and approved of the outspoken dissatisfaction of the bolder men, showed to what an extent and how deeply the minds of the soldiers were agitated. The propriety of resisting every attempt to induce them to cross the Hyphasis, even though Alexander himself should lead the way, was generally and sternly advocated.

These proceedings failed not soon to reach the ears of the king, and to excite those apprehensions they were calculated to suggest. Fearing the contagion might extend, and the discontent result in active sedition, he resolved, with his usual foresight and promptitude, to summon a council of his commanding officers, to express to them his opinions, and elicit theirs.

Having minutely recapitulated the extent and nature of his conquests, he assured them that he recognised no limits to the labours of a high-spirited man, but the failure of adequate objects. He assured them that they were not then far from the Ganges and the Eastern Ocean; and this he ventured to assert was not far from the Hyrean Sea, for the great ocean surrounded the whole earth, and the Indian Gulf flows into the Persian, and the Hyrean into the Indian. That from the Persian Gulf his fleet would carry their arms round Africa as far as the pillars of Hercules, and subject that continent within the pillars of Hercules, and thus the boundaries of his empire would be coextensive with those with which the Deity had encircled the globe. He added his fears that the interruption of the prosecution of his scheme would stimulate peoples lately subdued to revolt. He favourably contrasted his labours with those of his most illustrious predecessors, and referred to his share of the dangers; recounted the liberality with which the territories conquered and the treasures acquired had been distributed to them; and, in conclusion, appealed to Jupiter to witness his solemn promise that when all Asia had been conquered he would not only satisfy the wishes

but exceed the expectations of every individual.

This enthusiastic appeal did not produce the results which it was calculated to realize when addressed to the bravest of men. The disaffection of the troops was appealed to; the severe losses which had thinned the Macedonian ranks; the few of them that survived; the yearnings of these to revisit their native land, to behold once more their wives, their children, and homes. The king had failed. The gods were consulted; the omens conspired with the stubborn resolve of the army, and Alexander at length yielded a reluctant assent. Such is the story told by his own historians. It is to be regretted that no Indian version of it is known to us.

Before closing this eventful period of Indian history there is a passage of Alexander's speech—namely, the geographical—which demands a few observations.

Amongst his other qualities, as has been remarked by an historian of India, he was animated with an ardent thirst for knowledge. To gratify this was obviously one of the objects he proposed to himself. He had now reached, as he supposed, nearly the limits of the world. On the banks of the Sutlej he considered that he was very convenient to the Ganges and to the great Eastern ocean, which surrounds the whole earth, and that the Hyrcanian Sea (the Caspian) was connected with this ocean on one side, the Persian Gulf on the other; that after he had subdued all the nations which lay before him to the eastward towards the ocean, and northward towards the Caspian, he would be enabled to proceed by water first to the Persian Gulf, then round Lybia to the pillars of Hercules, and thence back through Lybia, and included all Asia as part of the Macedonian empire. It is also worthy of remark that while Alexander made so serious an error in limiting the extent of Eastern Asia, the Ptolemaic geography, recognised in the time of Columbus, fell into an error not less in the opposite direction, stretching too far to the east; and it was to this misconception we owe the discovery of the new world, Columbus having projected his voyage of circumnavigation from Western Europe in the expectation of coming to the eastern coast of Asia from the west, and after no great length of voyage.*

* Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. xii. p. 312.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE RETURN OF ALEXANDER.

THREE days were spent by Alexander in solitary seclusion, as was his habit when greatly agitated, before he announced to his troops that he had changed his resolve in deference to their united remonstrances. During this interval his most intimate friends were excluded from his presence. Arrian states that the king expected that some change of mind would happen amongst his soldiery, and that they might yet be prevailed upon to accede to his wishes; but perceiving no manifestation of such a change—on the contrary, that a sullen silence still prevailed, that they were more and more exasperated against him, and fixed in their determinations—he had it proclaimed that sacrifice should be offered, and the gods consulted. This was accordingly done, and the diviners announced that the victims showed omens entirely adverse to the passage of the Hydaspes (Jhelum). He then called together the oldest of his officers and the most confidential of his intimates, and through them announced to the army the unfavourable state of the auspices, that he submitted to the will of the fates, and gave immediate orders for return, to the entire satisfaction of the army.* Grote remarks that the fact that Alexander, under all this insuperable repugnance of the soldiers, still offered sacrifice preliminary to crossing the river, is a curious illustration of his character.

To perpetuate the limits of his Eastern conquests, he ordered twelve altars to be erected, built of hewn stone,† equal in height, to so many fortified towers on the western bank of the river. On these gigantic altars he offered sacrifices with due solemnity, which were followed with the customary festivities and gymnastic and equestrian exercises.

To consider the probable results of this forced (if such it were) return of Alexander would be suggestive of interesting speculations; but whether such speculations are objects of legitimate historical consideration would be as debateable a subject; and also whether the consequent extension of commerce, with geographical knowledge and the imposition of Macedonian polity and Greek literature and art, would compensate for the subversion of Indian independence and civilization.

Having committed all the territories west

of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the government of Porus, he returned, and recrossed the Hydrautes and Acesines, and arrived at the Hydaspes, near the point where he first passed. The two new cities which he had directed to be built, as previously stated,—namely, Bucephala and Nicæa,—had suffered seriously from the rains and the overflowing of the river, sufficient allowance not having been made for its rising. These were now repaired, and experience suggested the adoption of precautions to save them from such disasters. At this juncture Arsaces, governor of one the contiguous provinces, and brother to Abisares, waited upon Alexander, and, amongst other presents, brought thirty elephants. Abisares was received into favour, and the amount of tribute which he was to pay arranged. Alexander also here received a large reinforcement both of cavalry and infantry forwarded to him from Europe, together with twenty-five thousand new panoplies and a large stock of medicines. Had he been thus strengthened during the hesitation of his troops on the Hyphasis, it is very probable his advance to the Ganges would not have been diverted. For these, his veterans, and what auxiliaries his tributaries Porus and Taxiles could supply, he had ample as well as novel employment in collecting the materials for and constructing a fleet to transport his army down the Hydaspes, and afterwards to the mouth of the Indus. During the whole of the summer months they were engaged in these preparations. The timber was found in the mountain forests through which the river descends into the plain, and consisted, according to Strabo, of firs, pines, cedars, and a variety of other trees fit for shipbuilding.* By the early part of November a fleet of two thousand boats, of various sizes, were ready. The rowers and pilots were carefully selected from the Phœnicians, Carians, Cyprians, and Egyptians, who followed his army, and were skilled mariners.

His forces he divided into four divisions: Craterus led one along the right bank; Hephæstion led another, constituted of the best men and largest number, with two hundred elephants, along the left bank; Nearchus, who wrote an account of the voyage, of which an epitome is preserved by Arrian, commanded the river fleet, on board of which was

* Arrian, *Alexander's Expedition*, b. v. c. xxviii.

† Curtius, b. x. c. iii. xix.

* Strabo, b. xv. c. i. s. 29.

Alexander himself; and Philip, governor of a province beyond the Indus, was ordered to follow with all his forces.

When all the preparations had been completed, sacrifices were offered to the maritime deities; and Alexander, standing on the prow of his own ship, poured from a golden cup a libation into the stream of the Hydaspes, and invoked the deities of the Indian rivers known to him. These were rites exceedingly acceptable to the Hindoos as well as Greeks, and there is little doubt, as the Greek writers relate, when the vessels gave their canvas to the breeze, their departure was hailed by the enthusiastic greetings of the Indians of Bucephala and Nicæa, and that they accompanied their progress to a great distance, rushing in dense crowds to the edge of the banks, and demonstrating the intensity as well as the sincerity of their joy by wild chants and dances. The fleet pursued its course, slowly down the river, to where the Hydaspes unites its waters with those of the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis, and all discharge their confluent tributaries to swell the stream of the majestic Indus. In the month of November, B.C. 326, the fleet sailed, and reached, nine months after, in the August following, the mouth of the river and the Indian Ocean. This voyage was not performed without its interesting incidents; indeed, it was diversified by very active and important military operations on both sides of the river, of which Alexander was not, it may be concluded, an indifferent nor a quiescent spectator. He repeatedly disembarked to impose his yoke on all who had not made voluntary submission. He regulated the movements of the three divisions pursuing the land route. Of those who made resistance the most formidable, by far, were the Malli and Oxydracæ tribes, who had hitherto maintained their independence, and were now making preparations to defend it. The Malli occupied the tract of country which extends between the Acesines (Asikni), and the Hydraotes (Ravee), and constituting the south part of the district now known as the Punjaub. Their stronghold is supposed to have been the modern city of Moultan.* Want of cordial union, a curse that has blighted many a good cause, weakened and defeated their purpose. They at first decided on co-operation, and the plan agreed upon was, for the Malli to send their warriors lower down into the country of the Oxydracæ, and there to make a decided stand; the Malli relied on the natural advantages

of their own country, and thought they had nothing to apprehend from a lateral attack, as they were separated from the river by a great extent of desert.

On the eighth day after its departure, the fleet had reached the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines. Hither Craterus and Hephæstion had been directed to march, and arrived when Alexander had decided on his expedition against the Malli. The elephants were ferried over, and placed under the care of Craterus, and he was commanded to proceed along the right bank of the Acesines; the remaining troops were divided into three corps. Hephæstion, with one division, commenced his march five days before Alexander; and Ptolemy was ordered to remain with another for three days after he had started. These dispositions were made with the design that Ptolemy's troops should intercept and cut off those who fled to the front, and Hephæstion's those who fled to the rear. The different divisions had commenced to reunite at the confluence of the Hydraotes and Acesines. With a select cohort of horse and foot, Alexander proceeded from the left bank of the river Acesines to cross the intervening desert, and on the western confines of it he arrived at a small stream which separated him from the territory of the Malli. Here he encamped, and allowed his men to take repose and refreshments. Before they marched he commanded that each should provide himself with water. They then pursued their journey, during the remainder of the day and the entire of the night, and as the dawn broke he found himself before one of the Mallian cities. The inhabitants were completely taken by surprise; they had entertained no apprehensions of an attack from that side of the bleak desert. Several of them were outside the walls pursuing their daily employments. These having been easily captured or destroyed in their defenceless condition, he then surrounded the city with his cavalry, and awaited the arrival of the infantry, who were following. In the meantime he dispatched Perdicas with some troops to another city of the Malli, within whose walls a great body of the Indians had fled for shelter; he had strict orders not to attempt to storm the place, but to confine himself to preventing the escape of any one who might alarm the country before he himself had arrived. The defences of the city which he first approached, after a smart resistance, were carried, and shortly after a strongly-fortified castle, erected on an eminence, was forced, and its defenders, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword. The Malli were taken entirely by surprise; the rapidity with which Alexander

* Williams' *Life of Alexander*; Grote's *History of Greece*; Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

had performed his forced march of over twenty-five miles across the desert, had deranged their plans, and their warriors were absent on some duty when the enemy appeared. The consequence was, that Perdiccas found the city against which he was sent abandoned and dismantled; and all the others, on the approach of the Macedonians, were similarly left to their fury. The inhabitants either fled beyond the Hydaspes, or sought the shelter of the dense jungles with which the marshy banks of the river were lined.

Having allowed his troops a brief respite from toil, Alexander set forward, and directed his course to the Hydraotes, and marching all night reached it early in the day, as some parties of the Malli were preparing to cross over. These he attacked, and slew many of them. He then passed the river, and found that several thousands had sought refuge there; vast numbers of these were slain and many taken prisoners, indeed, all who refused to surrender were put to the sword. The main body made good its escape into a city favourably situated for defence and strongly fortified. They were, however, unable to resist the assault of their enemies, the place was stormed and the garrison captured. Alexander then led his army against a city of "the Brachmans," evidently Brahmins. It is not possible to say whether all the inhabitants of this town were Brahmins, or whether it was the property of that predominant class. It is recorded that they made a noble defence. When their walls were undermined, and themselves galled by the darts of the Macedonians, they retreated from the city, and betook themselves to the citadel. The first body of assailants who approached they bravely opposed, and successfully repulsed, slaying twenty-five of them—this number of slain the Greeks admit. The citadel was so bravely defended that Alexander, who led the storming party, was the first to mount the scaling ladder, and was for a time the sole Macedonian occupant, till, as Arrian states, "his soldiers, ashamed of their backwardness, one after another climbed over the wall."* Thus was it at length won, and, when all hope was lost, the Indians set fire to their own houses and perished in the flames. Five thousand of them are reported to have fallen during the siege; and so great, says the historian, was their valour, that very few fell into the hands of the enemy.

Having afforded another day's rest to his wearied troops, a detachment was sent to scour the jungles, and to put indiscriminately to the sword all who refused to surrender. These orders were rapidly executed. Williams

* *Alexander's Expedition*, b. v. c. viii.

thinks it probable that it was in these jungles Peithon killed the largest snake which the Macedonians saw in India. It was twenty-four feet long, and although this is a small size for a boa-constrictor, it was a monster to which the Greeks had seen nothing similar, as the marshes of Lerna and the borders of the lake Copais had, since the heroic days, ceased to teem with these enormous reptiles. But the Indians assured them that serpents of far greater magnitude were to be seen.* According to Onesicritus, quoted by Strabo, the ambassadors that came from Abisares to Alexander reported that he kept two serpents, one eighty and the other one hundred and forty cubits long. It has been also noticed as a curious circumstance that the Macedonians did not see a Bengal tiger, although in modern days his ravages are very destructive between Gujrat and the lower Indus. They saw his skin, and heard some exaggerated reports respecting his size, strength, and ferocity. It is a fair inference from his non-appearance in the vales of the Indus and its tributaries, that the natives of these regions were, at the period of the Macedonian invasion, more powerful, populous, and warlike than in our days.

Alexander next led his forces against the chief city of the Malli, in which that warlike people, he heard, had concentrated, for better security, all who had abandoned the other cities. On his approach he found this town also had been evacuated, and that the inhabitants having crossed the Hydraotes, had drawn up their forces on its banks to dispute his passage. He did not hesitate, he intrepidly entered the river with the body of horse he led, although the bank which the Malli occupied was precipitous and the ascent steep and hazardous; his horse were followed and supported by the foot. The Indians, seeing him in the middle of the current, retired hastily and in good order from the bank, and were followed by Alexander. As soon as the Malli perceived that their pursuers consisted merely of a party of horse, they faced about and stood their ground, prepared for battle. Their force is stated to have been fifty thousand. Alexander having been joined by his reserves, the Indians declined an engagement, and retired into one of their fortified cities. He then pitched his tents beneath their walls, and resolved to besiege them in regular form. The late hour of the day, the fatigue of a long march and of crossing the river, induced him to defer any further proceedings till the next day, when his troops would have been cheered by rest and refreshment.

* Williams' *Life of Alexander*, p. 267.

Next morning his army was formed into two divisions. Perdiccas led one ; the other was led by himself in person. A fierce attack was conjointly made on the walls ; and when the Indians were unable to resist its force, they gave way and retired into the citadel. Alexander made an impetuous assault on one of the gates, burst it open, and took possession a considerable time before Perdiccas effected an entry. As soon as the latter had mounted the battlements, he perceived, from their being evacuated, that the city was already taken. Not so the citadel. To this the besieged had retired, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The Macedonians essayed, some to undermine the walls, others to scale them ; and the latter force endeavoured, in every possible position, to fix their ladders, with the determination of storming the place. Ardent and daringly impetuous, at all times, in action, Alexander appears to have acted with far more reckless daring since he had retired from the Hyphasis, than he ever before exhibited. There was no peril which he did not risk. Was it his chagrin at the interruption of his contemplated designs, or his anxiety to convince his insubordinate troops that each individual of them valued his personal safety more than he did, or a frantic indulgence in those stimulants which at no distant period hastened his end—perhaps it was a combination of all—that superinduced that morbid excitement which he latterly so constantly manifested, and which exposed him to so many otherwise unaccountable dangers ? The ardour of the troops, shown in the success which had already favoured them, appears to have been frigidity itself to the fierce spirit of Alexander. Not brooking such—to him—slow proceedings, he snatched a ladder from one of the soldiers, applied it to the wall, and covering himself with his shield, rapidly gained the summit. Three of his faithful friends were at his side in an instant. Alexander, in personal conflict, hurled headlong into the citadel the astonished soldiers who attempted to resist his ingress, and with the quickness of lightning cleared his way. The targeteers, in their eagerness to succour their royal master, crowded the ladders, these snapped beneath the pressure, not only hurling them to the ground, but obstructing the ascent of others. In the meantime, Alexander, all but alone, conspicuous by his armour, stood as a mark for the Indians—but none had the hardihood to confront him—recognized by every one. The imminent danger in which he stood suggested a bold resolve ; he leaped from the wall into the citadel, conjecturing that so startling a feat would confound the enemy, or

that his death would be more glorious, fighting in the midst of his foes. When inside, he placed his back against the wall ; some of his assailants he slew with his sword, and amongst the first the Indian commander. Thus fighting he struck such terror into them that none dared approach, but all from a distance endeavoured to dispatch him with their darts and such other missiles as they could command. The three who ascended, as stated, before the ladders broke, leaped with him from the walls and fought like heroes to save their king. Abreas, one of them, fell dead, struck with an arrow. Alexander's breastplate was pierced by another, and so serious a wound inflicted in the breast, that Ptolemy states, such was the effusion of blood, it was for some time considered fatal. Though he still valiantly defended himself, he was at length seized with a dizziness in the head and chillness through his limbs, and fell forward on his shield. His two surviving companions, struggling to protect him, were seriously wounded. The excitement outside the walls was intense in consequence of the imminent peril of the king in the hands of his foes, and the means of scaling the walls being destroyed. At length, by the combined aid of iron pins driven into the walls, and by some of the soldiers mounting on the shoulders of others, the top was gained. The gate was shortly after forced, soon a rampart of his devoted soldiers was formed round his prostrate body ; and thus was he saved from further peril.

Frightful was the carnage made amongst the brave Malli ; every man, woman, and child that fell into the hands of the Macedonians was mercilessly butchered. Alexander was borne away on a shield, and very little hopes entertained of his recovery.

While the king's life was still in danger a report reached the camp, whence he had set out on this expedition, that he was dead. The alarm which this produced was intense and general, and only equalled by regret for a prince to whom they were so devotedly attached. The camp was one scene of lamentation as the rumour flew from mouth to mouth. When the first agony of sorrow had subsided, then succeeded feelings of perplexity and despondence. Who would succeed to the command of the army where many had equal claims, but none paramount ? Who was qualified to conduct them, when the master spirit was no more, through so many fierce and warlike nations, several of whom had never experienced the prowess of the Macedonian soldiery, and who, in all probability, would fight, determinedly, for the preservation of their independence. Others, only

too anxious to avail themselves of any specious opportunity to cast off a foreign yoke, would consider that the death of Alexander released them from all fear. Besides, they were apprehensive of the obstacles they had to encounter in traversing countries so extensive and diversified, intersected with rivers as formidable, perhaps, as those they had so recently met with. These considerations produced the most profound sensation amongst all grades of the army. They were almost driven to despair. Indeed, every danger was exaggerated in the absence of their king. When correct intelligence was at length conveyed to the camp, the messengers were not credited: even when letters came announcing his intended arrival amongst them in a very short time, the news was pronounced apocryphal, and suspected to be the contrivance of his body-guards and his generals, to quiet the universal feeling of dissatisfaction.

Fearful that this state of uncertainty might lead to very serious results, and perhaps eventuate in an insurrection, the moment he felt that the state of his health would justify his removal, Alexander ordered that he should be conveyed to the banks of the Hydraotes, and thence by water to his camp. On his approach he gave directions that the cover of his royal pavilion should be hoisted upon the poop of the vessel, to be seen by the whole army. These demonstrations failed to remove the general incredulity. It was only when passing before their eyes, and he extended his right hand to salute his faithful followers, that confidence was restored, and the whole army felt that their living king, and not his lifeless body, was nearing the place of debarkation. A simultaneous shout of joy pealed along the expectant groups that crowded to bid him welcome. Some with hands extended to heaven poured forth their thanksgivings for his recovery. Others, under the influence of the sudden transition from grief to joy, melted into tears. He declined the attentions of his retinue, who wished to convey him to his quarters in his litter; he ordered his horse to be brought, and having mounted, he rode through the ranks, receiving as he passed the joyous acclamations of the whole army, the banks and neighbouring wood echoing with the sound. Before he entered his tent he leaped from his horse, and showed himself on foot, to assure them of his recovered strength and health.

The Malli and Oxydracæ both sent ambassadors to present their submission, and to tender to him the government of their nations: the Malli soliciting pardon for their resistance, the Oxydracæ for their tardy surrender, and to profess their obedience to him. They thought themselves not unworthy of his con-

sideration, because, like other free nations, they had a strong desire of living according to their own laws, which liberty, they are reported to have told him, they had enjoyed, free and unmolested, from the time that Bacchus conquered India to that day. As they understood that he was also the offspring of a god, if it were his pleasure they would accept a satrap of his selection, pay whatever tribute he thought proper to impose, and surrender to him as many hostages as he would require. From the Malli he exacted no further concessions; the loss they had previously sustained he considered sufficient to ensure their future obedience. From the Oxydracæ he demanded one thousand hostages, the bravest and noblest of their nation, whom he said he would detain or use as soldiers till he had conquered the rest of India. These were immediately sent, and with them five hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers. Over both nations he appointed Philip as satrap, and being gratified with the munificent presents of the Oxydracæ, he freely sent back to them their hostages, and only reserved the chariots.

While he was under the care of his medical men, and restrained from active operation, the army was employed in constructing more ships near the confluence of the Hydraotes (Ravee), and Acesines (Chenab). As soon as his health was sufficiently recruited he resumed his voyage, having added to the strength of the land force on board, and sailed down the river slowly, to enable him to carry on more actively and efficiently his operations against the nations occupying both its banks. At the junction of the Acesines with the Indus (Punjun), in the southern extremity of the Punjab, Alexander ordered Philip to erect a new city, with adequate docks and every accommodation for ship building. His object in so doing was to command the navigation. Here he was joined by Perdicas, who, with a part of the land force, had been engaged in the subjugation of the Abastani, or Avasthanas, an independent tribe of Indians. He also received the submission of the Ossadians, and an accession to his fleet from the banks of the Acesines. Of a city built here for the cultivation and preservation of Indian commerce, not a vestige remains. Thirlwal conjectures, or rather repeats a conjecture, that the small town of Mittun stands in its place. Alexander's father-in-law, Oxyartes, paid him a visit during his sojourn here, probably, as Thirlwal considers, to communicate to him the intelligence that a revolt had broken out among the Greeks settled in Bactria, and to report the misconduct of Tyriaspes, the satrap of Paropamisus. The latter was deprived of

his government, which was bestowed on Oxyartes. Having no further need of so great a land force on board, a large body, including all the Thracians, was left with Philip, and a considerable force with the elephants, was disembarked on the left bank of the Indus to pursue their course to the Delta. This route was judiciously selected, as the country presented few natural obstructions to their progress, and it was imperative, for the preservation of communication, that the natives should be overawed. Alexander next reached the capital of the Sogdi,* and transformed it into a Greek colony, which he named Alexandria. This town he also supplied with an arsenal, and other commercial conveniences, and refitted a part of his fleet there. The prince whose territories he next reached is by the classic writers named Musicanus. This state was reported by them to be the richest, in wealth and natural productions, of all the Indian nations visited by the Macedonians. The contemplation of its abundance filled Alexander with admiration. Burnes thinks that the traces of its capital are to be found in the ruins of Alore, four miles distant from Bukkur, which tradition repeats was once the chief city of a mighty kingdom, ruled by a Brahmin, who was slain by the Moslems in the seventh century.† “This description,” says Williams, “suits well with the rich and well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy, and the Indus. Musicanus and Oxycanus, the appellations of neighbouring chiefs, point probably to the names of the territories governed by these princes; as the word *khawn* is constantly found, even to this day, on the lower Indus, such as Chuck-kawn, Khawn-gur, and Gur-khawn, and other different compounds. Musicanus, perhaps, might be probably described in the modern English fashion as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxycanus as the Rajah of Ouche.”‡ Musicanus was permitted to re-

tain the possession of his kingdom on condition that a fortress should be built in the city, under the superintendence of Craterus, to be occupied by a Macedonian garrison. This precaution was taken, the situation being well fitted to command the surrounding country. The next subjugation was the territory of Oxycanus. This prince was slain or taken prisoner. During this expedition, the Brahmins, whose influence unfortunately for him was great, induced Musicanus to make a patriotic effort to expel the impious invader, who, they said, had sacrilegiously dared to violate their sacred soil with his impure footstep. Peithon, with a sufficient force, was dispatched against him; defeat followed defeat, patriotism fired by religious zeal failed. The king and his priests were crucified,—a conspicuous spectacle, and appalling warning to any of the adjacent states whose aspirations were for independence. Alexander had neared the terminus of his Indian voyage, and was approaching the upper part of the Delta, where the Indus divides into two branches of unequal extent. The enclosed space was named Pattalene by the Greeks, from its chief city Pattala, a little below the point at which the stream divides, and in all probability not far from the modern town Hyderabad. Hephæstion received orders to strongly fortify this place, which had been evacuated by its inhabitants on his approach, but these had been induced to return. A citadel was erected, a harbour constructed, docks built sufficient to contain a large fleet, and wells dug, and other provisions made for the supply of troops and travellers. Dr. Vincent considers that Alexander had conceived a plan of the commerce which was afterwards carried on from Alexandria in Egypt to the Indian Ocean, and that this is capable of demonstration by his conduct after his arrival at Pattala. In his passage down the Indus, he says, he had evidently marked that river as the eastern boundary of his empire; he had built three cities, and founded two others on this line, and he was now preparing for the establishment of Pattala, at the point of the division of the river, and planning other posts at its eastern and western mouths. Droysen describes Alexander's object to have been nothing less than to facilitate the communication between Pattala and the east of India,

solution of the difficulty here by Williams and Ritter, is entirely grounded on the improbability that *khan* is Turkish. Had he known as much of the *Celtic*, and of its close affinity with Sanscrit, as does the erudite author of *Gomer*, he would have been enabled to discover, with little search, that *khan*, a head chief, father of a clan, is to be found in a far older language than the Turkish—in its matrix, in fact, a language too which has left its nomenclature in the East as well as in the West.

* *Sogdi*, in the language of the country, signifies valley. This is why it recurs.

† Burnes, vol. i. p. 66.

‡ These names are an etymological puzzle, says the Bishop of St. David's (*History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 53, note), tempting from the seeming readiness of solution. Mr. Williams thinks that they “point to the names of the territories governed by these princes, because the word *khawn* is constantly found even to this day on the lower Indus, so that Musicanus might be properly described as the Rajah of Moosh, and Oxycanus as the Rajah of Ouche.” “I am surprised,” the bishop proceeds, “to find that Ritter entertained a similar opinion. Do we not require some better evidence that the *Turkish* title *khan* was in use before the time of Alexander on the lower Indus?” In the still existing obscurity in which the native Indian records are immersed, the right reverend historian cannot expect to obtain much information unless from companions of Alexander, of what was in use before his time on the lower Indus. The objection he makes to the philological

and to open it for the caravans from the countries on the Ganges, and from the Deccan. Thirlwal sees a great difficulty in believing either that Alexander had acquired sufficient information as to the geography of India to form such a plan, or that he had the means of using it, and that his view seems to have been confined, for the time at least, to two points—the survey of the mouths of the river, and of the Delta, and the establishment of commercial intercourse with the west.* The two objections advanced against Droysen do not appear to be well grounded, as it is well known that Alexander's original design was to reach the Ganges. Its position, the productions on its banks, the commerce carried on upon its waters, he had means of ascertaining from the many persons of station and information with whom he had communication in the several kingdoms he had subdued. The condition of the Deccan he also must have known; and it is more than probable among nations, then, confessedly, in the same stage, at least, of civilization, as at present, that several of the towns laid waste by his troops were emporiums of a large and an extensive commerce, and that among his objects in erecting so many new cities, not the least was to attract and engross the commerce which, by their destruction, would be diverted to his own. It must not be forgotten, in addition, that the Indian caravans were no strangers to the monarchs of Persia and other western powers.

As soon as the works at Pattala had made some advance, Alexander began his preparations for his march homewards. Having no further occasion for so large a land force, as he apprehended no resistance on his progress to the mouth of the Indus, he had previously ordered Craterus, with three brigades of heavy infantry, some light troops, and the elephants, accompanied by the Macedonian invalids, to march westward through Arachosia and Drangiana to Caramania, and in all probability through the pass called Bolan by the moderns. He embarked late in the year 325, in a squadron of his swiftest galleys, and sailed down the right arm of the river, while Leonnatus, in command of eight thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry, proceeded by land along the same side of the Delta. After encountering some difficulties produced by a smart gale, which, meeting the rapid current of the Indus, caused a swell, he for the first time came in sight of the Indian Ocean. The ebbing and flowing of the tides, by their fury, created much surprise and alarm to men hitherto acquainted only with the comparatively placid waters of the inland seas, or those convenient to the southern

and eastern shores of Europe. Having passed the mouth of the Indus, Alexander put out to the open sea, that he might survey whether any land lay to the south. He then returned to Pattala to convince himself that the orders he had given were faithfully executed. He found the fortifications of the citadel completed, and Peithon arrived with a very satisfactory report of what he had done. The works of the harbour were yet unfinished; the time at his disposal till their completion he appropriated to the exploration of the left arm of the Indus. He found that here the stream expanded into a broad gulf, which he at once concluded would make a safe and capacious naval station. He had docks constructed, and magazines, in which he stored four months' provisions, and left a garrison sufficient for its protection. The home-bound fleet, entrusted to the command of Nearchus, was awaiting the arrival of a more propitious season. The recent observations made in the Indian Ocean, and the fact that it was boundless, of which three days' sail convinced him, led to the conclusion that no land intervened between the mouth of the Indus and the Persian Gulf. Were the correctness of this speculation confirmed by actual survey, a new road would be opened for facile intercourse between the eastern and the western portions of his dominions both for commercial enterprise, and for all strategic purposes. Here were the means for consolidating a mighty and far-spreading empire. To expose Nearchus, after his invaluable services, to the perils of this voyage, Alexander was, or pretended to be, adverse. With such great and enlightened objects in view, as he here gets credit for, it is not too much to say that to this officer's experience he was anxious to entrust it. It is stated that he consulted him as to who was best qualified to lead the fleet home. When he is found himself in the command, it may be fairly presumed, he proffered his services to his sovereign. Thirlwal is justified in suspecting the reluctance which Alexander is said to have expressed, to permit so valued a friend to embark on so perilous an adventure; and that he desired the offer should be freely made by Nearchus for the sake of the confidence with which it would inspire those who were placed under his orders.

Some surprise has been expressed that there do not survive throughout India historical evidences or traditions of the Macedonian invasion. That there should not, would be by no means extraordinary, considering how small a portion of the peninsula was affected, and how transitory was the imposition of the foreign rule. In the

* Thirlwal's *History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 56.

archives of some of the princes of the north-western provinces, however, some records of it may yet be found; as also in the recent accumulation of coins, not alone in Bactria, but within the confines of India; and in the relics of discovered ruins, such as those of the ancient city of Brahminabad, which may reward their explorers with further and more elucidatory evidence than even the "glass and glazed earthenware," formed upon Greek models, which, as has been previously remarked,* will possibly throw light upon the interval between the Greek and Mohammedan periods of Indian history. Some traditional knowledge of Alexander's invasion of India is preserved in the northern provinces;† there is also a race of rajahs claiming descent from Porus. Among the inhabitants of Kaffirstan—still *terra incognita*—as also among those of Badakshan, on the other or northern side of the Hindoo Koosh, there exist traditions of Alexander, and a sort of belief that they themselves are descended from his soldiers.‡ A seid, who was a professor of theology in the city of Tatta, and looked upon by the Indians as a good historian, asked Captain Hamilton whether in his country he had ever heard of Alexander the Great. The captain replied in the affirmative, and mentioned the victory he gained over Porus as a proof of it. The seid then said, that according to their historians, Shah Hasander§ made war upon Porus, and that, being a great magician, he by his art collected above a million wild geese, which carried his army over the river; and that they also relate that Porus's elephants could not be brought to turn their heads towards the place where Alexander was.|| The incident of the wild geese, fabulous as it is, is a verification of the fact that the historians referred to by the seid, alluded to the transport of the Macedonian troops; for the reader will remember by what an ingenious and singular contrivance that feat was accomplished, and how the white coverings of their tents were formed into bags and inflated. These were, naturally enough, transformed into wild geese in the fables of a simple and credulous people.

The close of the month of August (B. C. 325) witnessed the completion of the preparations for the departure of both armaments. And in the following month Alexander set out and marched westward, through the territories of the Arabitæ and the Oritæ, and then through

the deserts of Gedrosia. Pura, the capital of the latter, was sixty days' march distant from the confines of the Oritæ. The incidents of the journey and voyage are interesting; but having dismissed the Macedonian conqueror from Hindostan, his future career is alien to our purpose.

The Macedonian episode in Indian history has been rather fully given, and an attempt made to trace the conqueror's approach to India from an early period of his Asiatic operations. The first impression made upon him by the reputed wealth and power of that country, the stimulant furnished to push forward in pursuit of the fugitive Darius, and subsequently of Bessus, till in Bactria, he found himself in communication with Hindoo exiles as well as Hindoo mercenaries—all these incidents are links in a chain of consequence, individually and collectively dependent; and the most remote exercised, and perhaps still exercises, and will exercise, an influence over India. The various stages of Alexander's progress to the Indus are subjects not of vague curiosity. The extension of British territory to the west of the Indus and advances towards Persia; the precautions that may be necessitated, to repress the appetite for Asiatic acquisitions in that direction; the requirements which, already, contemplate an electric communication through the valley of the Euphrates, may render the particulars detailed of Alexander's eastern progress not the least pertinent and important of the pages of the history of the British empire in the East.

The rapidity with which Alexander had passed through and from India, had not allowed sufficient time for the consolidation of his newly-acquired dominions; and though we perceive that he took able precautions to perpetuate them, the premature termination of his career, the dissensions and conflicts which arose between his successors, the general insecurity, snapped asunder the ties which could preserve together such a mass of incongruous components. India, though the most remote province, was in all probability the first seriously affected. The detached garrisons left behind were but too eager to return home; and had they wished to remain, what support had they to rest upon? Those princes who bent to the foreign yoke were the bravest and the first of their race to resist the Macedonians. Their submission was a necessity, not a choice; and when the death of Alexander was made known, they probably were the first to raise the standard of revolt. If the Greeks were the Javans of the Hindoos they, after some years, are met with in Indian history merely as mercenaries.

* Chap. vii. p. 157.

† Robertson's *Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 301, note viii.

‡ Grote's *Greece*, vol. xii. p. 305.

§ The Mohammedan name for Alexander.

|| Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 127. Edinburgh, 1727.

In the partition of the empire, which followed soon after the death of Alexander, it is evident that the Indian provinces, or those adjacent to them, were not considered the chief prizes; though their wealth and variety of productions should have made them the most desirable. That they were not so considered can be explained only by their distance from the seat of government, the insecurity of tenure, and the difficulty to displace their governors, principally native princes, who owed merely a nominal allegiance. Thus Taxiles was permitted to rule in India; Porus continued in his dominions; Oxyartes, in Paropamisus; while the southern provinces were committed to Peithon; Babylonia, to Archon; Mesopotamia, to Archelaus; and in the west, Ptolemy had obtained Egypt, Arabia, and Lybia; Nearchus, Pamphylia and Lycia; Leonnatus, Hellespontine Phrygia; and Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia: and in Europe, Macedonia and Greece, together with the western countries on the coast of the Adriatic, were divided between Antipater and Craterus.

He who, of all the generals of Alexander, alone figures after his death in Indian history, Seleucus, is not to be found amongst those who shared in the partition. The cause of this, perhaps, is to be found in the fact, that he was the friend and partizan of Perdikkas, who was then in the ascendant, and was retained by him near his person. Though no sharer, as it appears in the satrapies, he was entrusted with the Chiliarchy, the appointment bestowed on Perdikkas himself. This was a post of the highest importance, and, in the Persian court, was equivalent to that of prime-minister, or grand vizier of the whole empire. It was held by Alexander's great favourite Hephæstion, to whom he would not permit a successor. In the contests for power which succeeded, Seleucus, it is recorded, was obliged to abdicate the government of Babylon, but afterwards recovered and subjected to his sway all the provinces beyond the Euphrates. This brought him in contact with Sandrocottus, or Chandragupta, the King of Magada, already mentioned among the rulers of that kingdom. History does not relate the circumstance which brought him into collision with that prince. It is likely that Chandragupta was led by the dissensions which involved the Greek chiefs in war, to assert his own independence, and perhaps to encroach upon territories which were subject to them. Indeed, it is alleged that under the specious pretext of enabling the Indians to shake off the yoke of the foreigners, he assembled an army of six hundred thousand men, and a prodigious

number of elephants, and made himself master of India; and that it was in order to recover the dominions thus appropriated, Seleucus marched over the Indus, and seeing the formidable force at the command of the Indian, thought it expedient to enter into terms of amity with him, and not to hazard the force under his command, which were better preserved to meet the storm which he had to apprehend from the threatening aspect of affairs in the west, where Antigonus and his son Demetrius, not satisfied with having compelled him to fly his satrapy of Babylon, were prosecuting war against his friends, and had recently ravaged Babylonia. Seleucus yielded the conquests he had made, and to cement an alliance gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Indian. It is probable that the concession of territory included all that had been acquired by Alexander and himself east of the Indus, and all that which lay between the upper Indus and the mountains. From Chandragupta, among other presents, he received five hundred elephants; and some, perhaps, if not all, of the hundred war chariots which he had in his army—contingents which had no small influence in achieving shortly after the decisive battle of Ipsus, in which his enemy Antigonus was slain, and his son obliged to fly. Chandragupta reigned, according to the *Varu Parana*, twenty-four years, and according to the *Mahawanso*, thirty-four; and as Professor Wilson calculates, ascended the throne about B. C. 313.* The last-mentioned authority asserts that this is the most important name in all the lists of Indian kings, as it can scarcely be doubted that he is the Sandrocottus, or, as Athenæus writes more correctly, the Sandrocoptus of the Greeks.

Although from this time the power of the Greeks was no longer dominant in India, there is no doubt a commercial communication was maintained between Syria and India. As Professor Wilson remarks—"Now it is certain that a number of very curious inscriptions on columns and rocks by a Buddhist prince, in an ancient form of letter and in the Pali language, exists in India, and that some of them refer to Greek princes, who can be no other than members of the Seleucidan and Ptolemean dynasties, and are probably Antiochus the Great and Ptolemy Euergetes, kings of Syria and Egypt in the latter part of the third century before Christ." Athenæus states that Amithrocates, King of India, probably of the family of Sandracottus, wrote to Antiochus, one of Seleucus's descendants, to request that prince to send him a quantity of sweet wine, dried figs, and a Greek sophist, for which he offered to pay whatever might

* *Vishnu Parana*, p. 471.

be demanded of him. Antiochus, in answer to his letter, informed him that he would send him an abundant supply of figs and wine; but that the laws of the Greeks did not permit him to sell a Greek sophist. The result of this correspondence has not been transmitted to posterity.

The references to India, by the historians of the Roman empire, are few, disjointed, and therefore not very important. From the time of Chandragupta to the reign of Augustus, the Roman influence very partially operated on the eastern provinces of the Persian empire; and probably more slightly still, on the realms beyond the Indus. In the reign of Augustus the Roman power had reached the zenith of its glory. In person, or by his generals, he had crushed all opposition at home and abroad. Suetonius relates that by the character he had thus acquired, the Scythian and Indian nations, before known to the Romans only by report, sent ambassadors to court his friendship.* Orosius,† recording this circumstance, adds that the Indian envoys came from a prince called Porus, and found Augustus in Spain. The object of their mission was to form an alliance. Some considerable time having been spent in useless negotiation, another embassy was dispatched by Porus some years after to Augustus, whom they met at Samos, for the final adjustment of affairs. Nicolas, of Damascus, saw these ambassadors, who, he says, were reduced to three, their companions having expired at Antioch, from the fatigues of their wearisome and protracted journey. According to him, they brought with them a letter written upon parchment or vellum, in Greek, intimating that Porus ruled over six hundred kings; that he highly valued Cæsar's friendship, and was ready to serve him, in everything reasonable, to the extent of his power. The retinue of these ambassadors is described, and their costume is that of the Hindoos. They wore a sort of loose trousers or drawers, and were perfumed with aromatic unguents. They were the bearers of presents from their royal master. Amongst these were articles which the Indians alone would consider worthy of royal acceptance. Several vipers of large size, a serpent above fifteen feet long, a river tortoise nearly five, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were likewise accompanied by a Brahmin Zarmanochagas, who afterwards burnt himself at Athens, as Calanus had done before at Pasargadæ.‡ Zarmanochagas is said to have destroyed himself in the

height of his prosperity, to escape from future misfortune. He approached the pile with a smiling countenance, and had upon his tomb the following inscription:—"Here lies Zarmanochagas, the Indian, of Bargaosa, who voluntarily terminated his life in conformity with a custom prevalent among his countrymen." Pliny states that in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, Annius Plocamus, a freedman, having farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was, while sailing along the coast of Arabia, driven by contrary winds into Hippuros,* a port of Taprobane (Ceylon); here he was entertained during a period of six months with the greatest hospitality. To his royal host he gave an account of the power and greatness of the Roman empire. The king examining the money which Plocamus had brought with him, observed that the *denarii*, though coined in different places, were uniformly of the same weight. This circumstance gave him a high opinion of the integrity of the Romans, and induced him to send an embassy to Rome. The Ceylon embassy was composed of four persons, the chief of whom was named Rachias,† a man of great influence in the island. The object of their mission was to establish an alliance with the Romans. Pliny furnishes much of the information communicated by these on their arrival. According to their statements Ceylon was then in a flourishing condition, and the great probability is, that it was. Among other things, they told that there were five hundred towns in the island; that Palæsimundum, the capital, was so extremely populous that one part of it contained 200,000 inhabitants, and that from an extensive lake, named Mequisba, there flowed two rivers, one called Cydara;‡ that it abounded in gold, silver, pearls, and all kinds of jewels. Diodorus tells a remarkable story which has been generally held to refer to Ceylon. According to him, Jambulus, the son of a merchant, on his way to the spice countries, was taken prisoner by the Aithiopians,§ and after a time, with one companion, placed in a boat, and left to his fate. Having been a long time at the mercy of the waves, he came to an island rich in all kinds of natural productions, and 5000 stadia round. Jambulus stayed there seven years, and thence went to Palibothra, the capital of Magada, where he was well re-

* Hippuros may be identified with the modern Kudremalai, which has the same meaning in Sanscrit.

† Rachia, Rajaih, or Raha.

‡ Cydara, the Kundara, or Kadambo of the *Mahawanso*, or *Great History of Ceylon*; now Aripo. Translated by Turnour.

§ *Aithiopians*. Herodotus (b. iii. p. 94, vii. p. 70) mentions Aithiopians in Asia. It generally meant all the sunburnt, dark-complexioned races, and thus included the peoples of Hindostan.

* *Lives of the Cæsars: Augustus*, chap. xxi.

† Alfred the Great translated this author.

‡ Pasargadæ, a great city of the early Persians, situated, according to the best authorities, on the small river Cyrus, now Kur, in a plain on all sides surrounded by mountains. —SMITH'S *Geographical Dictionary*.

ceived by the king, who is said to have been friendly to the Greeks.* Though the details of this voyage are fabulous, yet the narrative seems to be founded on facts and points—as is well observed in Smith's invaluable work, the *Roman and Greek Geography*—to an early intercourse between the shores of eastern Africa and India. Theophrastus in his *Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus*, makes mention of two Indian kings, named Phraortes, to the court of the younger of whom Tyanaeus paid a visit. The king is described as having, under the tuition of his father, made great progress in Grecian literature, and subsequently spent seven years with the Brahmins studying their philosophy. After Trajan had entirely subdued the Daci, A. D. 105, and formed into a Roman province their territories, which contained what is now called the Banat of Temesvar, Hungary, east of the Theiss, the whole of Transylvania, the Bukowina, the south point of Galicia, Moldavia west of the Pruth, and the whole of Wallachia, and had subdued several nations in alliance with them, the fame of his conquests extended to the most distant regions of the earth. Ambassadors were sent even from the remote India to congratulate him on the success of his arms. Eutropius records that he fitted out a fleet for an Indian expedition, and to ensure success had informed himself of the customs, strength, and manner of fighting of the inhabitants. Indeed, the Romans had the vanity to assert that India had been brought under their sway, and equally groundless was their claim to the conquest of Arabia. Aurelius Victor records that an embassy arrived in Rome from the Indians, stimulated by the reports which had reached them of the great wisdom, justice, and moderation of Antoninus Pius. The objects they sought, or the results of their journey, do not appear. In the triumph which celebrated the overthrow of Zenobia, and the fall of her interesting kingdom, and the destruction of proud Persepolis, amid the groups who followed the triumphal car of the conqueror Aurelian, were several Indians, accompanied too by their neighbours the Bactrians, and the more easterly Seres.† Two Indian embassies visited the Emperor Constantine, one the bearer of magnificent presents. The latest mention of India by the ancients, is that by Cosmas Egyptius,‡ or as he is more commonly called Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the reign of Justinian. When Cosmas wrote, his friend, Thomas Edessenus, was promoted to the archbishopric, or pri-

macy, of Persia, and probably sent some clergymen to Calliana (Calicut). There were many Christians at this time in India, whose introduction into the peninsula, and all that may be gleaned pertaining to their establishment and progress there, shall receive due attention, after having disposed of what little remains to be collected from Indian sources, of its ante-Mohammedan history.

As henceforth all trace, except a few disputed references, which will be noticed in their proper place, of Indian transactions, is lost in western history, till the appearance of the followers of Mohammed upon the stage, the only sources available are the native, and the information supplied is derived, chiefly, from the fourth book of the *Vishnu Parana*, which Professor Wilson affirms contains all that the Hindoos have of their ancient history. Though this work contains a comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals, it is a barren record of events. It can be scarcely doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities, in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted, and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an inartificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, and a possibility, nay, a probability, in some of the transactions which give to these traditions the semblance of authenticity, and render it likely that they are not altogether without foundation. At any rate, in the absence of all other sources of information, the record, such as it is, deserves not to be altogether set aside. It is not essential to its credibility, or its usefulness, that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. Their distribution among the several *yugas*, or ages, undertaken by Sir William Jones, or his pundits, finds no countenance from the original texts further than an incidental notice of the age in which a particular monarch ruled, or the general fact that the dynasties prior to Krishnu precede the time of the Mahabharata, or great war, and the beginning of the Kali age, both which events we are not obliged, with the Hindoos, to place five thousand years ago. To that age the solar dynasty of princes offers ninety-three descents, the lunar but forty-five, though they both commence at the same time. Some names may have been added to the former list, some omitted in the latter; and it seems most likely that, notwithstanding their synchronous beginning, the princes of the lunar race were subsequent to those of the solar race. They avowedly branched off from the solar line.

* Pliny, b. vi. c. xxii.

† Vopiscus, in *Vit Aurelian*, p. 218. These Seres are said to have dwelt on the confines of China.

‡ A monk.

"Deducting, however, from the larger number of princes a considerable proportion, there is nothing to shock probability in supposing that the Hindoo dynasties and their ramifications were spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the war of the Mahabharata; and, conjecturing that event to have happened about fourteen centuries before Christianity, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about two thousand six hundred years before that date. This may or may not be too remote; but it is sufficient, in a subject where precision is impossible, to be satisfied with the general impression, that in the dynasties of kings, detailed in the *Paranas*, we have a record which, although it cannot fail to have suffered detriment from age, and may have been injured by careless or injudicious compilation, preserves an account, not wholly undeserving of confidence, of the establishment and succession of regular monarchies amongst the Hindoos, from as early an era, and for as continuous a duration, as any in the credible annals of the world." *

The grandson of Chandragupta was Asokavarddhana. In the annals of the Buddhists there is no prince so celebrated, nor one whose memory is so highly revered by the members of that widely spread and influential sect. Educated in the religion of the Brahmins, he embraced Buddhism, and as has been previously observed, became an energetic propagandist. India abounds with memorials of his zeal.

An epitome was given, in a preceding chapter, of ancient Indian history down to the failure of the descendants of Chandragupta, who were called the Mauryan dynasty. To them succeeded the dynasty of the Sungas. Their elevation to the throne was accomplished through the murder of his sovereign, the last of the preceding dynasty, by his general, Pushpamitra. This usurper is represented in an ancient Indian play as engaged in conflict with the Yavanas (Greeks) on the Indus. Hence it may be inferred that political relations were still continued with the Greeks or Scythians of Bactria and Ariana. Ten princes of this house wielded the sceptre; the last of whom, Derabhati, having surrendered himself to the indulgence of his libidinous passions, was cut off by his minister, Vasudeva, who usurped the throne. Four of the family reigned during a period of forty-five years. The last of them, Susarman, was killed by a powerful servant of the Andhra tribe, who became king, and founded the Andhra-bhritya†

* Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, Preface, p. lxiv.

† *Bhritya*, the last word in this compound signifies a slave.

dynasty. Thirty of this family reigned, and during a period of four hundred and fifty-six years. This dynasty is of great chronological interest. Pliny notices the race of Andhra princes, and describes them as possessing thirty fortified towns, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and one thousand elephants, in the earlier part of the Christian era. Calculating from the commencement of the reign of Chandragupta, according to the number of years assigned to the respective dynasties in the text, it will be found that the total of all amounts to about seven hundred and thirty; deducting from this date, B.C. 312, the reign of the first of the line would commence eighteen years before the Christian era. In the Chinese records, quoted by Des Guignes,* mention is also made of Indian potentates whose names appear to agree with some members of this line, as Yue-gnai (Yajnasri), King of Kiapili, A.D. 408, and Holomein (Puloman), King of Magada, A.D. 621. The *Paranik* lists place these two princes close together.† If the Indian Puloman be the same with the Chinese Holomein, there must be some considerable omission in the *Paranik* dynasty, but in the case of Holomein a prince of Magada is obviously alluded to. The place of his residence is called by the Chinese Kia-so-mo-pulo-ching, and Potoli-tse-ching; or, in Sanscrit, Kusuma-pura and Patali-putra. The equivalent of the latter name consists not only in the identification of the sounds *Patali* and *Potoli*, but in the translation of "putra" by "tse," each word meaning in their respective language "son," obviously Patali Putra, or Palibothra, the capital city of the kingdom of Magada is meant. A third not less singular verification of the historical entity of the Andhra kings, has turned up at Gujerat in the form of an ancient inscription, recently discovered and deciphered by the late Mr. J. Prinsep—who has done so much in the development of Hindoo antiquities—in which Rudra Dama, the satrap of Surashtra, is recorded as having repeatedly overcome Satukarni, a name which occurs the sixth in this royal line, described as king of the southern country. Though the inscription is without date, its antiquity is indisputable, the character being very old, and Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka being mentioned as existing not very long prior to its composition. Mr. Prinsep thinks that Rudra Dama lived about one hundred and fifty-three years before Christ.‡ To this dynasty succeeded seven princes of

* Des Guignes, vol. i. pp. 45, 56.

† Wilson's *Vishnu Parana*, p. 473, note 63.

‡ See Prinsep's *Essays*, collected and lately published, —a valuable addition to Indian antiquities.

the line of the Abhiras, ten of the Gardhabas, sixteen of the Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusharas, thirteen Mundas, and eleven Maunas. Altogether seventy-nine princes are stated to have been sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years.

This series of reigns, if consecutive, and the number of years specified added to the date assumed for the termination of the Andhra line, would infringe upon the present century. Professor Wilson helps to solve the difficulty which here presents itself, and which is further complicated by the successions which carry extinct dynasties, if the order were intended to be continuous, into the remote future. They are not, he says, however, continuous, but merely contemporary dynasties; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and Scythian princes of the west of India, the periods may not be very wide of the truth. There is probably some confusion of the two races—the Magada and Talinga kings. “Wilford has attempted a verification of these dynasties, *in some instances*,” Wilson says, “perhaps with success—certainly *not in all*.” The Abhiras he calls the shepherd kings of the north of India, but Wilson is inclined to believe them Greeks, or Scythians, or Parthians, along the lower Indus. Wilford’s ingenious conjectures, with Wilson’s interesting running commentaries, are here given from a note on the text of the Paranas:—“Traces of the name occur in the Abiria of Ptolemy, and the Ahirs as a distinct race still exist in Gujerat: Araish Mehfil. The Sakas are the Sacæ, and the duration is not unlikely to be near the truth. The eight Yavana kings may be, as he supposes, Greek princes of Bactria, or rather of Western India. The Tusharas he makes the Parthians. If Tushkaras be the preferable reading they were the Tochari, a Scythian race. The Murundas, or, as he has it, Maurundas, he considers to be a tribe of Huns, the Morundæ of Ptolemy. According to the Matsya they were of Mlechchha origin, Mlechchha-sambhava, the Vayu calls them Arya-mlechchhas, query, barbarians of Ariana; Wilford regards the Maunas also as a tribe of Huns, traces of whom may be still found in the west and south of India. The Garddabhins, he conjectures to be the descendants of Bahram Gor, King of Persia, but this is very questionable. That they were a tribe in the west of India may be conjectured, as some strange tales there prevail of a Gandharba being changed into an ass. There is also evidently some affinity between these Garddabhins and the old Gadha Pysa, or ass money, as vulgarly termed, found in various parts of Western India, and which is unquestionably of ancient date. It may be

the coinage of the Garddabha princes, Garddabha being the original of Gadha, meaning also an ass.”* Several other princes are mentioned by name in the Parana, but as there are no authentic particulars by which they are identified at home, and no reference to them in contemporary history, or discovered monuments, there are no means of ascertaining whether they be not imaginary creations: for it must be observed that the historical details narrated in the Parana are delivered, as if in a prophetic spirit, long antecedent to their occurrence, and consequently the real and the ideal are separated by no line of demarcation, and where the borders meet, the truth itself is as shadowily indistinct as the fiction. The Paranas are written in the form of a dialogue. He who performs the leading part is Lomaharshana, the recorder of political and temporal events, the disciple of Vyasa, whose communications he is merely the medium of conveying. The concluding paragraphs of this historic book of the Parana have intrinsic merits to recommend them, and may appropriately close this chapter, indicating as they do the moral feeling, depth of thought, richness of imagination, and glow of expression characteristic of the orientals.

Lomaharshana is supposed to address his audience or readers:—“I have now given you a summary account of the sovereigns of the earth; to recapitulate the whole would be impossible, even in a hundred lives. These and other kings, who with perishable frames have possessed this ever-during world, and who, blinded with deceptive notions of individual occupation, that indulge the feelings and suggest, ‘This earth is mine—it is my son’s—it belongs to my dynasty,’ have all passed away. So many who reigned before them, many who succeeded them, and many who have yet to come, have ceased, or will cease, to be. Earth laughs as if smiling with autumnal flowers, to behold her kings unable to subjugate themselves. I will repeat the stanzas that were chanted by Earth, and which the Muni Asita communicated to Janaka, whose banner was virtue:—‘How great is the folly of princes who are endowed with the faculty of reason, to cherish the confidence of ambition when they themselves are but foam upon the sea. Before they have subdued themselves they seek to reduce their ministers, their servants, their subjects, under their authority, they then endeavour to overcome their foes. Thus, say they, will we conquer the ocean-circled earth; and, intent upon their project, behold not death, which is

* Wilson’s *Vishnu Parana*, p. 474, note 64.

not far off. But what matter is the subjugation of the mighty earth to one who can subjugate himself. Emancipation from existence is the fruit of self-control. It is through infatuation that kings desire to possess me, whom their predecessors have been forced to leave, whom their fathers have not retained. Beguiled by the selfish love of sway, fathers contend with sons, and brothers with brothers, for my possession. Foolishness has been the characteristic of every king who has boasted, All this earth is mine—everything is mine; it will be in my house for ever; for he is dead. How is it possible that such vain desires should survive in the heart of his descendants, who have seen their progenitors, absorbed by the thirst of dominion, compelled to relinquish me, whom he called his own, and to tread the path of dissolution? When I hear a king sending word to another by his ambassador, 'This earth is mine, immediately resign your pretensions to it, I am moved to violent laughter at first, but it soon subsides in pity for the infatuated fool.'

"These were the verses which Earth recited, and by listening to which ambition fades away like snow before the sun. I have now related to you the whole account of the descendants of Menu, among whom have flourished kings endowed with a portion of Vishnu, engaged in the preservation of the earth; whoever shall listen reverently, and with faith to this narrative, proceeding from the posterity of Menu, shall be purified entirely from his sins, and with the perfect possession of his faculties, shall live in unequalled affluence, plenty, and prosperity. He who has heard of the races of the sun and moon, of the great who have perished, and the illustrious whose posterity is no more; of kings of great might, resistless valour, and

unbounded wealth, who have been overcome by still more unbounded time, and are now only a tale, he will learn wisdom, and forbear to call either children, or wife, or house, or lands, or wealth, his own. The arduous penances that have been performed by men obstructing fate for countless years, religious rites and sacrifices of great efficacy and virtue, have been made by time the subject only of narration. The valiant Prithu traversed the universe, everywhere triumphant over his foes; yet he was blown away like the light down of the simal-tree, before the blast of time. He who was Kartavirya subdued innumerable enemies, and conquered the seven zones of the earth, but now he is only the topic of a theme, and a subject for affirmation and contradiction. Fie upon the empire of the sons of Raghu, who triumphed over Dasanana, and extended their sway to the ends of the earth, for was it not consumed in an instant by the frown of the destroyer? Mandhatri, the emperor of the universe, is embodied only in a legend, and what pious man who hears it will ever be so unwise as to cherish the desire of possession in his soul? The most glorious have only appeared and passed away. Is it so? Have they ever really existed? Where are they now? We know not! The powerful kings who now are, or who will be, as I related them to you, or any others who are unspecified, are all subject to the same fate, and the present and the future will perish and be forgotten like their predecessors. Aware of this truth, a wise man will never be influenced by the principle of individual appropriation; and regarding them as only transient and temporal possessions, he will not consider children and posterity, lands and property, or whatever else is personal, to be his own."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA FROM ITS INTRODUCTION TO THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH.

THE most marvellous chapter in the history of the world is that which records the successful mission of the carpenter of Galilee, and of the humble instruments—for the most part illiterate fishermen—whom he called to promote the promulgation of his gospel. All of humble birth; the disciples of no celebrated school of philosophy; possessing none of the recommendations which ordinarily command respect, distinction, and influence; abnegating

the world in which they moved; and entirely devoted to the "kingdom of God;" despised of all men; excommunicated from all social intercourse by the Jews; cursed three times a day publicly in their synagogues; accused of many things, both absurd and detestable—of worshipping the sun, and the head of an ass—of being an idle and unprofitable race; charged with high treason, in conspiring to erect a new monarchy in opposition to that

of Rome; with killing a child and eating the flesh in the celebration of their mysteries; with being guilty of the most shocking incests and beastly intemperance in their feasts of charity;—yet, without other human aid than the purity of their lives, “eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, they grew in favour with all the people,” and triumphed over prejudice, calumny, and enmity. Pliny the Younger, who was governor of Bithynia and Pontus between the years 103 and 105, in a letter to the Emperor Trajan, testified that “their whole crime, if they were guilty, consists in this, that on certain days they assembled before sunrise, to sing alternately the praises of Christ, as of a god, and to oblige themselves by the performance of their religious rites, not to be guilty of theft or adultery, to observe inviolably their word, and to be true to their engagements: the superstition of these people is as ridiculous as their attachment to it is astonishing.” The Emperor Antoninus, in the year 152, in answer to charges preferred against them by the states of Asia, which had accused them of being the cause of some earthquakes which had happened in that part of the world, said “that they”—the pagans—“pay no regard to religion, and neglect the worship of the Eternal; and because the Christians honour and adore Him, therefore they are jealous of them, and persecute them even to the death.” That a people so inoffensive, humble, and unobtrusive, should have provoked the virulent hostility and savage persecutions to which they were repeatedly subjected during the three first centuries, though it surprises, is still capable of easy solution. The purity of the Christian morality was a living reproach to the habitual corruption of the vain-glorious Roman and Pharisaical Israelite. The reiteration of the many calumnies of the Jews subjected them to much public odium, and they were frequently condemned, not for offences perpetrated, but for crimes of which they were suspected. In addition to these was the fact, too, that the worship of the Saviour was in violation of one of the most ancient laws of the Roman commonwealth, which expressly forbade the recognition of any god who had not been approved by the senate. All human opposition was vain; the wise ones of the world were confounded, the work of the Lord prospered, the harvest was ripe for the sickle, and such was the miraculous success of the teaching of the “lowly Jesus,” that in the third century, “there were Christians in the camp, in the senate, in the palace, in short everywhere, but in the temples and theatres; they filled the towns, the country,

the islands; men and women of all ages and conditions, and even those of the first dignity, embraced the faith; insomuch that the pagan priests complained that their revenues were ruined. So numerous were they in the empire, that, as Tertullian affirms, were they to have retired into another country, they would have left the Romans a solitude for occupation.” As early as the apostolic times, devoted missionaries toiled their weary way through arid deserts, burning sands, and icebound realms, seeking the salvation of man and the glory of their heavenly father. That they penetrated to the remote parts of the world—east, west, north, and south—in obedience to the divine injunction, “Go forth into all lands and preach the gospel to every creature,” in the first, or early part of the second century, is known to the historical student. Christianity was, at a very early date, carried to the shores of the Euxine. It was established in the far isles of the West. An Irish missionary, Abennus, under the British prince Lucius, A.D. 201, founded the abbey of Abingdon, called after his name.* It had taken root in Ceylon, and the apostle Thomas had propagated it from the gates of Antioch to India; and even in China it was preached with success.

Though much of what is recorded concerning the planting of the primitive churches is involved in fable, arising in no small degree from the ambition of attributing their establishment to an apostle, or some one deriving his mission immediately from him, and no means exist of separating the false from what may be true, there is very strong and presumptive evidence that the Christian churches in India were planted by the apostle Thomas. There is an ancient tradition, preserved by Eusebius, that that apostle had Parthia assigned to him, in order that he should preach the gospel there: Fabricius, Hieronymus, Nicetas, Origen, Rufinus, Socrates, Gregory Nazianzen, Hippolytus, and Sophronius, agree in assigning him Parthia; but all the martyrologists, together with all the Christians who have lived in the Indian peninsula, concur in stating that he had in addition preached to the Indians, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, Carmanians, Ethiopians, and Indians. The following

* See *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury. Just issued. The larger portion of Berkshire was granted for the support of the monastery at Abingdon:—“Obtenuit autem memoratus Abbennus a rege Britonum, ad precum suarum instantiam. Maximam partem Berrocensis provinciæ, in qua de consensu regis et concilio regni monasterium feliciter fundavit, cui nomen Abendoniam, vel a nomine suo vel a loci vocabulo, alludenter imposuit” (p. 2.)

verse from St. Paulinus Natali confirms this latter statement :—

“Parthia Matheum complectitur, India Thomas.”

The eminent oriental scholar, Des Guignes, says, “a crowd of authors, both Greek and Syrian, are unanimous in stating that St. Thomas penetrated India to preach the word.”

Sojourning at Antioch, where the followers of Christ first adopted the name of “Christian,” and being made acquainted with the extent, population, and gross superstitions of the Indians, the inspired apostle was filled with holy zeal to rescue them from the fables and impure worship of the Brahmins, and to bring them from their state of darkness to the light of the gospel. It is related that on his way to India, he first visited the Island of Socotra, in the Arabian Gulf, the inhabitants of which he converted. Hence, he proceeded to Cranganore, where many were also won to the faith; he next reached Colanus, and there preached and converted many; he then crossed the intervening mountain range, and after a fatiguing journey arrived at the eastern coast, preaching Christ wherever he visited, and converting multitudes—particularly on the coast of Coromandel: he extended his journey to the Sinæ,* a people whose name and power were then greatly celebrated. Here his labours were crowned with success; and many temples were erected to the honour and glory of God. The apostle having given instructions for the regulation of the churches, returned back to Coromandel, to revisit and strengthen in the faith his recent converts. Meliapore was then the chief city of Coromandel, and the residence of the king. Here the apostle, proposing to erect an edifice to the Lord, was obstructed by the pagan priests, supported by their king Sagamas. The early Christian martyrologists relate, that, by the aid of a miracle, he conquered the obstinacy of the prince. The difficulty which demanded his special interference is one which might even, at that time, be overcome by ordinary human appliances; but as it is characteristic of the simplicity and credulity of the early Christians, and accepted by the Syrian Nestorians and other Christian churches in the East, and gravely related by Maffei and other Roman Catholic writers of authority, it may not be considered out of place in this notice of Christianity. The sea had cast the gigantic trunk of a tree upon the shore, then a distance of forty miles from the city of Meliapore. The king, for whom just then a palace

was in course of erection, was most anxious to appropriate it to that purpose. The difficulty was to transport so unwieldy and weighty a mass such a distance. The stoutest of his subjects, with the aid of their machines, were unable to move it. The elephants were tried with equal results. The apostle then assured the king that if the trunk were surrendered to him for the construction of a temple to the true God, that he would undertake, without any human aid, to bring it to the city. Supposing that this was the proposal of a mad man, the king in sportive mood acceded to his terms. The holy apostle—the girdle which he wore being made fast to one of the branches, and having made the sign of the cross—in the presence of all the citizens who had rushed out to witness the extraordinary performance, with the greatest ease drew it to its destination, and there erected a stone cross, and then uttered this remarkable prophecy, “That when the waters of the ocean washed that stone, white men from lands remote, by the will of God, would come to perfect the work which he had then commenced.”* The Jesuit Bohours, in his life of St. Francis Xavier, says, that the apostle had left this prediction graven on a stone pillar for the memory of future ages; that the pillar was not far distant from the walls of Meliapore, and it was to be read in the characters of the country when the Portuguese arrived there: “That when the sea, which was forty miles distant from the pillar should come up to the foot of it, there should arrive in the Indies white men and foreigners who should there restore the true religion.” “The infidels,” he adds, “had laughed at this prediction for a long time, not believing that it would ever be accomplished; and, indeed, looking upon it as a kind of impossibility that it should. Yet it was accomplished, and that so justly, that when Don Vaseo da Gama set foot on the Indus, the sea which sometimes usurps upon the continent, and gains by little and little on the dry land, was by that time risen to the pillar, so as to bathe its base.”† The biographer of Xavier then proceeds to show that the prophecy of St. Thomas was fulfilled in the coming of his hero. The Jesuits pressed a more singular prophecy than this into their service, to designate that their order was predestinated to the conversion of the Indians. “That holy

* Maffei's *History of India*, Col. Aq., 1590, p. 85.

† Bohours's *Life of Xavier*. This was translated by no less a man than Dryden the poet. It is worthy of remark, how credulous converts generally are. There are no more ardent or credulous believers in alleged miracles, than are the late Puseyite accessions to Rome. Dryden did not believe more than do Dr. Newman and Father Manning.

* Des Guignes' *Acad. des Inscript.*, lib. v. p. 23.

man, Peter de Couillan, a religious of the Trinity, who accompanied Vasco da Gama in quality of his confessor, was martyred by the Indians, on the 7th July, 1497, forty-three years before the beginning of the Society of Jesus; being pierced through with arrows, while shedding his blood for Christ, he distinctly pronounced the following words:—‘In a few years there shall be born in the church of God, a new religious order of clergymen, which shall bear the name of Jesus, and one of its first fathers, conducted by the spirit of God, shall pass into the more remote countries of the East Indies, the greatest part of which shall embrace the orthodox faith, through the ministry of the evangelical preacher.’ This is related by Juan de Figueras Carpi, in his history of the order of the redemption of captives, from the manuscripts of the Trinity Convent in Lisbon, and the Memoirs of the King of Portugal’s Library.” The wonderful success of the apostle of the Indies roused against him the bitterest enmity of the Brahmins, and every effort was made to thwart his exertions. One of that caste is reported to have had recourse to a most unnatural expedient to ensure his destruction. He put to death his son, and charged St. Thomas with the crime. Being summoned before the royal tribunal, and impeached for the murder, in the absence of all evidence, there were no proofs by which he could establish his innocence. In this extremity, with the predominating influence of the whole class of the Brahmins opposed to him, he is said to have vindicated himself by an appeal to his apostolic power of performing miracles. He requested that the corpse of the murdered boy should be brought into court, and when interrogated by him, he revealed the motive and the unnatural perpetrator of the murder, to the utter confusion and exposure of his enemies.* The king Sagamas, at length, convinced that Thomas was commissioned from on high, confessed his errors, and embraced the faith of Christ. Several of his courtiers and subjects followed his example, and the parricide was driven into exile. The manner of the apostle’s death is thus related:—The Brahmins, enraged by the rapid spread of the Christian religion, and the general desertion of their temples, conspired against him and his followers. During

* “Tum ad exanimem puerum Thomas placido et sereno vultu conversus. Agedum inquit, per Christum, quem ego prædico, palam et sine ambagibus, puer, prome, quisnam ejusque tanti sceleris autor exstiteret. Mirum dictu, ad Christi nomen frigido et exsanguis corpuseculo vitales confestim rediere spiritus et clara voce ut omnes exaudirent; Thomas certum Summi Dei, legatum; et ipsius odio, ad struendam illi calumniam, nefarias a parente sibi manus illatas esse confirmat.”—MAFFEI, p. 86.

the persecution that ensued, the apostle retired not far from the walls of Meliapore to a hillock which is called the “little mount,” in which is a cave, where he was wont to perform his devotions. At the entry there was a cross cut in the rock, and at the base a spring gushed forth, the waters of which are reputed to be possessed of great virtue. From this small ascent there is a passage to a much larger hill, formed by nature for a lonely and contemplative life. On one side it commands a view of the sea, and on the other is covered with trees always green, forming a cool and agreeable retreat. Here, while with his faithful disciples absorbed in prayer, he was assaulted by the armed Brahmins, and slain with the thrust of a spear.

When the Portuguese first settled here, they erected a church over the cave and well on the little mount, and another on the spot where the apostle suffered martyrdom. The Portuguese pretend to have in their possession the very lance that killed St. Thomas, and the stone tintured with the apostle’s blood, that cannot be washed out. Captain Hamilton declares that he has often seen both the mounts and the relics of antiquity here mentioned, and also a cleft in the rock which the saint made with his hand, and from which he caused a stream of water to issue, and that ever since there has been clear and sweet water in it: when he visited it, he says it contained about three gallons. He also observes, with the Portuguese, that when St. Thomas was pursued by the Brahmins, he left a print of his foot on a hard stone near the little mount, to serve for a perpetual memorial of his having been there. The impression, which remains to this day, is sixteen inches long and in proportion narrower at the heel, and broader at the toes, than the impression of a human foot would be at this time.*

Christianity had made great progress in the peninsula even at a very early period.† The venerable Pantonus of Alexandria visited India about the year A.D. 189, and there found Christians who had a copy of the gospel of St. Matthew, in Hebrew, which he carried to Alexandria, where it existed in the time of

* It is not a little strange, the gravity with which two Protestant gentlemen, Hamilton and Wilford, relate the miracles ascribed, not only to Thomas the apostle, but to the reputed relics preserved at St. Thomas. Anxious to record all the particulars which it was possible to glean, that this chapter might serve as a reference to the inquirer into the history of ancient Christianity in India, some matters have been included which otherwise would not have been noticed.

† We are indebted to the research of Wilford for some of the facts about to be adduced, furnished by him in an elaborate essay on the “Origin and Decline of the Christian Religion in India,” *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x.

Jerome. Frumentius, the apostle of Abyssinia, who had resided a long time in India and spoke the language remarkably well, preached the gospel in the southern parts, where he had great influence and was highly respected, having been for many years prime-minister and regent of one of the kings during his minority. There he converted many Hindoos and built many churches, and then went to Abyssinia. He had come to India with his brother Adesius, along with their paternal uncle, a native of Tyre, who was a Christian and a very learned man. He travelled into the interior parts of India as a philosopher; and having satisfied his curiosity, he re-embarked on his way back with his two nephews; but happening to put into a certain harbour, in order to get a supply of water, they were, at their landing, suddenly attacked by the natives. Many of his crew perished, the rest were carried into captivity. Among the former was the uncle, but his two nephews were presented to the king, who took particular notice of them. They were afterwards raised by him to the first dignities of the state. They obtained leave to visit their native country, when Frumentius was ordained a bishop, and in that character sent back to India. At the council of Nice, in the year 325, "the primate" of India was present, and subscribed his name. In the year following, Frumentius was consecrated "primate of India" by Athanasius, at Alexandria. He resided in the peninsula, and the Christians had always a bishop, called the Primate of India.

In 345 Mar Thomas, a foreign bishop, was appointed to the charge of the Syrian Christians. He had been a merchant. Under his pastoral care Christianity made great progress in India, and its professors obtained important privileges from the native princes. The original plates, on which are engraved these grants to the Christians, were lost in the time of the Portuguese, but recovered in 1808 by Colonel Macauley, and are now in the college of Cottayam. The inscription on one of them, supposed to be the most ancient, is in the nail-headed or Persepolitan character, with four signatures in an old Hebrew character, resembling the alphabet usually called Palmyrene; and that on another is thought to have no affinity with any character now known in Hindostan.*

The Christian religion made also some progress in the north of India. Musdus,

Bishop of Aduli, on the Abyssinian shore, visited the northern parts of India in the latter end of the fourth century, in company with the famous Palladius, a Goth from Galatia. When they arrived at the borders of India they were both disgusted with the climate; Palladius went back, but Musdus proceeded to the lesser Bokhara, where it seems he was more successful. Yet there was at Sirhind, or Serinda, a seminary for Christians in the sixth century; for in the year 636 two monks who had long resided there, returned to their native country, and being at Constantinople, the Emperor Justinian sent for them, to inquire into the nature and origin of silk. He prevailed on them to go back to Sirhind, in order to bring thence the eggs of the real silkworm. Theophilus—the famous Arian bishop—was a native of Divus, now Diu, in Gujerat, who, as he was remarkably black, was surnamed the Blackamoor. His Indian name was probably Deo Pal, perfectly synonymous with Theophilus in the Greek. He flourished in the times of the great Constantine and his sons, and had been sent to Constantinople with other hostages. There was a great trade carried on at that time to India by the Romans. There was an annual fair held at Batne for the sale of Indian and Chinese commodities, and a great concourse of merchants attended it, many of whom were settled there. It was situated at some distance from the eastern banks of the Euphrates, and nearly in the same latitude with Antioch. Theophilus was young when he was sent to Constantinople, where he studied and became a Christian, and embraced a monastic life. He was afterwards ordained a bishop, and sent to Arabia by Constantius, in order to promote the interests of the Christian religion. He met with great opposition from the Jews, who were very numerous in that country; but succeeded at last, and built three churches for the benefit chiefly of the Roman traders: one was at Taphar, or Tapharon, now Dabar, and the metropolis of that country; the second was at Aden, near the Straits of Babelmandel; and the third near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Thence he went by sea to Diu, his native country; visited several parts of India, comforting the Christians, introducing wholesome regulations, and spreading the tenets of Arius. Thence he returned to Antioch, according to Suidas, where he lived a long time, highly respected. He accompanied, afterwards, Constantius Gallus into Germany, as far as Patavium, now Pettaw, in Styria, A.D. 354.

Marutha, a Hindoo, and Bishop of Suphara, now Sufferdam, assisted at the Synod of

* Swanston, in a memoir of the primitive church of Malabar, read before the Asiatic Society, and noticed in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1833, asserts that Mar Thomas was the first foreign bishop who took charge of the Syrian Christians; that this is not correct will be seen from his foreign predecessors already named.

Sides, in Pamphylia, in the year 383. He was afterwards translated to the bishopric of Meyaserkin, on the borders of Mesopotamia, when Yezdejird I., King of Persia, charmed with his piety, was very near becoming a Christian. Chrysostom speaks highly of him. According to the *Notitia* of Nilus, Doxopatrius, the Greek patriarch of Antioch, ordained a certain Ramogyres, "metropolitan" of India, and from his name there is every reason to believe that he was a native of India, where the appellation of Rama-gir is by no means uncommon. Jerome, who died in the year 420, speaks of the mission of St. Thomas to India, as a fact universally acknowledged in his time.

Cosmas Indocopleustes, who visited India about the year 522, says that there were churches and a liturgy in Ceylon, also on the Malabar coast, and in the north-west of India. "In those countries," says he, "there are a vast number of churches."*

In the sixth century Gregory of Tours, the father of French history, became acquainted with a respectable man called Theodorus, who had visited the tomb of St. Thomas in India.

In the year 825 two pastors were sent from Syria, and were succeeded by others for a long period of time. The Christians became then sufficiently influential to be able to elect their own sovereigns, but gradually declined till about the advent of the Portuguese.

In the ninth century, as is recorded in William of Malmesbury's† *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, "Alfred (ever intent on almsgiving), Huntington and Alured of Beverley say, in discharge of a vow, sent many presents to Rome, and to St. Thomas in India. Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne, was sent as ambassador for this purpose. He penetrated successfully into India, a matter of astonishment even at the present time. Returning thence he brought back many brilliant exotic gems and aromatic juices, in which that country abounds, and a present more precious than the finest gold,—part of our Saviour's cross, sent by Pope Marinus to the king."‡

Alfred's embassy to India to the shrine of St. Thomas, Turnour observes, "is as expressive of his mind and public spirit as any other action of his life. No other potentate in Europe could in that day have conceived it, because no other had acquired that knowledge which would have interested them in a

country so remote and unknown. The embassy displays not alone the extent of Alfred's information, but that searching curiosity which characterized his understanding."

This journey is noticed by several chroniclers: the Saxon Chronicle,* Florence of Worcester,† Radulph,‡ Brompton,§ Huntington,|| and Alured of Beverley,¶ but by none of them so fully as by the chronicler quoted. In a subsequent passage Malmesbury states that in his day some of these oriental presents were to be seen in the monuments of the church. That St. Thomas' conversion of Indians on the Malabar coast was in full credit in the twelfth century is evident, for Odericus makes it a part of his ecclesiastical history. That there were Christians flourishing during these early ages of Christianity in Hindostan, is confirmed by most satisfactory authority. The learned Assemanus, in his elaborate *Bibliotheca Orientalis*,—a collection peculiarly valuable for its introducing to European scholars many interesting Syrian authors, from whose works he translates copious extracts out of the Syrian into Latin,—asserts of the Syrians that they affirm that Thomas preached to the Indians; ** and again, that not only the Indian Christians, but the Nestorians of Assyria and Mesopotamia, mention that he was the apostle of the Indians and Sinensians. He gives a Syriac letter from Jesujabus Abjabenus, the Nestorian patriarch, to Simeon, the metropolitan of the Persians, written in the seventh century, in which he calls to the metropolitan's recollection that he had "shut the doors of the episcopal imposition of hands before multitudes of the people of India," and that the sacerdotal succession was interrupted by the Indians; and that not only India, which extended over a space of more than twelve hundred parasangs, from the maritime confines of Persia to Colon (Ceylon), was buried in darkness, but also his own region of Persia shares a like fate.

There has been preserved a very valuable and interesting work of the ninth century, in the Arabic, containing the travels of two Moslems, who visited both India and China, and had been some time on the coast of Malabar, and in the town of Meliapore, soon after Sighelm. A translation of it in the French language, by the Abbé Renaudot,

* *History of the Anglo Saxons*, vol. ii. p. 145.

† *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 86.

‡ "Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Sinthelmus qui regis Alfredi elemosynam as S. Thomam, Indian detulit, indeque prospere retulit."—*Flor. Wig.* 320.

§ Rad. Dic. 451; he dates it 887.

|| Brompton, 812.

¶ Huntington, 350.

** Lib. vii. p. 106.

* Cosmas has been edited by Montfauçon in his collection *Patrum Græcorum*, tome ii.

† Malmesbury was born about 1095 or 1096,

‡ Malmesbury's *Chronicle*, b. ii. c. iv,

was published in 1718, under the following title, *Ancient Relations of India and China*, by two Mohammedan travellers, who in the ninth century of the Christian era visited these countries, translated from the Arabic, &c. The translator having omitted to indicate the manuscript from which the translation was made, it was alleged that it was a forgery. But M. Des Guignes having found the original in the Colbert collection, No. 597, and proved the accuracy of the translation in the *Journal des Savans* of November, 1764, St. Martin attempted to show that it was only a fragment of a work by Masoudi, entitled *Mour-roudj-Eddheheb*. In 1811 M. Langles undertook to have it printed, with a new translation. On his death, in 1824, he left it without preface or notes. M. Renaud, celebrated as an oriental scholar, was repeatedly solicited to complete it. He declined, because there did not then exist adequate geographical knowledge to enable him to test the author's statements. The important additions subsequently made to that science, induced him to take it up. He revised both the text and translation, added a preface and copious notes, and has thus given to the literary world a really valuable work. These early travellers arrived at Meliapore soon after Alfred's ambassador, Sigheilm, had left. They declare that there were many Christians, Manicheans, Jews, and Mussulmen in India and Ceylon; that the king encouraged their meetings, and the learned Hindoos used to attend them; that secretaries were kept at the royal expense to write down their respective histories, and the exposition of their doctrines and laws. That Manicheans existed in India at a very early period, is affirmed by La Croze in his *History of Christianity*.

Marco Polo, who reached India about the year 1292, long before the Portuguese had found their way thither, states that the Christians and Mohammedans were both very numerous at that time in the peninsula.

In the year 1504 four monks of the order of St. James the Cenobite, in Mesopotamia, consecrated bishops of the Indies, whose names were Thomas, Jaballah, James, and Denham, gave to the patriarch of the Nestorians a document in Syriac, in which was given a census of the number of Christians of that sect in the vast regions of Hindostan, and an intimation of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. Prefixed to this was the following short history of the last Indian bishops, dating from the year 1490:—In the year of Alexander 1801*—

* The Syrians and other Asiatics dated their era from the time of Alexander.

1490 of the Christian era—three faithful Christian men came from the remote parts of India to Mar Simeon Catholicus, patriarch of the East, to obtain bishops for their provinces, and to conduct them thither. One of them, by the decree of the Creator, died on his way, the others arrived safely to Mar Catholicus, who was then in the city of Guzartæ. They were gladly received by him. Their names were George and Joseph. They were both ordained by the venerable patriarch in the Church of St. George, in Guzartæ, when they had been sufficiently instructed. They were afterwards sent to the monastery of the holy and blessed Eugenius. Here two monks bearing one name, Raban Joseph, were associated with them, whom Mar Catholicus likewise consecrated bishops in the holy Church of St. George; the one he called Thomas, the other John, and gave them their credentials signed and duly sealed with his ring, and dismissed them with prayers and benedictions; and he ordered them with the Indians to repair to the Indian regions. They reached in safety, by the protection of their divine Redeemer, their destination, and were received by the faithful with transports of joy; and they with equal satisfaction presented to them the gospels, cross, thurible, and fasces. These they introduced with great ceremony, and chanting of psalms and hymns. They consecrated altars, and ordained as many priests as they could, having been a long time without any. Mar John remained a bishop in India, but Mar Thómas and his companion returned after a short time to Catholicus, carrying with them first offerings, oblations, and one servant.

It happened before Mar Thomas returned to India, Mar Simeon Catholicus departed this brief and transitory life, A.D. 1502, and was buried in the monastery of St. Eugenius. Elias Catholicus succeeded to the patriarchate. He selected three, the most worthy of the monks of the convent of St. Eugenius. The first of these was Ruban David, surnamed the Long, whom he appointed metropolitan, and called Mar Jaballaham; the second was called Ruban Georgius, him he consecrated bishop, and ordered to be called Mar Denham; the last, Ruban Masudus, he also consecrated a bishop, and called Mar Jacobus. All these he consecrated in the monastery of St. John, of Egypt, brother of St. Achæas, in the territory of Guzartæ (Zebedee), 1503. Shortly after he dispatched these four into India, and the islands situated between Dabag, and Sin, and Masin. They arrived safely, and there found Mar John, the bishop of India, still living, who, together with his flock, were greatly delighted by their arrival. The fol-

lowing year the fathers wrote to Mar Elias Catholicus, but he did not receive their letter, having been gathered to his fathers, and was buried in the Church of Meschintas, in the city of Mossoul. His successor was Mar Simeon Catholicus. In this letter was given an account of the state in which they found the churches of India, and the following very interesting historical details. There were then thirty thousand families of the same faith with themselves, residing in the same district. They were about erecting some churches, and had ample means for the purpose; the houses of St. Thomas the apostle were occupied by Christians, who also were about repairing them. Meliapore was a distance of twenty-five days' journey from their residence, and situated in the province of Silan, and in a region called Malabar. This region contained twenty cities, three of them celebrated and powerful—Carangol, Palor, and Colom. There were other cities in their neighbourhood, all inhabited by Christians, having churches established among them, and a very great and wealthy city not far distant called Calecutum (Calicut), inhabited by idolatrous infidels; our brothers the Franks, they write, have sent hither from the west large vessels. The voyage occupies a year. They first sailed to the south, and passing by Chus, that is Æthiopia, arrived in India. They trade in pepper and other articles of commerce. The letter then proceeds to state that six large vessels had arrived, and that the Christian Franks were at Calecutum; that several Israelites dwelt there, who, inflamed with their usual animosity to Christians, had stirred up the jealousy of the native ruler, by telling him that the foreigners were greatly taken with the beauty and fertility of the country; and on their return home they would so report to their king that a powerful fleet would be sent by him, a fierce war be waged, and the kingdom be laid waste. That the Indian king, impelled by these insinuations, put to the sword all of them who had landed, to the amount of seventy men, and among these five priests. Those who were on board had hoisted sails and come to Coen, to the native Christians, as if they were their kindred. An infidel prince ruled also in Coen, who, moved by the injuries inflicted on the Franks, swore that he would protect them. The King of Calecutum, hearing of their safety, marched against them,—but in the meantime several vessels had arrived from their country; they gave the Indians battle, routed them with the loss of three thousand men, took the city of Calecutum, having attacked it by sea, destroyed the vessels they found there, and put

to death about one hundred Jews, who were employed by the natives as pilots. They then proceed to describe the friendly reception they met with from the Franks, the presents of vestments and gold they received, the performance of their religious rites, and conclude by stating that they were about four hundred in number, natives of Portugal, and subjects of King Emanuel.

The arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar was an event which not only affected the pious, simple-minded, and prosperous Christians of India, but it produced a sensation in Europe not less profound than the previous discovery of America. Both events, nearly contemporary, roused mankind from the lethargy by which they had been torpid for ages, and opened new fields of enterprise to the startled energies of Europeans, gave a wholesome impulse to their mental faculties, and were the precursors of those revolutions, religious and political, which fiercely agitated Christendom, and which, whatever were their immediate attendant irregularities, opened a fairer, more exhilarating, and ennobling vista of the future.

Though the authorities quoted by Assemanus imply the existence of a community of feeling between the Syrian Christians and the new arrivals from Portugal, there is no evidence that they had previously any intercourse whatever with the western churches. The discoveries of Vasco da Gama, as shown in a previous chapter, encouraged several Portuguese adventurers to visit India. Of these Pedro Alvares Cabral was the first who conveyed to Europe intelligence of the Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. He spent some time among the native Christians, and on his return to Europe was accompanied by two brothers anxious to visit Europe, and from Portugal to prosecute their journey to Mossoul, to visit the Syrian patriarch, the acknowledged head of their church. Soon after their arrival at Lisbon the elder, Mathias, died, and the younger brother, Joseph, at the instigation, it would appear, of the Portuguese priests, proceeded to Rome, and thence to Venice. Whether he reached Mossoul is not recorded. During his stay in Venice a Latin version of his travels, and an account of his eo-religionists in India, was published under the title of the *Voyages of Joseph the Indian*. He returned to Portugal, and thence sailed for his native land, and there closed his career.

On the 20th of May, 1492, the inhabitants of Calicut were surprised by the entrance of four strange vessels into their harbour. These were commanded by Vasco da Gama. Fortunately for the Portuguese they found here

a Moor, who understood the Spanish language. The question which he first put to them, as well as their answer, was characteristic:—"What the devil brought you here?" the Moor pertly asked. "We have come," said the Portuguese, "in search of Christians and spices."

In 1502 Da Gama made a second voyage to India. While he remained, executing the commands of his royal master, a deputation from the native Christians who dwelt in the neighbouring town of Cranganore waited upon him. These the Portuguese manifestly, on the information supplied by themselves, describe as "descendants from the very old stock of those whom the apostle Thomas had converted to sound religion and the faith, from fables and impure superstition." They complained of the oppression and exactions to which they were subjected by the king and the rajahs, and besought the protection of the King of Portugal. They presented to Da Gama a staff of vermillion wood mounted with silver, and ornamented with three bells, which they assured him was the staff of the last of their princes, who had recently died, as a token of their submission, and a tender of their allegiance to his sovereign. This the admiral courteously received, and gave them every assurance that protection should be extended to them, and that such were the instructions he had received from his royal master.

At this time the south-western coast of the peninsula was divided between three powerful princes, who had under them several influential rajahs: these were the Zamorin of Calicut in the centre, the Colastrian rajah to the north, and the rajah of Cochin to the south. Previous to the arrival of the Portuguese the Mohammedans were the chief traders on the coast, had consequently had great influence, and were much courted by the several rivals, and more especially by the zamorin, to whom they paid a duty of ten per cent. on their commercial transactions. The jealousies of trade soon embroiled them with the Portuguese.

In those days the Spaniards and Portuguese were the most enterprising people in the world, and on no theatre did the latter play a more prominent or more successful part than on the coasts of Hindostan. In the course of a few years the shore of Malabar was studded with their factories; in 1510 Calicut, besieged by them, fell into their hands, and in rapid succession they became masters of Diu, Choul, Salsette, Bombay, Bassein, and Damaun. Their factories were established at Dabul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon;

their rivals were overpowered; their flags commanded the ocean. All the native vessels were compelled to take Christian passes for their safety on the waters; and the Mohammedans, acknowledging their superiority, submitted implicitly to their government. On the opposite shores of Coromandel, they also established a flourishing trade. Though the Portuguese came avowedly for the purposes of cultivating religion and commerce, it does not appear that the first in the order of expression was their primary consideration, very little results of their missionary zeal is apparent in the first forty years of their Indian occupation. This, it must be admitted, was not the fault of the home government. The kings of Portugal were most sincere in their anxiety for the propagation of their faith. There is on record a letter from John III. of Portugal, which clearly proves that the work of conversion was not left entirely to spiritual influences and missionary zeal. His majesty lays down the principle that "pagans may be brought over to his religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, but also by temporal interest and preferment;" and in conformity with his views, he directs that the proselytes, on professing Christianity, be provided with places in the customs, and exempted from impressment in the navy, and sustained by the distribution of rice out of the public revenue. Sir Emerson Tennant remarks, "that those acquainted with the national character of those with whom the Jesuits were so successful, and their obsequiousness to power, and the pliancy with which they can accommodate themselves to the wishes and opinions of those whom it may be their interest to conciliate, will have no difficulty in comprehending the ease with which the Roman Catholic clergy, under such auspices and with such facilities, succeeded, in an incredibly short space of time, in effecting multitudinous conversions; and although the peculiar religion of the Hindoos in the northern provinces necessarily presented obstacles more formidable than those opposed by the genius of Buddhism in the south, the missionaries engaged in the task were not devoid of expedients by which to overcome both. In the instance of the Cingalese, the miracle was accomplished with ease—the mountain submissively came over to Mohammed; and in the other and more obstinate one of the Tamils, Mohammed was equally prepared to succeed by making his own approach to the mountain." The apathy of the Portuguese colonists in advancing the interests of the church in their newly-acquired territories became the subject of remark at home, and was soon echoed through Europe. The power of

the papal court was at that time in the ascendant in the exclusively Roman Catholic courts of Spain and Portugal. No wave of the Reformation had approached their shores. Their fidelity to Rome was hereditary and unshaken. The papal remonstrances soon stimulated the activity of its agency, and the results were manifested. The devotees of the West were aroused by the miraculous intelligence from the East with which every home-bound vessel was freighted.

To the men of the present day, even of the Roman Catholic persuasion, no idea can be conveyed of the electric influence the publication of a miracle produced in the middle ages, and the credulity with which every reported miracle, however apocryphal, was received. The multitudes of those published served but to whet the appetite for more. In the year 1544, a great discovery was announced—the cross and reliques of St. Thomas were found in Meliapore. The Portuguese, as they were pulling down the old chapel, in order to erect a new one, met with a large-sized stone several feet under ground. Having lifted this with miraculous ease, they found all the earth beneath saturated with blood that appeared quite fresh, and thereon was a cross exquisitely executed, after that of the military order of Aviz in Portugal, and over it a dove or peacock—the learned were not agreed which—and above that a blood-stained dagger. On the stone was an inscription in characters not known to any one. There was also a cross with this inscription found, “at the time when Thomas founded this temple, the King of Meliapore made him a grant of the customs of all the merchandizes that were brought into that port, which duty was the tenth part of the goods;” with this cross were also found the bones of St. Thomas, though several writers maintain they had been translated centuries before to Odessa. There was also found an old record of the conversion of the King of Meliapore. This miracle was soon followed by another. The bones of three kings were found in the same grave with those of the apostle, and identified by an ancient manuscript, which gave the following account of them:—The King of Nubia and Arabia was Melchior; Balthasar was King of Goli; and Saba Gaspar was King of Tursi, Insula, and Grisola, or Malabar, where the body of St. Thomas lieth, by whom they were all three consecrated bishops, and were afterwards martyred with him.

A new impulse was now to be given to the Christian missions. Ignatius Loyola had laid the foundation of one of the most remarkable of the many orders of the Roman Church. Recruiting its executive from all peoples and

all classes, and recognising, as the passports to favour and distinction, ability, an apparent propriety of demeanour, an unquestioning devotion to its interests—disassociating its priests from all mundane concerns, and those social relations calculated to divide their allegiance, by binding them to a life of celibacy and implicit submission—that church commands an organization prepared for any exigency. The Reformation was making gigantic strides. The most energetic, as well as some of the most able, men of their day, threatened to overthrow its long-established supremacy in all the northern kingdoms of Europe. The Teutonic nations were declaring in favour of national and independent churches, and would in all probability have succeeded, were it not for the new clerical order, the Jesuits, instituted for the repression of the movement. These men combined abilities of the highest cast, zeal never surpassed, activity that never paused, resolution defiant of every difficulty, an absolute submission to the will of the Roman pontiff, and a pliability to adapt every or any means to the accomplishment of their end.

One of the first as well as one of the ablest and most successful of these—the early friend of the founder—was Francis Xavier, better known as the Apostle of the Indies, as his co-religionists love to call him. In his college days, associated with some of the master-minds who had embraced the views of the reformers, he inclined, as did those “who had the greatest reputation for wit,” to the doctrines of Luther, and in a letter to his brother declares that were it not for the ascendancy which Ignatius obtained over him, “he could not have defended himself from those young men.” The means adopted by Ignatius to mould this youthful enthusiast to his purpose, shows his keen insight into human character. Having one day found Xavier more than ordinarily attentive, he repeated to him these words in a very impressive tone—“What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul?” He then added that “a mind so noble and so great as his ought not to confine itself to the vain honours of this world; that celestial glory was the only object worthy of his ambition; and that right reason would require him to prefer that which was eternally to last before what would vanish like a dream.” On a mind so sensitive and unsophisticated these laudatory exhortations left a deep impression. After many serious thoughts, and a hard struggling, his biographer states that he took up a solid resolution of treading in the footsteps, and resigning himself unreservedly to the conduct of Ignatius. In reply

to an appeal made to him by John III. of Portugal, for some missionaries for India, Pope Paul III. remitted the whole business to Ignatius, who had lately presented to the pontiff the model of his order, by which he proposed to himself no less a design than the amelioration of the whole world, and the extirpation of the doctrines of the Reformation, which he called heresies. Ignatius recognised in the docility, entire submission, and zeal of his disciple Xavier an agent best adapted to his purpose, and in communicating to him his selection, he omitted nothing that would serve to fix his attention and inspire full confidence. There is in this address an assumption of authority and divine delegation which cannot fail to exhibit the character of Jesuitism at this very early period of its history, when that body consisted of only ten members. "Xavier," said he, "the Almighty has nominated you this day for the Indies. I declare it to you from the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive an employment committed to your charge by his holiness, and delivered by my mouth, as if it were conferred on you by our blessed Saviour in person, and rejoice for your finding an opportunity to satisfy that fervent desire which we all have for carrying the faith into remote countries. An entire world is reserved for your endeavours, and nothing but so large a field is worthy of your courage and zeal. Go, my brother, where the voice of God has called you, where the holy see has sent you, and kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you." His naturally susceptible temperament, thus ingeniously worked upon, was kindled into the most fervid zeal. His imagination, so highly wrought upon, assured him that he was the predestined instrument for the conversion of the East, and in this state of ecstatic excitement he was soon fully persuaded that he had special visions and revelations from heaven. Thus prepared, he went to take his leave of Pope Paul, who assured him that heaven had employed him in the mission of St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies, for the conquest of souls; that it became him to labour generously in reviving the faith in those countries where it had been planted by that great apostle; and that if it were necessary for him to shed his blood for the glory of Jesus Christ, he should account it his happiness to die a martyr.* On the 15th of March, 1540, as apostolic nuncio, he took his departure from Rome to Portugal, on his way to the East; and on the 7th of April, 1541, he sailed under Don Martin Alphonso di Sosa, viceroy of the Indies, and arrived at

Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India, on the 6th of May, 1542.

The town of Goa is situated on this side of the Ganges, in an island bearing the same name, the seat of the bishop and viceroy, and under the Portuguese the most considerable place in the East for commerce. It had been built by the Moors forty years before the Europeans had passed into the Indies, and wrested from them in 1510, by Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque.

The Portuguese, as has been already remarked, did but very little in the interests of religion. Their zeal soon cooled, and in a very short time they were wholly absorbed by their ambition and avarice. Instead of extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and of gaining souls to Him, they thought, as their own historians and the biographers of Xavier confess, of nothing more than enlarging their dominion and enriching themselves; and many of the Indians who had been converted to the faith, being neither cultivated by wholesome instructions, nor edified by good examples, forgot insensibly their baptism, and returned to their ancient superstitions. The proselytes who dwelt on the coast, and faithfully persevered in the profession of the faith, were persecuted with great cruelty by the Mohammedans, who were uppermost in many localities, and very wealthy; while the Portuguese authorities were indifferent spectators of the cruelties thus inflicted on them. This cruel usage deterred thousands from professing Jesus Christ, and was the reason that, amongst the infidels, all thoughts of conversion were laid aside. But what appears more wonderful, the Portuguese themselves lived more like idolaters than Christians. In a report which was sent to King John III., by a man of high rank and authority, and worthy of all belief, some months before the arrival of Xavier, it is recorded that "every man kept as many mistresses as he pleased, and maintained them openly in his own house, even in quality of lawful wives. They bought women or took them away by force, either for their service or to make money of them. Their masters taxed them at a certain sum per day; and for default of payment, inflicted on them all sorts of punishment, to such an extent, that those unhappy creatures, not being able sometimes to work out the daily rate imposed on them, were forced upon the infamous traffic of their bodies, and to become public prostitutes, to satisfy the avarice of their sordid masters. Justice was sold at the tribunals, and the most enormous crimes escaped from punishment when the criminals were affluent enough to corrupt the judges. All methods for accu-

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 39.

mulating wealth were considered lawful, however opposed to honesty and justice, and extortion was openly advocated. Murder was reckoned but a venial trespass, and was frequently boasted of as a proof of bravery."

The Bishop of Goa, to little purpose, threatened them with the wrath of heaven and the thunders of excommunication. No dam was sufficient for such a deluge; their hearts were hardened against spiritual threatenings and anathemas; the deprivation of the sacraments was no punishment to such wicked wretches, who were glad to be rid of them. "The use of confessions and communions—observances of the greatest religious obligation among Roman Catholics—were, in a manner, abolished; and if any one by chance was struck with remorse of conscience, and desired to reconcile himself to God, *at the foot of a priest* he was constrained to steal by night to his devotions, to avoid the scandal to his neighbour." *

There were not four preachers in all the Indies, nor one priest without the walls of Goa. In many fortified places whole years were passed without hearing a sermon or a mass.

If this were the degraded and sickening aspect of affairs presented in a professing Christian community, what estimate may be formed of the condition of native society? Indeed, the Indians are represented as leading the life of beasts rather than of men. "Uncleanliness had risen to the last excess among them, and the least corrupt were those who had no religion."

The author of the *History of Christianity in India*, after stating that Xavier had waited on the Bishop of Goa with his credentials, and was received with all the kindness and confidence due to one so accredited, makes the following pertinent and interesting preliminary observations:—"The bishop promised to support him in his mission, for which he was no doubt thankful, but he sought the protection of a higher Power, without which he knew that all human aid would be of no avail. For this purpose he shut himself up in one of the churches, and spent the whole of the first night in India in prayer—an example worthy the imitation of missionaries of a purer creed. His first attention was given to the Portuguese. Xavier must have felt that it would be in vain to endeavour to convert the heathen to a religion, the moral character of whose professors was so inferior to their own. He, therefore, set himself vigorously to work to

reform this state of things; and although there was much puerile superstition in the means he used, yet they were such as the Portuguese were accustomed to; and in a short time, it is said, he had the satisfaction of observing a general improvement in their conduct. There were several circumstances which would tend to conciliate them, and insure their attention: the novelty of his appearance and zeal, the eloquence and boldness with which he rebuked their vices, the great humility and self-denial of one whom they knew to be of such noble origin, and, above all, the countenance of the viceroy, who was known to have the King of Portugal's commands to afford him every protection, gave him an influence which could not be resisted, and induced many to lay aside the sins against which he so ardently and so steadily inveighed. But must all the honour be given to these means and motives? Notwithstanding the defect of his own knowledge, and the absence of all proof that he preached the unadulterated gospel of reconciliation, yet may we not hope that the Holy Ghost was vouchsafed, in answer to his midnight prayer, to produce these convictions in the hearts of some, whose sins he vehemently denounced, and before whom he placed the awful consequences of their lives in the future world? And may there not have been enough of the Saviour in his preaching to encourage the humble penitent to hope for pardon and peace through the atonement of the cross? Such a hope is too cheering, amid all this darkness, not to be gladly entertained." *

Xavier was convinced that the best course for him to pursue was to instruct the Portuguese youth in the principles of religion, and that by those means Christianity would be seen to revive in Goa. He had crowds of them constantly about him, whom he led to the churches, and there expounded to them the apostle's creed and the commandments of God. Thus they soon became attentive and modest, and a silent censure of that debauchery which appeared in their seniors. The unerring evidences of a thorough reformation soon manifested themselves. They cancelled their unlawful bonds and covenants of extortion; they set their slaves at liberty; made restitution of their ill-gotten goods; and, lastly, turned away their concubines, whom they were unwilling to possess by a lawful marriage.

While at Goa Xavier was invited to take charge of a seminary, established there for the education of the native heathen youth.

* See the Jesuit father Bohour's *Life of Xavier*. All these particulars are taken from works by Roman Catholic priests—not one from Protestant writers.

* The Rev. James Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i. p. 173.

The students had come from all the adjacent countries, and spoke nine or ten different languages. The superior importance of his missionary duties impelled him to decline this invitation; but his good sense made him appreciate the advantages to be realized from such an institution properly managed. He had so organized this establishment as to make it subservient to his designs for the conversion of the natives. He called it the College of St. Paul, and obtained its transfer to his own society, and hence it is that the Jesuit missionaries in India are frequently called "the fathers of St. Paul." The sphere of his operations had now so enlarged, that in writing to Rome he said, that "if it had been possible for him to have been at once in ten places he should not have wanted for employment."

This was the promising state of affairs when Michael Vaz, Vicar-general of the Indies, informed Xavier that on the oriental coast which extends from Cape Comorin to the Isle of Manaar, called the coast of Fishery, there dwelt a tribe called *Paravas*, or fishers, who were chiefly occupied in pearl, chank, and other fisheries. These people had nothing more of Christianity than baptism and the name, through want of pastors to instruct them. On this mission he embarked about the midst of October, 1542, in a galliot, which carried the new captain of Comorin, accompanied by two young ecclesiastics of Goa, who were tolerably acquainted with the language of Malabar. Having ascertained that the two churchmen who accompanied him as interpreters were not equal to the task they had undertaken, he ceased to address the natives through them, and had recourse to another expedient. He managed to engage in his service some of the people of the country who understood Portuguese. These and the priests he consulted for many days together, and by persevering labour he translated into the tongue of the *Paravas* the words of the sign of the cross, the apostle's creed, the commandments, the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, the *confiteor*, the *Salve Regina*, and, in fine, the whole catechism. Having finished his task, he committed to memory as much as he could of them, and made the circuit of the villages, thirty in number, about half of which were baptized, the rest being idolaters. "I went about," he himself records, "with my bell in my hand, and gathering together all I met, both men and children, I instructed them in the Christian doctrine. The children learnt it easily by heart in the compass of a month; and when they understood it I charged them to teach it to their parents, to all of their own family,

and even to their neighbours. On Sunday I assembled the men and women, the little boys and girls, in the chapel. All came to my appointment with an incredible joy and most ardent desire to hear the word of God. I began with confessing God to be one in nature and triune in person. I afterwards repeated distinctly and with an audible voice the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, and the apostle's creed. All of them together repeated after me, and it is hardly to be imagined what pleasure they took in it. This being done, I repeated the creed singly, and, insisting on every particular article, asked if they certainly believed it. They all protested to me, with loud cries, and their hands across their breasts, that they firmly believed it. My practice is to make them repeat the creed oftener than the other prayers, and I declare to them, at the same time, that they who believe the contents of it are true Christians. From the creed I pass to the ten commandments, and give them to understand that the Christian law is comprised in these precepts; that he who keeps them all, according to his duty, is a good Christian, and that eternal life is decreed to him; that, on the contrary, whoever violates one of these commandments, is a bad Christian, and that he shall be damned eternally in case he repents not of his sins. Both the new Christians and the pagans admire our law as holy and reasonable, and consistent with itself. Having done as I told you, my custom is to repeat with them the Lord's prayer and the angelic salutation; once again we recite the creed, and at every article, besides the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, we intermingle some short prayer; for having pronounced aloud the first article, I begin thus, and they say after me, 'Jesus, thou Son of the living God, give me grace to believe firmly this first article of thy faith, and with this intention we offer unto thee that prayer of which thou thyself art the Author.' . . . The same method is observed in all the other articles, and almost in the same manner we run over the ten commandments."

This is a fair specimen of Xavier's usual mode of proceeding with the natives, whether heathens or nominal Christians. From what is here stated, on his own authority, it is manifest that he did not possess the miraculous and apostolic gift of tongues so boldly claimed for him in after years. But it appears also that after this laborious exercise he both thoroughly understood and spoke the Malabar language. It is generally believed that in a very little time he learnt the most difficult languages, and, by the report of many persons, he spoke them so well and naturally, that he

could not have been taken for a foreigner. Such was his success, that, as he testifies in one of his letters, he wanted words to tell it; and the multitude of those who had received baptism was so vast, that with the labour of continual christenings he was not able to lift up his arms, and his voice often failed him in saying so many times over and over the apostle's creed and ten commandments, with a short instruction, which he always made, concerning the duties of a true Christian, before he baptized those who were of age. He spent fifteen months among these people; he appointed catechists for their instruction; he built churches in most of the villages, and was enabled to provide funds for the mission out of the public treasury. His efforts among the Brahmins had so little success, that he desisted, and confined himself to the Paravas. When he departed for Goa he selected some of the most promising of their youths to accompany him, and these he had educated for the ministry in the College of St. Paul. This establishment is another singular instance of the shrewd appreciation of circumstances and provisional caution blended with the enthusiasm of the members of the Jesuit Society, which should not be overlooked by the preachers of the gospel. It having been observed that previously to Xavier's missionary labours Christianity had made no progress, it was concluded that the causes of the failure were chiefly these: the difficulty the Europeans had in mastering the Indian languages, and overcoming local prejudices, so strong that if an Indian happened to be converted his kindred exercised no charity towards him; and the children of the faithful who died poor were left destitute of succour in their need. To remedy these growing evils the College of St. Paul was founded, and so amply endowed, that all the idolatrous children who turned "Christians, of whatever country, were received into it." * How humiliatingly does the apathy of the Protestant clergy in India, in the beginning of this century, contrast with this zeal. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in his *Christian Researches*, draws a picture in striking colours of the shameful neglect of the Protestant churches—and not neglect merely, but the studied hostility to the preaching of the word of God; writing from Ceylon in 1808, he says, "the Dutch ministers who formerly officiated here (in the Protestant vineyard of Jaffnapatam), some of whom had congregations of two thousand, have gone to Europe. The whole district is left in the hands of the Romish priests, who, perceiving the indifference of the English nation to their own religion, have assumed quiet and undisturbed

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 135.

possession of the land." "What wonder," said a Romish priest to me, "that your nation should be so little interested about the conversion of pagans to Christianity, when it does not even give teachers to its own subjects who are already Christians." I was not surprised to hear that great numbers of Protestants every year go back to idolatry. It is perhaps true that the religion of Christ has never been so disgraced in any age of the church as it has been lately by official neglect of the Protestant church in Ceylon." Ceylon had then a population of half a million Christians, and not one complete copy of the Scriptures in the vernacular. The reverend doctor elsewhere remarks—"Perhaps it is not generally known in England that our Bengal and Madras governments do not patronise the native Christians. They give official patronage to Mohammedans and Hindoos generally in preference to natives professing Christianity. The chief argument for the retention of this system is precedent: it was the practice of the first settlers. It is certain that this system confirms prejudice, exposes our religion to contempt in the eyes of the natives, and precludes every ray of hope of the future prevalence of Christianity at the seats of government." *

The policy here stigmatised differs widely from that which is now likely to prevail in the councils of the Indian government.

Enough for the present purpose has been said of the labours of Xavier. The results may be summed in a sentence. The inhabitants of whole districts professed Christianity; such was the number of catechumens who presented themselves for baptism, that it is affirmed that the arms of the priests fell down from fatigue. Many episcopal sees were created: in 1547 and 1611 the archbishoprics of Goa and Cranganore, and 1557 and 1606 the bishoprics of Cochin and Malacca and St. Thome de Meliapore. After the example of the Jesuits the other principal orders founded missions in different parts. From the frontiers of Thibet to Cape Comorin there was nearly a million, nominally, in spiritual subjection to Rome; and the missionaries assured an over-credulous world that this was merely the seed of an over-abundant harvest. Though the reputed number of his proselytes was so considerable as to obtain for Xavier the honour of canonization after his death, it must be confessed that the present condition of the descendants of those poor converts who crowded to hear him, and listened with such ardent devotion to his discourses, testifies neither to their increase of human or divine knowledge,

* *Christian Researches in India*, p. 93.

and afford but small corroboration of the preternatural gifts claimed for this great man; indeed, the annals of the Portuguese church in the East, during and immediately after his ministration, are as frequently disgraced by credulity and bigotry as they were in the parent state.*

In the quotations previously given from Assemannus, it has been seen with what gratification the resident Christians of the coast of Malabar had hailed the arrival of the Portuguese. The expectations they so sanguinely entertained of sympathy, protection, and community, from the assurances made to them, were never realized; indeed, very little mention is made of them in the proceedings of the European papal missionaries for several years. The cause of this was, that though the Portuguese were agreeably surprised to find, on their arrival, upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar, after a short time they ascertained that they repudiated many of the doctrines and observances which in the West were considered orthodox. "These churches," said the Europeans, "belong to the pope."—"Who is the pope?" said the natives; "we never heard of him." The priests were yet more alarmed when they found that these Christians maintained order and discipline distinct from the Roman,† that they were all Jacobites or Nestorians, and acknowledged the authority of a bishop, sent sometimes by the Jacobite patriarch of Nineveh, and sometimes by the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon, who assumed the title of Bishop of Angamale. So little were they acquainted with the subtleties, subsequent to the apostolic period, that the Roman Catholic writers state, in a tone of reproach, "they could not distinguish between the conflicting creeds of Eutychus and Nestorius. The bishops, not less indifferent than the clergy and people, were satisfied with possessing, exteriorly, the doctrines of the patriarch from whom they received their mission."‡ "We," said they, "are of the true faith, whatever you from the West may be, for we come from the place§ where the followers of Christ were first called Christians." When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose, they invaded these tranquil and independent churches, established in the mountains and along the coast, seized some of the clergy, and doomed them to the death of heretics. Then for the first time was heard

among these congregations, that Christianity pressed into its service such instruments as the Inquisition, and that for their conversion it had been imported into the neighbouring town of Goa. The terrors of such agencies did not here, as they did not elsewhere, contribute to change the convictions of their victims. On the contrary, as might be expected, the people more resolutely adhered to their ancient tenets, and forced their persecutors, for conscience' sake, to have recourse to other means of a conciliatory character. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him prisoner to Lisbon. They shortly after this aggression convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches, at a town called Diamper, near Cochin, on the 20th of June, in the year 1599, at which the Roman Catholic archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod a hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. The objects which the archbishop had in contemplation are revealed by himself in the circular with which he summoned the synod:—"Pope Clement the Eighth, our Lord Bishop of Rome, and Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ, by virtue of his pastoral office, and that universal power bequeathed to the supreme, holy, and apostolical chair of St. Peter over all the churches in the world by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord and Redeemer, he commanded us, upon the death of the Archbishop Mar Abraham, to take possession of this church and bishopric, so as not to suffer any bishop or prelate coming from Babylon to enter therein, as has been hitherto the custom, all that come from thence being schismatics, heretics, and Nestorians, out of the obedience of the holy Roman church, and subject to the patriarch of Babylon, the head of the said heresy."

The proceedings of the synod of Diamper are of great significance. They supply an historic record, from the most unquestionable authorities, of the faith and practice both of the Roman and Syrian churches at the time of their publication.

The following are the three leading doctrines of Christianity which appear always to have been held by the Christians in India:—1st. Salvation by faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ for the sins of mankind. 2nd. The necessity of the new birth, or regeneration by the Holy Ghost, before any can believe and be saved. 3rd. The Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, as defined in the Athanasian Creed, but without its damnatory clauses. In these fundamental tenets the Syrian church agreed with every orthodox church in Christendom. From the summary subjoined, and drawn from authentic sources, it will appear how far she agreed with the

* See Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 206.

† Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, p. 107.

‡ Memoir addressed by Dr. St. Anne, Bishop of Amala, and Vicar Apostolic. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1839-40.

§ Antioch.

reformed churches of England, Scotland, and other nations, and in what respects she differed from the church of Rome.

The Syrian church rejected the papal supremacy, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, condemned the adoration of images as idolatrous, but respected the figure of the cross, which was venerated, and placed in all their churches. She maintained that the church of Rome had corrupted the true faith, and had set up many human inventions. The Syrian church knew nothing of the intercession of saints—of purgatory—of masses and prayers for the dead—of the use of holy oil in the administration of baptism—of extreme unction—of auricular confession, nor of the celibacy of the clergy. The wives of the ministers were called *cataniaries*, and took precedence of other women at church, and every where else. They were distinguished with a gold cross, or one of inferior metal, suspended from the neck. This primitive church denied matrimony to be a sacrament; recognised but two orders amongst her ministers, *kasheeshas* and *shumshanas* (pastors and deacons); no bishops, in the sense Episcopalians apply this title to the minister of greatest authority in their churches.* She celebrated the communion with cakes, mixing the meal with a little oil and salt: Mar Joseph was the first who introduced the wafer and wine of Portugal at this sacrament. The elements were consecrated with prayer, and administered in both kinds to all communicants; the members of all the churches were admitted to communion; nothing was known of the papal doctrine, that regards as heretics all that are not members of their own church, believing that every faithful disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ would be saved to whatever communion he belonged. In all questions of doctrine an appeal was made to the authority of the sacred Scriptures as decisive, and not to the traditions of the fathers, or decisions of the church, or interpretations of their ministers. She is said to have held three sacraments—baptism, the eucharist, and holy orders; it is doubtful, however, whether she admitted more than the first two of these ordinances under that designation.

To correct all these “errors” and “abuses,” as the Roman authorities have thought well to stigmatize them, and to subject the native Christians in all things to the see of Rome, was the design and business of the council of Diamper. How precious was the boon thus intended to be bestowed, may be inferred from

* Buchanan's *Christian Researches in India*, p. 109, note. Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. ii. p. 13.

the following description, furnished by a Carmelite missionary, of the Portuguese Christians with whom it was proposed to associate them in religious worship:—“The Christians who live in the Portuguese colonies in India are composed of three classes: the first are the soldiers, who come from Portugal, and are called *regnicoles*; the second are called *metifs*, the descendants of the former; the third are the slaves that have been converted to the faith. The first class—the nobility among them excepted—are the dregs of Portugal, for the most part a seditious people, covered with crimes, and banished from their country. The second class are ill-educated, extremely effeminate, and abandoned to all kinds of sensual indulgence. The third are a wild race, totally incapable of instruction, and ferocious in the extreme. In a climate so warm as that which these people inhabit, their natural propensity to evil is always on the increase—indeed, many of them actually believe vice to be necessary. It is incredible with what envy and thorough malevolence they persecute one another, and that for the most trivial offence. Such is their immodesty that we cannot venture to describe it. The men and women live in continual idleness, passing all their days together perfectly naked, without the least respect for each other, or any regard to the difference of sexes. They are incessantly chewing betel, cardamons, and areca, which are heating and intoxicating drugs. They are also perpetually smoking tobacco. This mode of living is enough to set their bowels in a flame, which are already almost burnt up by the heat of the climate which they inhabit. From these general causes one may easily comprehend what must be the conduct of this people; but I will gladly omit a more particular detail in order to spare the reader's feelings.”*

The benefits which the native Christians derived from the benevolent intentions of the council of Diamper will be best appreciated by a brief consideration of their condition and status previously, and the changes which resulted. The Christian communities, some time previous to the arrival of the Portuguese, were independent, and ruled by a king of their own creed and lineage; and when they came to be governed, on the decline of their former consequence, by Hindoo princes, they were almost on a par with their sovereigns. They were allowed to have a military force of their own, which was composed principally of Shenars—the caste that culti-

* Vincenzo-Maria, lib. II. c. xviii. pp. 202, 203. To the testimony of the missionary here quoted might be added that of Linschot, Tavernier, and other travellers, all Portuguese or Italians. See Hough, vol. ii. p. 331.

vates the palm-tree. Beside the Brahmins, they were the only people permitted to have inclosures before their houses. They possessed the right of mounting and travelling on elephants, a distinction which they and the heir-apparent exclusively shared. They were allowed to sit even on a carpet in presence of the rajah and his ministers of state, an honour conceded to foreign ambassadors. During the sixteenth century the Rajah of Paru proposed to extend this last-named privilege to the nadis of his dominions, but the Christians immediately declared war against him if he persevered, and he was compelled by that threat to relinquish his design. These immunities and honours rendered the dignity of their recognised chief, spiritual or political, so considerable, that, as the Italian missionary, Vincenzo-Maria, has testified, he was as highly esteemed as a king.

To obliterate all evidences of the former independence of their churches, the council decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found should be burned, in order, as they averred, that no *pretended* apostolical monuments should remain. The reconciliation effected by the decrees of the council was partial, conditional, and short-lived. The churches on the sea-coast alone submitted to the supremacy of the pope; the churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. The Latin rite was accepted, but they insisted on the retention of the liturgy and language of the Chaldean church. They were not long submissive to the yoke imposed upon them. After a show of obedience, for a little time, they strenuously protested against the Inquisition, and in the year 1653 repudiated the authority of the Roman bishop who then governed them, the pope, and the Roman church. They returned to their primitive mode of worship, and placed at their head a superior of their own rite. Four hundred families alone of the nation, and the Latin parishes to the number of eleven, remained faithful to papal authority.* Such was the hatred engendered against the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, a very numerous body, and influential, that Pope Alexander VII., in 1656, sent four Italian religious from Rome of the Carmelite order, who commenced a mission in Malabar, which exists to the present day.

To a person carefully recapitulating the efforts of the Jesuits in India, and the means which were employed for the conversion of the natives, it does not at all appear strange, that with the apparent success which attended the labours of Xavier, no permanent good

was effected. His personal character had done much towards securing his success. "It appears," says the reverend historian so often referred to, "to have been unexceptionable; and this, as well as his standard of Christian morals for his disciples, may be fairly attributed to the instructions and impressions he had received in early life through his Protestant associates at Paris. His missionary character, also, in many respects, is worthy of admiration. For grandeur of design, and diligence in the execution, for disinterested love to man, for bold fidelity to persons of the highest, and engaging condescension to men of the lowest estate, for unwearied devotion, self-denial, renunciation of the world, intrepidity in dangers, and many other estimable qualities, he has left behind him an example which has never been surpassed since the apostles' days. Could all this pure metal have been detached from the dross with which it was mixed, and cast into the mould of God's word, he would have formed one of the brightest and best instruments ever used to deliver mankind from the bondage of Satan, and restore them to their rightful Lord. . . . Let us pray that every future missionary of a purer creed may have grace to live as much to the Redeemer's glory, and to the extension of his kingdom in this world, as Francis Xavier lived for the reputation of his order, and for the interests of the Roman church." *

The religious influence and high perception of moral duty which regulated the conduct of Xavier, found no reflex in the conduct of his associates and successors. The sketch drawn of their operations by a friendly and sacerdotal hand, even in its mellowed tints, is a revolting picture of what sophistication is capable. The following is from the pages of the *Annales de Propagation de la Foi*:—"After St. Francis Xavier had departed from the Indian peninsula, other missionary Jesuits arrived from all the Catholic countries of Europe to labour for the conversion of the natives, so gloriously begun by that great man. He had confined his preaching to the coast; they penetrated to the interior. Having studied the genius and character of the people, they believed that in order to command attention, gain their confidence, conciliate their esteem, and induce them to listen to them, it became them to respect their prejudices, and even to conform to their habits, and to adopt their manners and costumes."

The better to promote their designs, they publicly proclaimed that they were European Brahmins, and had come from a country five

* *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1839-40, p. 149.

* Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i. p. 211.

thousand leagues distant, to acquire the learning of the Indians and to communicate their own. The knowledge which a great number of the missionaries had of astronomy and medicine, contributed to win for them the respect and confidence of men of every rank and condition. Having announced themselves as Brahmins, they studiously began to assimilate themselves to that caste in their social intercourse, manner of dress, frequent ablutions, and in their abstinence; they absolutely refrained from eating flesh meat, desiring as the Apostle Paul, "to make themselves all things to all men," the more easily to gain people to Jesus Christ. It was by such contrivances and privations, scarcely credible, that the Jesuits introduced themselves to the Hindoos, and won their confidence. Reared on such an unstable foundation, it is no matter of surprise if the edifice which they erected soon crumbled into dust, and left barely the remembrance of its temporary existence.

This short sketch of the religious history of India, from the days of St. Thomas to the arrival of the Dutch, may be appropriately followed by a summary of the present condition of Roman Catholicism in India, and a statement of the papal ecclesiastical divisions into which it is now partitioned. Too little attention is paid in this country to the comprehensive and well-arranged schemes, and persevering labours of the emissaries of Rome, to make proselytes in the East. The zeal manifested by them to propagate their tenets, is calculated to put to the blush the Protestantism of Great Britain, and other Bible-reading nations.

The archdiocese of Goa, created in 1567, comprises the territory of that city, Gujerat, and perhaps the Deccan, and Nagpore. San Pedro is the archiepiscopal residence, it is near the Villa Nova de Goa, where the population of the ancient capital, now depopulated, is concentrated. This see has been vacant for some years, but it is provisionally filled by an administrator named by the Portuguese government, in opposition, the papal advocates say, to the laws of the church. This diocese is distracted by schisms.

The French settlements, which are subject to the colonial administration, are placed under the jurisdiction of a prefect-apostolic, who resides at Pondicherry; the other four districts are entrusted to the priests of the Seminary of the Holy Ghost, in Paris; there is, however, but one at Chandernagore. Kankal is under the spiritual government of the Society of Foreign Missions. The rest of India forms seven vicariates-apostolic:—

1. The vicariate-apostolic of Thibet and Hindostan comprises the north of India

from near the tropics, Nepaul and perhaps Bhotan, which may be considered provinces of Thibet, a part of the country of the Mahrattas, and that of the Rajpoots; the Sikhs, and Affghans, as far as Persia, are also within its circumscription, but do not contain any Roman Catholics.

2. The vicariate-apostolic of Bengal comprises the missions which the Jesuits possessed in that country. Calcutta contains about ten thousand Roman Catholics, and possesses three churches; there may be the same number at Dacca, and in other parts of Bengal. In 1840 the mission and college were attended by six Jesuits, assisted by six Portuguese priests who have submitted to the new jurisdiction, and three who have been educated at the Propaganda.

3. It is not easy to determine with precision the circumscription of the vicariate-apostolic of Madras. The bull of 1838 assigns it to the ancient dependencies of the diocese of San Thome de Meliapore, which had not previously been disposed of. It is supposed that it comprises the coast of the Carnatic to the south, the cities of Gondalore and Porto Novo to the north, the shore as far as Masulipatam or the mouth of the Kistna, as far as Bengal; it would even seem that the interior of India, to the north of that river, is to be added as far as Nidzam and Nagpore, for the vicar of Madras sends missionaries there. The ancient episcopal city of Meliapore, near Madras, is included in this vicariate. Madras is the episcopal residence; there were three churches in the city in 1840, and four others in the suburbs and vicinity; the number of Roman Catholics was then computed at twenty thousand, ministered to by an Irish vicar, assisted by seven of his countrymen.

4. The vicariate-apostolic of Bombay extends along the coast from Surat in the north to Rajpore in the south. The priests here are numerous, the most of them Italian Carmelites, with a few natives. The Christian population, though not ascertained, is said to be considerable.

5. The vicariate-apostolic of Verapolio is formed of the archdioceses of Cranganore and the diocese of Cochin. It comprises Malabar and Travancore; that is to say, the whole coast from Cape Comorin to within a short distance of Goa. The chain of the Ghauts forms its limits towards the interior. Five missionaries and a considerable number of native priests, who follow the Chaldean rite, exercise the ministry. There were, at the date above given, seventy-eight churches or chapels, and near two hundred thousand Christians.

6. The vicariate-apostolic of Pondicherry was erected in 1777, in favour of the Society of Foreign Missions, who for a long time had supported many priests there. The bull of 1838, by enlarging its jurisdiction, has added to it the south of India, from Cape Comorin to the Kistna, with the exception of those parts of the coast reserved to Madras; all that part of the vicariate of Pondicherry to the south of the river Caverry, with the exception of Tanjore and its provinces, and the port of Nagapatam, is entrusted to the administration of the Jesuits, who, however, are subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop, and receive their faculties from him. This part, which comprises Madura and Marava, is divided into three districts, that of Trichopoly to the north, that of Madura in the centre, and that of Tinnevely. Six Jesuits, assisted by some native priests, are charged with a Christian population of a hundred and fifty thousand souls. This is the classic soil of their boasted ancient triumphs, and of the

conquests of Francis Xavier. The territory which has remained under the exclusive administration of the Society of Foreign Missions is divided into twelve districts, including Tanjore; twenty-two missionaries and three native priests were charged with the spiritual instruction of eighty thousand Christians; the episcopal residence is Pondicherry. The Maldiv Islands have been attached to this mission.

7. The vicariate-apostolic of Ceylon was erected in 1836. This island, the entire population of which amounts to over one million and a half, contains no less than two hundred thousand professing Christians. The Roman Catholic clergy boast of the possession of two hundred and fifty-six churches.

The details here given are collected from the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, and are to be received with the reserve due to an *ex parte* statement. Further particulars respecting this interesting island will be found in a previous chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE MOHAMMEDANS IN INDIA.

THE year 622 is the first of the Hegira, or the Mohammedan era—an epoch, one of the most remarkable in the history of the human race, distinguished by the introduction of a new religion, an important revolution, and a personage whose achievements and power have left a lasting impression.

Arabia is a peninsula separated from Persia by the Persian Gulf, from Egypt by the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea. The inhabitants claim descent from Joktan, the son of Heber, who they allege laid the foundation of the Arabian empire, shortly after the dispersion of Babel, and the confusion of language. A long list of kings from Joktan to Mohammed is preserved by the Arabs; but there is very little doubt that many of those who swell it are purely imaginary, and, indeed, like the early chronology of all countries, it is not within the power of man to verify that of Arabia.

Interesting and instructive would be an inquiry to ascertain,—by what means the Arabs preserved themselves independent of the ancient Egyptians; what enabled them to treat so contemptuously the power of Alexander the Great, that when he threatened their destruction, they disdained to send ambassadors to deprecate his displeasure; the forces which they opposed to the armies of Antigonus and Demetrius; the incursions they repeatedly made into Syria, even when

that kingdom was subject to the Romans; why Pompey refrained from conquering them, and rested satisfied with some annual tribute; what obstacles arrested the expedition organized against them by Augustus Cæsar; to what extent the Roman historian exaggerated the successes of Trajan and Severus in that country, and what coerced both these emperors to abandon it; whence came the Saracens; at what period they allied themselves to the Arabs; the extent of their ravages in Egypt, in Palestine, in Phœnicia, before the Mohammedan era. All that is accurately known is, that Arabia was free, independent, and peaceable; that the Jews and Christians, persecuted elsewhere, here found refuge, and, forgetting their mutual animosities, were united in amity amongst themselves and with the heathen,—conflicting tenets no longer estranged them. To an artful master-mind, imbued with no fixed opinions, prepared to adopt every expedient to ensure success, was presented an opportunity of uniting in one mass, on the basis of common objects, men who had become indifferent to creed. In 569 was born at Mecca a man whose destiny it was to accomplish such a feat, and to produce a radical change in the aspect of the East. Ignorant, ambitious, and originally of ardent temperament, he became a fanatic, and soon after an impostor. He pretended to special

communications with the angel Gabriel, and claimed the power of working miracles. He was a man of strong feeling, cruel and enthusiastic, and in every way qualified to exercise the greatest influence over his countrymen. Having elsewhere given an elaborate portrait of this singular man, enough has been said of him for the present purpose. The tenets of his religion were few and easily remembered. "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The rewards promised to his followers were calculated to develop to its fullest extent the warlike propensities of his race. "The sword is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven at the day of judgment; his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk; the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubims."* The alternative left to the foe was "the Koran, tribute, or the sword."

The results of such a system, with such a people, responded to the sanguine expectations of the prophet chief. He soon conquered Arabia, laid waste the fertile plains of Syria, set at defiance the Eastern empire, founded a new one, and converted millions to his creed. At his death, like Alexander the Great, he left no son to occupy the throne; his empire lay exposed, the prize of the most enterprising of his followers. Though Ali was not only his cousin and son-in-law, but also—a claim of far greater weight with his fanatical followers—the first of his converts, Abubekir, the father of one of his many wives, succeeded to his temporal and spiritual power. In a campaign in Palestine Abubekir achieved many victories, and with equal success he propagated the pretended revelations of Mohammed. He reigned only two years. Although the followers of the Prophet were thus early severed into two sects—the Shites, the followers of Ali, and the Sonnites—the brilliant career of Omar, who succeeded to the supreme power, under the imposing title of "Commander of the Faithful," magnified the dignity and power of the caliph, or vicar of the Prophet. Wherever this intrepid prince directed the tide of war, conquests crowned his arms. On the banks of the Yermuk forty thousand Greeks paled before the Crescent, and Palestine was wrested from the feeble hold of the Christians. The capture of Damascus, the fall of Jerusalem, the rout of the Persians, the conquest of Egypt, and the acquisition of all the northern parts of Africa to the waters of the Atlantic from the Romans,

* The Koran, *passim*.

were some of the achievements of Omar. To him is ascribed the destruction by fire of the library of Alexandria in 641. In the midst of triumph he fell in 644, in the tenth year of his reign, by the hand of an assassin, and was succeeded by Othman, who, during the twelve years of his reign, was a zealous propagator of the doctrines of the Koran, and a successful prosecutor of the Eastern conquests commenced by his predecessors. He was the victim of a conspiracy, and perished in the thirty-fifth year of the Hegira, and 656 of the Christian era. Ali at length was proclaimed caliph, though strenuously opposed by Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, and mother of the faithful. He overcame Zobeir and Talher, who took up arms in her defence, and eventually got possession of herself, and had her conveyed with every mark of respect to Medina. In an insurrection he was slain, and was succeeded by his son Hassan, who was forced to abdicate, in A.D. 661, after a short reign of six months, in favour of Mauwiyah, who was the first caliph of the race of the Ommiades.

At the death of the second Caliph Omar, the kingdom of Persia, as far east as Herat, lately in possession of English troops, was overrun by the Arabs, and in A.D. 650 the Arab frontier had been extended to the river Oxus, including Balk and all of the country to the north of the Hindoo Koosh. The Indus became its eastern boundary.

Ferishta relates that in the year 664, the third of the reign, the Caliph Mauwiyah, an Arab ameer of distinction, marched from Meru to Cabul, where he made converts of upwards of twelve thousand persons, and that a detachment from thence penetrated, in the direction of India, as far as Mooltan, and having plundered the country, returned to head-quarters at Khorassan, bringing with them many prisoners, who were compelled to become converts.

Cabul about this time was reduced to subjection, as the Persian historian records that Yezzed, having learned that the prince of that country had thrown off his allegiance, marched against him with a force to recover the province, but was defeated in a pitched battle.* In revenge for this disgrace, Tilla, governor of Siestan, having collected a large force, subdued Cabul, and appointed an Arab governor over it. Eighteen years after this Abdurehman, governor of Khorassan, led in person a large army against Cabul, and having taken every precaution to escape further surprise, he entered it, and soon reduced it to entire submission. A singular circumstance induced Abdurehman to forfeit his allegiance.

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 5

At this time Hejaj was governor of Basra, and to him all the generals in Persia were subordinate. Hejaj was a man of the most violent and sanguinary character. He is said to have remarked after an interview with Abdurehman that he was very handsome, but that he never looked upon him without feeling an unaccountable inclination to cut his throat. Apprehending serious results from this antipathy, he immediately contracted an alliance with the lately chastised Rajah of Cabul, and assembling a numerous army, waged open war not alone on his enemy Hejaj, but on the caliph himself, whom he defeated, and seized on Basra, and thence marched to Cufa, lately the capital of the empire, and took possession of it. However, he was eventually defeated, after a struggle protracted through two years, and obliged to fly to his old government, and was on the point of being made prisoner at Siestan, when the prince of Cabul arrived to his relief. He now a second time renewed his preparations with similar results, and to escape falling into the hands of his enemies he put an end to his life.*

Ferishta relates that during all this time the Affghans were Moslems, and, according to their own traditions, were converted in the time of the Prophet. He further adds that in the year 63 of the Hegira (A.D. 684-5) they issued from their mountains, and invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries,—as Kirman, Sheownran, and Peshawur,—and with their allies, the Gukkurs, defeated the Rajah of Lahore, and compelled him to cede in perpetuity a portion of his territories. In return it was secretly provided by treaty that they should protect the Indian frontier from Mohammedan invasion.

The first appearance of the Mohammedans in India was in A.D. 664. Mohalib, a chief who had distinguished himself in Persia and Arabia, was detached on that occasion from the invading army, and penetrated to Mooltan; but it is a fact, and not accounted for, that no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.†

The next invasion is described as of a more permanent character, and is said to have proceeded from the south-eastern point of Persia into the country stretching from the mouth of the Indus, then ruled by a Hindoo prince called Dahir by the Mussulmen, whose capital was at Alor, near Bakkar, and whose territories included Mooltan and all Scinde, with probably the adjoining plain of the Indus, extending to the mountains at Calabagh.

Arab incursions are alleged to have been

made in the reign of the Caliph Omar, and Ferishta states that the Affghans gave an asylum to the surviving Arabs, who were driven out of Scinde in the second century of the Hegira. If they took place so early as the days of the second caliph, they were in all probability piratical expeditions for the purpose of abducting the women of that district, who, according to the tastes of the Arabs, were supposed to possess considerable attractions, and were greatly prized in the seraglios of that country.

At length, in the reign of Caliph Walid, the Moslem government was provoked to more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Dival, or Dewal, a seaport connected with Scinde, restitution was demanded of Rajah Dahir. He refused compliance, and pleaded in his justification that that port belonged not to his dominions. The Mussulmen sent a body composed of one thousand infantry and three hundred horse to enforce their claim. These were cut off by the natives. Hejaj, the governor of Basra, raised a regular army of six thousand men at Shiraz, and placed his nephew, Mohammed Casim, then not more than twenty years of age, in command, and he successfully conducted it to the walls of Dewal. Casim was supplied with catapults and the other machines requisite for a siege. He commenced his operations by an attack on a temple a short distance from the town. This was a pagoda greatly celebrated, in high veneration among the people. It was strongly fortified, being surrounded with a high enclosure of hewn stone, defended by a large garrison of Rajpoots, in addition to numerous inhabitants of the Brahminical caste. A flag was displayed on the lofty tower of the temple, and to this was attached a superstitious legend that, as long as it retained its position, the pagoda might bid defiance to all the art and power of its assailants. This prophecy soon reached the ears of Casim. He directed the engines against the sacred standard. It was brought to the ground, and those whose hopes rested on its safety, losing all confidence, abandoned their post in despair, and the place fell without a struggle into the hands of the invaders. Casim recommended to the inhabitants the rite of circumcision; this they rejected. Incensed by their contumacy, he ordered all the males above the age of seventeen to be put to death, and the rest, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to the speedy submission of the town. A rich booty fell into the hands of the Arabs, a fifth was reserved for Hejaj, and the rest divided among the troops. A son of Dahir's, who was in

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 501.

† Ibid., p. 503.

Dewal either as governor or as an ally, retreated to Brahminabad, to which place, according to Ferishta, he was pursued by the conqueror, and compelled to surrender on terms. Casim then advanced on Neerun (now Hyderabad), and thence upon Sehwan, to which he laid siege. This place, though strongly fortified, was evacuated at the end of seven days, the garrison flying to a fortress called Salem, which also surrendered. The Rajah Dahir was not an inattentive spectator of passing events, nor of the progress made by Casim. His son, with a large force, was dispatched to oppose him. He soon after joined him with a body of troops, thus forming an army of fifty thousand men. The Arab force did not exceed six thousand. The Indians had penetrated the ranks of their enemy, and were on the point of achieving the victory, when one of the Arab firemen threw a naptha ball on the white elephant on which Dahir was mounted. The terrifying effect of the liquid flame so alarmed the animal, that he fled to the river, and plunged into the stream, in spite of all the efforts made by his rider. The Indians, perceiving the speed with which their prince was hastening from the conflict, and unconscious of the cause, were panic-stricken, and instantly followed, abandoning the field to their fortunate adversaries. The elephant having emerged from the water, Dahir presented himself again to his flying troops, arrested their flight, and vigorously renewed the contest on the banks of the Indus. Fortune again was unfriendly; struck with an arrow, he fell from his seat. He nevertheless insisted on being placed on horseback; and although the wound was very severe, he gallantly charged into the thick of the Arabian cavalry, and there found the death of a hero. The loss of their brave prince disheartened his army, they fled in confusion from the field. A great amount of booty was obtained by this victory. The widow of Dahir, with a heroism worthy of her valiant spouse, assembled an army of fifteen thousand Rajpoots, and prepared to meet the invaders of her country. Though she offered the enemy battle they declined it, and she sought shelter within the defences of Adjur, which was closely invested. Being reduced to the last extremity, the garrison sacrificed their wives and children on a burning pile, and, headed by the widow of Dahir, attacked the Mohammedans in their camp, and all lost their lives fighting to the last.

One more desperate stand was made at Ashcandra, after which Mooltan seems to have fallen without a struggle, and the Arabs pursued their success till all the territories of Dahir came into their possession.

On the first invasion each city was summoned to embrace the creed of the conquerors or pay tribute. Those who did not accept either alternative, if they did not make an absolute surrender, were put to the sword, and their families sold into slavery. Four cities rejected these terms, and in two of them, the soldiers, to the amount of six thousand, were butchered. A strange exception was made in these cases. The merchants and artizans were not included, and to those who agreed to pay tribute all their privileges were restored, and also the exercise of their religion. When a sovereign consented to pay tribute, he retained his territory, and only became subject to the usual relations of a tributary prince.

Casim himself, though young, was prudent and conciliatory. Several of the Hindoo princes were won to his side during the war; and when it had been terminated he nominated the prime minister of Dahir to the same office under him, on the express grounds that he was best qualified to protect old rights and maintain established institutions.

It is said on the authority of contemporary historians, that he was contemplating a march to Kanouj, on the Ganges, and had reached Odeypore, when his career was arrested by a very singular and romantic incident. When the Arabs had obtained possession of Adjur, they found in that town some who had escaped the immolation. Among them were the two daughters of Dahir. They were women of great personal attractions, and considered to be a present worthy the acceptance of the caliph; they were consequently sent to Hejaj to be forwarded to the seraglio of Walid, the commander of the faithful. When these beauties reached the court the caliph became enamoured of the elder, and wished her to submit to his embraces. She assured him that she was entirely unworthy of such a high honour, having been the victim of Casim's licentious passions. The enraged caliph, whose will was law, in the first paroxysm of his anger, wrote with his own hand an order to him that he should be sewed up in a raw hide, and his body forwarded to Delhi. Upon its arrival Walid invited the vindictive Hindoo to his presence, and thus addressed her:—"Behold Mohammed Casim in his shroud! it is thus I punish the sins of those servants who presume to insult the deputy of the Prophet of God." She replied, with a smile full of triumph and sarcasm, "Know, caliph, that Mohammed Casim paid me the most delicate respect. He, however, put to death my father, my mother, my brother, and my countrymen, and in his death, indifferent to my own fate, I have gratified that revenge which has so long been

consuming me." The gratification of revenge in Indians, where their honour is concerned, is so strong, the fortitude of Hindoo females so great, and the devotion of the servants of the caliph so pure and disinterested, that the translator of Ferishta says the story may be allowed to hold its place among other romantic tales, not less remarkable, in the annals of the world.

On the death of Mohammed Casim a tribe who traced their origin from the Ansaries established a government; after which the zemindars usurped the power, and held independent rule for the space of five hundred years, but neither the names nor the histories of these princes are extant. In the course of years—the number unknown—this dynasty subjected the country of another dynasty called Soomuna. During their reigns the Mohammedan kings of India proper—such as those of Ghizni, Ghoor, and Delhi—invaded Scinde, and, seizing many of the towns, appointed Mohammedan governors over them. Among these rulers Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha asserted his independence.

With the death of Casim ceased the progress of the Mohammedan arms. His conquests devolved on his successor Temim, in whose family they continued for about thirty-six years—that is, to the downfall of the Omniades, A.D. 750—when, by an insurrection, of which the particulars have not survived, the Mussulmen were expelled by the Rajpoots, and all their conquests restored to the Hindoos, who retained possession for nearly five hundred years.

In the history of Bahawalpur, by Shahamet Ali, a statement at variance with the above, quoted from Elphinstone, is given.* According to this Indian authority governors were sent out by the Abassides to Scinde and the Punjaub, of which they took possession without much resistance, and this dynasty continued in the possession of their Indian possession without molestation until the caliphate of Kadir-Billah, being a period of two hundred and eighty-six lunar years, when the hostile advance of Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni, at the head of a large army, laid waste the intermediate country between Ghizni and Mooltan.†

Elphinstone, judiciously remarks, that it is extraordinary that the Arabs, who had reached to Mooltan during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overran India as easily as they did Persia,

and should now allow themselves to be beaten out of a province where they had a firm footing.* This result he endeavours to account for by the existence of a powerful priesthood, closely connected with the government, and deeply revered by their countrymen; by a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an invisible influence over their very thoughts; and by a horror of change, and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force. Even the divisions of the Hindoos were in their favour; the downfall of one rajah only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind, and the invader diminished his number, and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion. However these considerations may have weighed with the early invaders, they deserve the greatest attention from the inquirer, for it is principally to them must be ascribed the slow progress of Mohammedanism in India, and the comparatively mild and tolerant form it assumed in that country.

At this period the power of the followers of the Arabian reformer had culminated to its height. The fertile regions of Northern Africa, the seats of Egyptian grandeur, and of the commercial greatness of the proudest of the Tyrian colonies, the rich and extensive plains of Spain, the Eastern continent, the luxuriant parent of the great primitive empires, where towered from time immemorial Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Persepolis, Mecca, and Jerusalem, and the awe-inspiring, mountain-excavated, cave-structured city of Petrea, all capitals of successive empires, had submitted to the crescent, but already the seeds of dissension were broadcast over their empire. Even in the first half century of the Hegira the murder of Othman with his Koran on his knee, and the imbecility of Ali, led to a successful revolt, and the establishment of a caliphate beyond the confines of the birth-land of the Prophet. The Omniades, who were elevated to the newly-established dignity for ninety years, were harassed with the repeated assertion of the supposed rights of the posterity of the Prophet, through his daughter Fatima, whose claims furnished a respectable pretext for revolt and rebellion, and eventuated in the uprising of the powerful province of Khorassan, which humbled the power of the reigning house, and placed upon the throne in 750 the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed. Spain adhered to the fortunes of the old dynasty, and the integrity of the Moslem empire was broken for ever.

* *History of India*, vol. i. p. 512.

* *History of Bahawalpur*, p. 5.

† Ghizni consisted of the tract which composed the kingdom of Bactria after the division of Alexander's empire—namely, the countries lying between Parthia and the Indus, and south of the Oxus.

When the caliphate of Bagdad was thus rapidly on the decline, a tribe of Tartars from the Altai Mountains, and since known by the name of Turks, had gradually and steadily risen to great power. By a series of vigorous incursions they had subjected to their rule all the neighbouring tribes. In the degeneracy of the Arab troops contingents from these warriors were largely incorporated with them. Their chiefs soon, by deeds of personal valour and strategic ability, rose to the command of armies and the government of provinces, and on them was soon conferred the distinguished honour of selecting from their ranks the body-guard of the "commander of the faithful."

As soon as the power of the caliphs began to decline, and the energies, devotion, and enthusiasm of the Arabs began to wane, the results which invariably accompany such symptoms of course manifested themselves through the Mohammedan empire. The standard of rebellion was raised by the governors of remote provinces.

An obstinate revolt in Transoxiana, called Haroun-al-Reschid, the well-known caliph of Arabian history and romance, and the fifth of the house of Abbas, from the seat of government. His death was accelerated by the circumstance. It was quelled by his son Mahmoon, who took up his residence in this disaffected province, and was thus the means of preserving it to the empire. It was by means of an insurrection here that he was enabled to wrest the sceptre from his brother Amir. He had scarcely taken possession of his capital, and formed his court, when Tahir, to whose attachment he owed his successes, began to lay the foundation of his own independence. His territories included Transoxania and Khorassan, the latter extended from the Caspian to the Oxus, and were never after united to the caliphate. The commanders of the faithful, reduced to a state of abject dependence on the Turkish guards, were a mere symbol in their hands, and from that period may be dated the complete downfall of the Arab empire.

Tahir and his posterity, under the title of Tahirites, enjoyed sovereignty in that province from the year A.D. 813 to the year 872, a period of fifty-nine years. They were dispossessed by the son of a brazier, called in the Arabic Soffar, who, forcing his way upwards through the various grades of military adventure to be the chief of an army, was enabled to place on the throne his family, known in history as the dynasty of the Sofarides. This house was supplanted by a similar adventurer after a period variously stated to be thirty-four and fifty-seven years,

who established the house of the Samanides. The princes of this race are celebrated by the Persian historians as lovers of justice, and liberal and enlightened patrons of learning, and are said to have despoiled the legitimate commanders of the faithful of some of their most valuable territories, and to have exercised kingly authority over Bokhara, Khorassan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabulistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Affghans.

The Samanides ruled for (from A.D. 892 to 1004) one hundred and fourteen years; and though not invaders of India, they had more connection than any of their predecessors with the history of that country. They had originally come from Balk.

In the reign of Abd-el-Melek, the fifth prince of this dynasty, Aluptugeen, a Turkish slave, acquired distinction, and was appointed governor of the vast province of Khorassan. On the death of his sovereign he made an attempt to snatch the sceptre from the feeble hold of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince, but the emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Aluptugeen quitted the royal city of Bokhara. The ambitious governor retired with the adherents of his fortunes and the admirers of his courage to the town of Ghizni, situated on the westernmost part of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers tributary to the Indus. Every effort was made to crush his growing power, but in vain; and during a period of sixteen years he added both to dominions and to his reputation. The forces by which he was enabled to preserve his independence were composed of a body of three thousand disciplined slaves, or Mamelukes, Turks of his own original condition, who accompanied him to his retreat. Doubtless he was joined in after time by soldiers who had served under him when governor, but it is highly probable that his chief strength consisted in the resources supplied by the country of his adoption.

Sebektegin, at one time his slave, who by successive steps became his general counsellor and son-in-law, became also his successor. Although master in Ghizni, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides only as the governor of a province. He endeared himself to his officers and soldiers by his liberality and military qualities, and by his affability secured the love and admiration of his subjects. Peace during his government smiled on the land. His arms and his faith were successful in India. He destroyed the monuments of paganism, laid waste the Punjaub, built the towns of Bost and Kosdar near the Indus. Noah, the successor of Mansour, treated him rather as an ally than a subject.

The King of Turkistan threatened the destruction of the caliphate, but by the courage and skill of his troops the caliph supported the throne, and the defeated Turks were successfully expelled the invaded provinces A.D. 997.

On the demise of this prince his son Ishmael was raised to the throne, in obedience to his father's injunctions; but Mahmood, who had already gained great military renown while assisting in the war with the King of Turkistan, took up arms against his brother, and effectually asserted his rights as the elder born.

The occasional glimpses which history affords of the presence of the followers of the Arab prophet in India are meagre and unsatisfactory, furnishing few materials for narrative or the higher historical attributes. With the reign of Mahmood commences the eleventh century, and the opening chapter of what can be properly called the Mohammedan history of India. On the foundation which had been so recently laid by his active predecessors, whose newly-constructed empire had not yet had time for consolidation, he erected a superstructure which has survived many fierce agitations, and did not crumble by those fierce perturbations, the effects of the terrible convulsions which have agitated, destroyed, and modelled many of the institutions of Hindostan. The kingdom of the Samanides was abolished, and public prayers for his safety were substituted in the services of the mosques for those previously offered for the family of the royal masters of his progenitors. Irak Persia submitted to his yoke, and from the Caspian to the Ganges, from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, he was the only ruler.

His first expedition towards India was made in the autumn of the year A.D. 1000, having just previously proceeded from Balk to Herat, and thence to Siestan, where he defeated the governor of that province, and returned to Ghizni. The result of the Indian expedition was that he captured many forts and provinces, in which he placed garrisons, and then returned to his capital, and directed all his attention to the internal arrangement of his dominions, the organization of its civil and criminal jurisprudence, and the development of its resources. He then entered into an alliance with Elik Khan, the ruler of Turkistan, who had recently acquired possession of the territory of Bokhara. Having completed those arrangements at home, he again turned his thoughts to India, and twelve months from the date of his first approach to that country he proceeded with ten thousand chosen horse to Peshawur, and was there encountered by the Rajah of Lahore, at the

head of an army composed of forty-two thousand horse and foot, supported by three hundred elephants. Though the armies were so disproportionate, victory declared in favour of Mahmood. The rajah, with fifteen of his principal chiefs—his sons and brethren—was taken prisoner, and five thousand of his troops were left on the field of battle. Mahmood in this action acquired a rich booty. Among the spoils were sixteen necklaces, one of which was valued at £81,000. The following spring he released his prisoners on payment of a large ransom, and submitting to become tributary to him. In compliance with a custom then prevalent among the Hindoos, that whatever rajah was twice defeated by strangers should abdicate, the unfortunate chief of Lahore surrendered his crown to his son; and having ordered the erection of a funeral pile, he set fire to it with his own hand, and voluntarily expired in the flames.

In the year 1004 he marched into Hindostan to enforce the tributes previously imposed, and which had not been paid. Passing through the province of Mooltan, he arrived at a city which Ferishta calls Bhateca, but which his English translator, Briggs, confesses his inability to identify. The Hindoos fought with great bravery, and frequently repulsed their assailants with great slaughter. The latter, however, as repeatedly renewed the assault till the close of the day, when Mahmood, turning his face towards the city of the Prophet, implored his aid. "Forward! forward!" cried the enthusiastic chief, "our prayers have found favour with God." The troops caught the inspiration, and with a loud shout manifested their resolution and promptitude, and with impetuous ardour breasted the foe, impinged their ranks, broke their lines, forced them to flight, and pursued them to the gates of the city. The Hindoos evacuated the town, leaving a small garrison in the fortress, and retired to a wood on the banks of the Indus, where, being attacked, the rajah on the point of being made prisoner, fell on his sword, and most of his adherents shared his fate in endeavouring to avenge his fall. Two hundred and eighty elephants were among the spoil.

The following year the King of Mooltan revolted, and was supported by Anundpaul, the successor of the Rajah of Lahore, who detached the greater part of his force to Peshawur, where it suffered a signal defeat, and was pursued to Wuzeerabad, on the left bank of the Chenab. Anundpaul was forced to fly for refuge to Cashmere. The Rajah of Mooltan, his ally, thus defeated, submitted, and agreed to the payment of a large annual tribute, and to yield implicit obedience

in future. This speedy termination of the campaign was an agreeable circumstance to Mahmood, for he had then learned from the governor of Herat that Elik Khan, the King of Kashgar, had invaded his northern provinces. Having left Zab Sais—a Hindoo who had embraced the Mohammedan religion—his lieutenant or governor in India, he marched to repel the invaders.

A short period had passed since Mahmood had formed an alliance with Elik Khan, and cemented it by marrying his daughter. The result of the invasion was that a decisive battle was fought, in which the Tartar invaders were signally defeated; and one of the interesting incidents of which was that the elephant on which Mahmood was mounted, being led by his royal master to a personal encounter with Elik Khan, the well-trained animal, seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft in the air. The Ghizny troops bravely supported their king, rushing in with headlong impetuosity, and driving the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elik Khan, defeated on all sides, crossed the river with a few of his surviving attendants, and never afterwards appeared in the field during Mahmood's reign. Though the weather was inclement, Mahmood, eager to crush for ever the discomfited and dispirited refugee, decided, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his best trusted officers, to pursue him in his flight. It was the depth of winter, and the soldiers were unable to endure the fatigues of the march, aggravated by the severity of the season. On the third night of the pursuit a storm of wind and snow overtook them in the unsheltered wilds. The royal tents with great difficulty were pitched and made secure, while the army was unprotected. A number of stoves were brought into the king's tents, and became so heated, that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments, when a facetious chief came in shivering with cold, the king, observing him, and addressing him by name, exclaimed, "Dilchuck, go out, and tell Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for here we defy his power." Dilchuck went out as ordered, and returning in a short time, thus addressed his master: "I have delivered the king's message to Winter, but the surly fellow replies that if his hands cannot reach the skirts of royalty, nor hurt his suite, yet will this night prove to the army the mighty power he possesses, and in the morning Mahmood may be necessitated to saddle his own horse." This courtier-like rebuke produced a salutary effect. The king reflected seriously on the condition of his troops, the

risks to which they were being exposed, and he resolved to proceed no farther; and, indeed, in the morning some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished from the cold.

About this time Mahmood had information that the Hindoo renegade whom he had left in care of his Indian possessions had returned to his early superstitions, and had expelled the officers appointed by the king. To punish this revolt in the bud, he marched with the greatest expedition towards India, and sent on before him a body of cavalry, who came unexpectedly on Zab Sais, defeated him, and made him prisoner. The rebel was compelled to pay the sum of four hundred thousand dirhems, and was kept in confinement during the remainder of his life.

He had not been many months returned to Ghizni, when he determined to proceed to India, in order to chastise the Rajah of Lahore for the opposition he encountered from him in a previous Indian campaign to suppress the defection of Mooltan. Having heard of his intended approach, Anundpaul sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindostan, the expulsion of the Mohammedans being now considered a sacred duty. Accordingly the Rajahs of Oojein, Gwalior, Kalunjur, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmeer, entered into a confederacy, and uniting their forces, advanced towards the Punjaub with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The belligerents met on a plain convenient to Peshawur, where they remained encamped during the space of forty days without coming to action. The Hindoos had daily accessions of strength. Such was the enthusiasm which animated the entire nation, that the Hindoo women sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments, to supply the sinews of war, and these patriotic contributions were forwarded from the remotest parts of the peninsula. The Gukkurs and other warlike tribes joined the confederates, and the Mohammedans, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to fortify their camp. These defences did not protect them against the impetuous Gukkurs. No less than thirty thousand, with their heads and feet bare, armed with various arms, penetrated the Mohammedan lines, and in a few minutes put six thousand of them to the sword. Though thus successful in the first onset, the fortune of the day declared against them. The prince who had the command of the confederates was mounted, as was usual with them, on a conspicuous elephant, which, being startled by a discharge of flaming naphtha balls, became ungovernable, turned, and fled. The disappearance of their general disheart-

ened his forces; they were thrown into irremediable confusion, and sought safety in flight. In the pursuit twenty thousand of them fell.

Mahmood now determined on using all the means in his power to establish a permanent empire in India, and to impose the laws of the Koran upon the conquered Hindoos. He waged unsparing war upon their idols, and in his progress remorselessly persecuted the Brahmins, and razed their temples. In order to preserve what they valued infinitely more than their private property, the precious utensils dedicated to the service of their temples, they had them secretly conveyed to a fort of great strength erected on the top of a steep mountain. The sacred treasures of all the neighbouring kingdoms were thither conveyed. The Persian historian supposes that in this fort were accumulated a larger quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than was ever stored in the royal treasury of any other prince. Mahmood surprised this place before any precautions could be taken for its defence. The only persons left in charge were a few helpless and timid priests. It fell into his hands without a blow. The booty, without any exaggeration, was immense. Estimating the mun, the standard of weight, at its lowest value—for it varies considerably, being in Arabia only about two pounds, and reaching to eleven pounds in Tabreez—Ferishta sets it down at fourteen hundred pounds of gold and silver plate, four hundred pounds of golden ingots, four thousand pounds of silver bullion, and forty pounds weight of pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, and the specie at £313,333. With this vast prize he returned to Ghizni A.D. 1009. To celebrate his success he prepared a magnificent festival, and on that occasion ostentatiously displayed his rich stores of golden thrones and other valuables, and every guest was a recipient of a splendid gift.

Such results as these were calculated to whet the appetite for further conquests; and such was the effect. In the following year Mahmood marched towards Ghoor, a country possessed by a tribe of the warlike Affghans, who shrunk not from the defence of their fatherland. Their success in the earlier period of the campaign responded to their independent spirit and resolution. Mahmood was repulsed in reiterated assaults. At length he succeeded by stratagem in defeating his gallant enemy. Mohammed their king was made prisoner. His proud spirit disdaining to survive defeat and independence, he shared the fate, having taken similar precautions, of the great Carthaginian, Hannibal, by swallowing poison, concealed in his ring for such an exigency.

It is very probable that it was after this reverse that Mohammedanism was imposed on the Affghans, although some authors affirm that they were converted many years before, as already stated—even so early as the time of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. The Affghans were noted for their bravery. During the reigns of the Sumany kings they formed a barrier between the kingdom of Mooltan and Lahore; and this resistance is the cause why the Sumany troops always limited their predatory excursions to Scinde and Tatta. It has been observed, when the government of Ghizni devolved on Aluptugeen, his general, Sebektegin, made repeated excursions into Mooltan and Lumghan, and met with fierce opposition from the Affghans; and they were also found leagued with the brave Rajah of Lahore, Jupal, who fought bravely, though unsuccessfully, and would not survive his defeats. From that period the Affghans became military chiefs. Sebektegin, from motives of policy, courted their alliance against the Arabs, and during his reign refrained from attacking; and though his son Mahmood triumphed over them, the sequel will show how they eventually succeeded in subverting the ruling dynasty, and in placing one of their chiefs upon the throne. From Ghoor the Ghiznites marched to the reduction of Mooltan, which had again risen in arms. Having quieted the revolvers, he proceeded to the subjugation of Tahnesur, within thirty miles of Delhi. This city was held in as high veneration by the Hindoos as were Mecca by the Moslems and Jerusalem by the Christians. The most sacred of their idols were located there, and its origin dated in their traditions from the creation. Anundpaul, the Rajah of the Punjaub, a tributary of Mahmood, importuned him to alter his resolution respecting Tahnesur, guaranteeing that the amount of the revenues of that district should be paid to reimburse for the expense of his expedition; besides which he undertook to present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount. The reply of the invader marks the stern character of the man, and the all-sacrificing devotion to his creed: "The religion of the faithful inculcates the following tenet: 'that in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused, and his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven;' and therefore that it was his mission, with the divine aid, to root out the worship of idols from the length and breadth of India. How, then, could he spare Tahnesur?" This haughty reply left but one of two alternatives—absolute submission, at the sacrifice of what is dearest to

man, his religious convictions or prejudices, or to peril all in defence of their altars and their homes. However gross may be the superstitions which form the bases of a national creed, they are entitled to respect in proportion to the number of votaries and the moral influences they exercise; and though they may be revolting, nothing justifies the mission of the sword and the fagot. The spirit of the Hindoo principalities was thoroughly roused; but before a junction of their forces could be made, the sacred city was in the power of the enemy. It was given up to the plunder of the army; the temples were stripped of their ornaments, the idols broken, and some of those more special objects of worship were transported to the seat of government. On this occasion the Mohammedan army is said to have carried home with it two hundred thousand captives, and such a mass of Indian spoils, that the capital of Ghizni appeared like an Indian city. Not a soldier of the army was without wealth or without many slaves.

In A.D. 1013 Mahmood penetrated into Cashmere in pursuit of Jupal, second rajah of Lahore, who had fled thither for shelter. He plundered that province, imposed the Mohammedan yoke on the inhabitants, and reduced the chiefs to nominal subjection. In two years after, A.D. 1015, he revisited it, to punish some revolted chiefs, and besieged some forts not previously reduced. This proved a disastrous campaign. The summer was spent in an attempt to besiege Lokoti, a fortress remarkable for the strength of its artificial and natural defences. The approach of winter compelled him to abandon his enterprise. On his return he was misled into extensive morasses, in which he lost a great portion of his force.

In the spring of 1017, with an army consisting of a hundred thousand chosen horse, and twenty thousand foot, Mahmood undertook an expedition against Kanouj. The journey was one of three months, and the intervening district was intersected with seven formidable rivers. He directed his course through Cashmere, and was there supplied with provisions and reinforcements by the prince whom he had recently there established. The march was not only long, but tedious, till he entered the plains of Hindostan, and, driving all opposition before him, he advanced to Kanouj. This city, situated on the Ganges, about a hundred miles south-east from Delhi, was then the capital of a kingdom. From the reign of Gustab, the father of Darab (Darius, King of Persia), says Ferishta,* this city had not been visited by any foreign enemy.

* *The Mohammedan Power in India*, vol. i. pp. 51, 57.

This city, the Persian describes, in the gorgeous imagery of the East, as "raising its head to the skies, and which in strength and beauty is unrivalled," not being prepared for an attack it had no reason to apprehend, threw itself on the mercy of the invader; and the rajah is represented, in his humiliation, to have embraced the religion of the Prophet. He delayed here three days, and then marched against Meerut, the rajah of which retreated with his army, leaving a very inefficient garrison for its defence. It was soon captured, and a large ransom paid for it. In rapid succession he took the cities of Mavin and Mutra—the latter, then a place of great wealth and consequence, is still of considerable extent, and not far from Agra. It was reputed to be four thousand years old, and rich in temples and idols loaded and glistening with diamonds. There are here, said the sultan, "a thousand edifices, as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples. Its present condition must have been attained at the expense of many millions, nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries."* He broke down or burned all the idols, and, as is said of his preceding expedition into Hindostan, he amassed a vast quantity of gold, silver, and diamonds. Though the city suffered much from fire and pillage, the temples escaped demolition. Whether he was influenced to abstain from destroying them by the labour it demanded, or by the admiration their extent, durability, and magnificence, inspired, is a conjecture to his historians. Several other forts being stormed or surrendered, and many rajahs reduced to submission, he returned, loaded with the spoils of victories, to his native

* Professor Wilson says that the whole story of Mahmood's destruction of Somnauth is a curious specimen of the manner in which a story is embellished by repetition. According to earlier Mohammedan writers, the idol Somnauth was a straight solid block of stone three cubits long, which, upon the temple being pillaged, was broken to pieces. They say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained, which, as it was solid, could not have been within it; nor do they speak of the sums offered for its redemption. Rozet-as-Safa, Tabkat Acberi, nor even Ferishta, says nothing of any definite sum being offered for it. His words are, the Brahmins went to the servants of Mahmood, and said, if the king will let the image alone we will give as much gold—meaning, probably, an equal weight—to the public treasury. The crores and millions are due to Dow and Gibbon. Ferishta, however, invents the hidden treasures of rubies and pearls with quite as little warrant. Somnauth was, in fact, a *Linga*, a *Nath* or deity ascribed to Soma, the moon, as having been erected by him in honour of Siva. It was one of the twelve principal types of that deity which were celebrated in India at the time of the first Mohammedan invasion.—*MILL'S History of India*, note by Wilson, vol. ii. p. 251.

dominions, there to recruit fresh strength and determination for further conquests. The pages of his historians are encumbered with the enumeration of the spoils, and their aggregate value, taken at each successive visit from the Indians.

To commemorate the success of this, and probably the preceding campaigns, he ordered a magnificent mosque to be built in Ghizni. The materials were marble and granite. Such was its transcendental splendour, it was called the Celestial Bride. It was furnished with carpets marvellously wrought, of the most exquisite and costly materials. The candelabra and other ornaments were of silver and gold. He also added an endowment of more sterling value—a university, which he supplied with a large and valuable collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. To its maintenance he appropriated a large sum of money, besides funds amply sufficient for the support of the students and professors, duly qualified to instruct the former in the arts and sciences.

The refined taste thus manifested by the sultan produced its effects among a people who had been proportionally participators with him in the plunder of the infidels; they endeavoured to vie with each other in the architectural style and decorations of their residences. Palatial mansions rose on every side; the public buildings surpassed in magnificence and effect; and in a very short time Ghizni was embellished with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond any city in the East.

The services which Mahmood had rendered to Islam were re-echoed through all the countries in which the Koran had been propagated. The glorious deeds he had done were written out, and presented to the caliph. He ordered the book containing them to be read publicly to the faithful at Bagdad, and exhibited his gratification by commemorating such distinguished success by the solemnization of a great festival.

Mahmood having been called upon to repress the outrages of some desert tribes, who, in the weakness of the caliphate, had ventured to interrupt the communication with Mecca, soon cleared that road of all who had dared to molest the pilgrims.

The accidental success of Mahmood in his last mentioned incursion into India, the submission of the Rajah of Kanouj, and his desertion of the creed of his race, had not destroyed among the Hindoos their assurance of a better future. No sooner had the Ghiznites retired from the peninsula than a confederacy was formed to crush the renegade,

and before his new master could come to his aid the traitor met the death he merited. On his arrival on the banks of the Jumna, hastening to succour his tributary, Mahmood was surprised to find the Rajah of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, drawn up in order of battle on the opposite bank, prepared to dispute his passage. Assaulted by an insignificant body of the invaders, the natives fled in the greatest disorder. He pursued the fugitive prince to his capital, entered it without opposition, and surrendered it to the indiscriminate pillage of his army. The prince of Lahore sought refuge in Ajmeer, and Mahmood returned to Ghizni, having appointed governors to various districts in Hindostan. This is the first time it is recorded—and after the lapse of twenty-three years—that Moslem governors were left in India east of the Indus. Thus was permanent possession taken by the Ghiznites of the Punjab, and the first foundation laid in Hindostan of a Mohammedan empire, in A.D. 1022, by the annexation of the principality of Lahore.

Whether the repletion of wealth or the advance of years had produced its sedative influences upon the predatory disposition of the sultan his historians have not deigned to record. The plunder of Kanouj was the last in his eleventh Indian campaign.

The twelfth Indian campaign is celebrated wherever there is a Mohammedan as the model of a religious invasion. On this ever-memorable undertaking all Mahmood's energies seem to have been reinvigorated and brought into action. To bequeath a name as a wise and beneficent sovereign, an irresistible conqueror, a benefactor to his country, a patron of the liberal arts and sciences, did not satisfy his expansive ambition: to rank amongst the faithful followers of the Prophet was his master passion. This characteristic is manifested in every page of his life. From youth, whatever may have been his religious observances, he scarcely ever omitted an opportunity of manifesting his bitter and unrelenting hostility to everything bordering on idolatry, and now, in mature age, when successes justified repose, he made a final effort, which was to transmit his name to posterity as one of the severest scourges of idolatry, if not the greatest promoter of Islam.

In the year A.D. 1024 he assembled an army consisting of fifty-four thousand chosen horse, and thirteen hundred elephants, trained for foreign service. These gigantic preparations were made against the Temple of Somnauth, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Gujerat, near the city of Diu, approachable on one side by land, on the

other accessible by the sea, which chafed against its other sides. The importance of this place, and the very high estimation in which it was held, may be appreciated from the facts recorded. It is said that from two to three hundred thousand votaries used to attend this temple during eclipses—two thousand villages had been granted by different princes to maintain its establishments—there were two thousand priests, five hundred dancing women, and three hundred musicians attached to it. A chain supporting a bell, which worshippers struck during prayers, weighed two hundred muns of gold; the idol was washed daily with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of a thousand miles.* Mahmood had heard of the great riches and supposed sanctity of the celebrated temple, and was further incited by the arrogance of the priests, who had foolishly boasted that other strongholds had yielded to Mahmood by reason of their impiety, but that should he have the temerity to approach Somnauth, he would there meet the fate his wickedness merited. The veneration in which it was held, and the mysterious legends long circulated about it, perhaps generated a confidence in its impregnability. The Hindoos believed, as Ferishta states,† that the souls of the dead congregated before Somnauth,‡ and were there transformed into other bodies, in proportion to their merits in their former state. They also asserted that the ebb and flow of the tides—an extraordinary spectacle to people unaccustomed to such phenomena—represented the obedience paid by the ocean to this shrine. They also affirmed that the idol had stood there since the time of Krishnu, about four thousand years before, according to their computation.

The Mohammedan army had reached the city of Mooltan, and, as a large desert lay before them, the sultan gave orders to them to provide themselves with water and other essentials. They passed the desert, and arrived at Ajmeer. The city was abandoned at his advance, and given up to plunder; also the adjacent country. Neglecting no precaution on his march, he at length reached Somnauth without opposition. Here he encountered the most serious resistance he had yet met with. The priests and guardians defended it with all the determination which the noblest incentives—altars and homes—could inflame. Besides, there were assembled

to their support the young and old enthusiasts of all the neighbouring kingdoms identified with them in creed. The soldiers of Mahmood were many of them veterans, the victors in hard-contested fields, with unfaltering faith in the capabilities and good fortune of their leader and the succour of their Prophet. They repeatedly advanced to the charge, and were as often repelled from their ground. The Hindoos made so spirited a resistance, that as often as the Mohammedans, to the inspiring cry of Allah Akbar, applied their scaling-ladders to the walls, and endeavoured to ascend, they were hurled from their position. In an engagement outside the walls the struggle was maintained with equal resolution. At length, by a daring personal exploit of their zealot chief, the Mohammedans were victorious, and the triumphant sultan entered the temple.

A magnificent view here met his enraptured gaze. The lofty roof of this temple was supported by thirty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and encrusted at intervals with clusters of rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious edifice, whose light, reflected by a thousand jewels, shed a strong and refulgent lustre through the temple. In the midst stood Somnauth himself, an idol composed of one entire block, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground, and on that spot, according to Brahminical tradition, he had been adored between four and five thousand years. Around the dome were suspended some thousand images in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions. In this sacred place, as in a pantheon, seemed to be assembled all the deities worshipped in the peninsula. Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol the monarch aimed a blow at its head with his iron mace. The nose was struck from its face. A treasure of money equal to ten millions sterling was offered by the Brahmins for its preservation. The Omrahs, dazzled with the ransom, counselled its acceptance. Mahmood, exclaiming that he valued the title of breaker, not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. The image was shattered by repeated blows, and from its hollow womb poured forth a hidden horde of diamonds and other jewels, that amply repaid him for the sacrifice of the ransom. Two pieces of this idol were transmitted to Mecca and Medina, and two to Ghizni, where one was to be seen at the palace, and one at the public mosque as late as the seventeenth century, when Ferishta wrote his history.*

* The value of the chain, if in Tubrizi muns, would be above £100,000.

† Ferishta, vol. i. p. 250.

‡ D'Herbelot, misled by some of the Persian historians, makes Somnauth the same as the city of Vesiapore, in the Deccan.—*Biblioth. Orient. ad verbum*, Soumenat.

* Maurice's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 295

The treasures which, on this occasion, fell into the hands of the conquerors, exceeded all preceding captures. After this Mahmood, having chastised the prince who had assisted in defence of the temple, reduced all Gujerat to obedience. It is said that he was so captivated with the beauty of the country, the richness of the soil, and the salubrity of the climate, that he conceived the design of fixing his court there, and of resigning Ghizni to one of his sons. This proposal was strongly opposed by his advisers; he appointed to the government of it a Hindoo, and then returned to Ghizni after an absence of two years and a half.

With this campaign it may be said closed the career of Mahmood, so far as the history of India is concerned, with the exception of the comparatively unimportant incidents of the punishment of the Jats (Juts or Jaats), a people who inhabited a country on the Indus, southward from Mooltan, who had given him some unrecorded annoyance on his return from Gujerat. He expired at Ghizni, on the 29th of April, 1030, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Of the entire series of Mohammedan rulers there is none who, among the followers of the Prophet, is held in higher estimation for his warlike achievements, and fidelity to the injunctions of the Koran, so far as the imposition of Islam is concerned.

The education of this prince had prepared him for the brilliant part which he subsequently played. From his boyhood, like the son of Hamilear, he was the camp attendant of his warlike father, and had at a very early age manifested a decided military capacity. Thus qualified, and with his mind matured, he found himself, at the age of thirty, in a remote province, when the intelligence was conveyed to him of the death of his father, and the ascension of his brother to the throne. Whether his exclusion was owing to his absence or to his illegitimacy, is not known; but whatever might be the cause, it was not his want of seniority, as it is asserted that Ishmael, the chosen of his father, was a youth in comparison to him. Mahmood did not accept the arrangements of his father. He laid claim to the succession, and enforced his right, still protesting the strongest attachment for his brother; to whom, after defeat and in confinement, he prescribed every indulgence consistent with his safe keeping. In addition to those victories and acquisitions, the consequences of his twelve Indian campaigns already related, he, in the commencement of his reign, asserted his independence of the caliphs, and was the first who assumed the title of Sultan, since so

generally adopted by the Moslem princes; he humbled the dynasty of the Samanas, and took possession of all Transoxiana. He crushed the power of the formidable Tartars, and that of the not less formidable Affghans; imposed a rajah on Gujerat and exacted tribute; and crowned all these brilliant achievements by the subjugation of Persia. An illustrious instance of his enlightened patronage of literature, and princely endowments of colleges and pensions to men of letters, has been previously furnished; the latter amounted to £10,000 a year. In consequence of this munificence, his capital was said to have exhibited a greater assemblage of literary genius and architectural excellence than any other Mohammedan sovereign has ever been able to produce. Ferdosi, the author of *Shah Namah*, the most celebrated poem of the East, was an honoured guest at his court.

The reader of the foregoing sketch need not be told how sincerely devoted he was to his convictions. In the prosecution of his ambitious projects he always testified his abhorrence of idolatry, and his recognition of one God, and the glorification of his Prophet. Reared up in veneration of the mission of the sword, as a propagator of Mohammedanism, it is not to be wondered at if some cruel, blood-stained, revolting features are blended in his lineaments. His tendencies were humane. With preparations made for a war on Persia, he was disarmed by a letter from the mother of the young prince, who told him that she might have feared him while her warlike husband was alive, but that now she felt secure in the conviction that he was too generous to attack a defenceless woman, and too wise to risk his glory in a conquest where no addition to it could be gained. After that magnanimous sacrifice to fine and generous feeling, how abhorrently does the following contrast with it. Invading Irak, he perfidiously seized on the person of the prince who had chivalrously trusted himself in his camp; he deprived him of his territory, and put remorselessly thousands of his adherents to death, who loyally rose to vindicate the rights of their sovereign; and these crimes were not perpetrated in the impetuosity of youth, but at the close of his life on the verge of the grave.

His ruling passion—if poetic justice, which is very doubtful, were done to him—was avarice. His treatment of the poet Ferdosi is well authenticated, and a striking proof of his complex character.

The poet, who, from time to time, as he progressed, read portions of his great epic to his royal patron, in which are embodied the

achievements of the Persian kings and heroes, received on those occasions royal gifts. When the whole was concluded, after thirty years' labour, as Ferdosi himself relates, the rewards received were disproportioned to the greatness of the work. Ferdosi rejected what was offered, and indignantly withdrew to his native city Tus, and soon composed and published a bitter satire against Mahmood, and held himself prepared to fly from that monarch's dominions, if he found it necessary to shun the effects of his revenge. Mahmood generously forgot the insult, while he remembered the great epic; and sent a remuneration to the poet, sufficiently ample to satisfy his most extravagant expectations. This bounty came too late in a double sense. As the treasures entered the house by one door the poet's bier was borne out of another; and the facts which leave stains on the king's character would have perished from the memory of man, had they not been embalmed and preserved in the immortal verses of the poet.

The daughter of Ferdosi at first rejected the untimely gift. By the persuasion of the sultan she at length accepted it, and expended it on an embankment to afford a supply of water to the city where her father had been born, and to which he had been always much attached.

Ferishta says that it is a well-established fact, that a few days before his death, to gratify his avaricious appetite, Mahmood had commanded all his gold and caskets of precious stones to be strewed before him. When he beheld them he wept, and he ordered them to be restored to their repository.

It is also related, that one day he asked one of the court attendants what quantity of valuable jewels the Samany dynasty had accumulated. He was informed that one of them had seven *ruttuls* weight of precious stones. Mahmood cried out, "Thanks to thee, all-powerful Being, who hast enabled me to collect more than one hundred ruttuls."

He commanded a wealthy citizen to be summoned to his presence, and reproached him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O King, I am not an idolater nor an apostate; but I am possessed of wealth; take it, but inflict not on me a two-fold injury by robbing me both of my money and of my good name." The king is said to have confiscated the money, and then presented him with a certificate certifying the orthodoxy of his tenets.

The following well-known story, recorded in most notices of him, is a singular and characteristic exemplification of his rigid notions of military subordination. A peti-

tioner one day complained that Mahmood's nephew, an officer in the army, had conceived a passion for his wife, a beautiful but faithless woman, who had sacrificed her honour and received him to her embraces. That the prince, in his frequent visits to his house, heaped injuries upon, and was in the habit of inflicting personal punishment, and of then ejecting him from the house. The king, deeply affected, reproved the poor man for not having previously made this case known to him. The man assured him he had often endeavoured to do so, but was always repelled. He was then directed to give the king notice when the next visit was made. The injured man having done as ordered, Mahmood, enveloped in the folds of his cloak, attended him to his home, and found his nephew and paramour together. Having extinguished the candle which had been burning on the carpet near their couch, he severed the head of the adulterer from his body, and then commanded the man to bring a light and a draught of water. The poor man fell at the king's feet, and poured forth his gratitude in unmeasured language, and then begged him to say why he had put out the candle, and afterwards called so eagerly for water to drink. The king replied, he had put out the candle that pity might not arrest his hand in the execution of his duty, for that he tenderly loved the youth; and, moreover, that he had registered a vow to God, when he first heard the complaint, that he would neither eat nor drink till he had brought the criminal to justice, which was the cause of his intense thirst.

The predatory nature of his excursions, the little attention paid to the internal organization of his government, the proximate downfall of his dynasty, and the disruption of his dominions, do not impress respect for his administrative ability or enlarged views of policy, or justify the high estimate of his admirers, who claim for him the possession of every royal virtue.

He is represented to have been of middle stature, athletic, and well proportioned, but with a countenance scarred with the smallpox, a source of deep mortification to him; and that the glory of his career might efface the impression of his features, is by some stated to have been the stimulant which first roused into action and sustained to the last his indomitable resolution and warlike enterprises. His disposition was cheerful, and he lived in harmony with all who were attached to his person.

A great social revolution had been gradually and unnoticed in operation. The Arabs—the kindred, first disciples, and fearless

soldiers of the Prophet—had lost much of their early prestige. Their power was divided, their enthusiasm was no longer as of old, their influence had been a long time on the wane, and though many of them were still employed both as soldiers and civil officers, a great portion of the court and army were Turks, and the great mass of the population was Persian. It is to be regretted that the historians of the past disregarded all other materials than those which perpetuated and ministered to the military renown, and explained the foreign relations, of their respective countries. There is now no means of becoming acquainted with the state of society, the progress of the various grades of the people, and of public and domestic manners in the kingdom of Ghizni. Had there existed any sources of such information, it would be an invaluable acquisition in tracing the history of the various succeeding dynasties in India; all of which, it will be seen, trace their origin to the court or neighbourhood of that kingdom.

At the time of Mahmood's death, his sons Mohammed and Musaoood were both absent. The former was the favourite of the father, and to him was bequeathed the vacant throne. Mohammed was accordingly put in possession, and inaugurated his reign by opening the well-filled exchequer of which he had obtained possession, and making largesses to his friends, and all whose adherence would be desirable in the crisis which he felt conscious impended. Notwithstanding this profuse liberality, the hearts of the soldiers and the people were devoted to Musaoood. When he made his appearance to fight for the crown, hosts crowded to his standard; the contest was soon decided. Mohammed was imprisoned, after a reign of five months, and deprived of his eyesight. After the death of his brother

he was restored to the throne. He ruled for one year, but was put to death by his nephew, the son of Musaoood.

During the nine years of Musaoood's reign, three incursions were made by him into Hindostan. The first was in the year A.D. 1033; his route lay through the hills of Cashmere, in which he met with some opposition, the only incident of the campaign, which was soon overcome.

One of those famines, of such frequent occurrence in the East, occurred this year. Whole provinces of Hindostan were entirely depopulated, and in parts of the kingdom scarcely a single house escaped the plague.

In 1035, the disobedience of an Indian rajah provoked the second incursion, and in the following year he marched in person to reduce Sewalik, a principality lying along the base of the mountain where the Ganges first rolls its waters into the Indian plains. The capital, though strongly fortified and well garrisoned, yielded after six days' attack. The booty which fell into his hands is said to have been immense. Thence he proceeded to take the fort of Sunput, situated within forty miles of Delhi, on the road to Lahore; the garrison vacated it on the approach of the Mohammedans, and sought shelter in the woods. He then designed to proceed against another offending rajah called Ram, but was pacified by the submission and magnificent present made to him to deprecate his wrath. His Indian proceedings were here interrupted by a circumstance fated to initiate a series of operations which proved the ruin of the reigning house, overthrew most of the existing rulers of the Mohammedans, and led to the establishment of a power in India extensive and still abiding—namely, the Turks, who have played a prominent part in subsequent events as professors and soldiers of Islam.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF GHIZNI (*Concluded*).

THE first mention which is met with in history of the Turks, is in the war which the Emperor Heraclius waged in the beginning of the seventh century, against Khosroes Purvees, the son of Ormuz, King of Persia. The Persian owed a great deal of his success to the aid of the Avars, a tribe of Tartars, who when driven out of their country by some Turkish hordes, solicited and obtained, from the weak policy of the Emperor Justinian, leave to feed their flocks within the

limits of the empire. To oppose the ravages of these barbarians Heraclius made an alliance with the Turks, by whom they had been expelled, and a tribe of them who bore the name Khazars, issued under their chief, Zubil, from the plains of the Volga, and joined the emperor in Georgia.* In the eleventh century

* Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 160, note. Other historians ascribe the first appearance of the Turks in the West to the eleventh century. See Mill, &c. Malcolm's authority on this point is superior to theirs.

they present themselves as one of the most numerous and formidable of the pastoral nations. The declining years of Mahmood were disturbed by their reported bravery and the numbers of them that roved over the wastes of Bokhara. In an assumed kindly tone he once inquired of a Turkish envoy what assistance might he expect from them in case of attack:—"Send this," said the Turk, holding forth an arrow, "and fifty thousand horsemen will repair to your standard; add another from my quiver, and the number will be doubled; if you need further aid, dispatch my bow through our tribes, and two hundred thousand mounted warriors will obey the summons." * Mahmood listened to the answer with deep alarm, but the storm which he apprehended from that surcharged and threatening cloud did not burst till after his death. For four centuries their strength had been accumulating. Mahmood imprudently, and contrary to the advice of his more far-seeing counsellors, had granted to their entreaties permission to pass the Oxus with their flocks and herds, and to occupy the uninhabited plains of Khorassan. Three brothers, the sons of a chief named Seljuk, availed themselves of the concession, and their numbers were soon considerably increased by the accessions, which every day brought, from the thickly populated fields they had left behind. During the reign of their benefactor there was no reason to regret their proximity, no complaint against them seems to have been raised.

Though some chiefs of the Turks had risen previously to the highest command under the governments they served,—as the Mamelukes at Bagdad, and Aluptugeen himself, the founder of the existing dynasty,—yet the Seljukians were the first, in modern times, of their race that secured permanent possessions to the south of the Oxus.

Seljuk, from whom this people had their patronymic, was the son of the Emir Vekank, whose influence over the monarch was very considerable. On the death of this minister he was in command of the armies of his sovereign. His anxious curiosity is said to have provoked the indignation of the seraglio; and here again to the agency of woman is attributed a circumstance to which are traceable the rise and fall of empires. Influenced by the promptings of one of the king's wives, Seljuk was disgraced, and with his family and friends fled from the court into the territories adjacent to Samarcand. The Tartars in their southern migrations were soon identified in religion with the people among whom they sojourned. The followers of Seljuk rapidly

increased. His residence became the asylum of all the expatriated and adventurous of the neighbouring clans. Their individuality was lost in the common passion for conquest and plunder.

The schemes of aggrandizement which occupied the thoughts of Seljuk did not perish with him. The wars which his grandsons, Togrol Beg and Techeger Beg, waged against the princes of Transoxiana spread their fame far and wide, and filled the King Musaood with well-grounded apprehension. When making preparations for his third expedition into India, the King of Ghizni was strongly advised to turn his attention to repress the encroachments of the Seljuks, who had already appropriated Samarcand and Bokhara. He, unfortunately for himself, rejected this salutary advice, and thus left the two grandsons of Seljuk to establish their power in the newly-acquired territories, and to mature their plans of future aggrandizement. The result was that when, at length, Musaood was obliged to adopt vigorous measures, the enemy were enabled utterly to defeat him, and secured their crowning victory at Zendeen, in Khorassan, under the command of Togrol Beg. This victory was so decisive, and productive of such important consequences, that the colossal empire of the Ghizimites was shivered to atoms.

Togrol Beg thus became the first sultan of the Seljukian Turks. He became master of a very extensive empire, which stretched from Bokhara to Syria, and from the Indus to the Black Sea. He lived to an old age, and, dying in his seventieth year, bequeathed his throne to his nephew, Alp Arslan. This powerful prince reigned without a rival. His alliance was eagerly sought by the Caliph of Egypt, and as a symbol of his double empire, as ruler of the East and West, on state occasions he had a scimitar girt to each thigh.

Driven from Ghizni by the victorious Turks, Modood, the son and successor of Musaood, retired to his Indian dominion, and wasted much of his surviving force in wreaking vengeance on his uncle and his sons, who had imprisoned and assassinated his father, after his defeat and humiliation. Having avenged his father's death, he built the town of Futtehabad to his memory. Modood had for his portion of the Indian empire Lahore and its dependencies. These, after his death, fell into his successor's hands, as did all the country east of the Indus, as far as Hansy and Tahnesur.

To recover the latter, and indeed to expel the Mohammedan power out of India, and avenge the outrages on the gods of the Hindoo mythology, the Rajah of Delhi, with

* D'Herbelot. See "Seljook."

the co-operation of other native princes and the Brahmins, preached up a holy war against their invaders, thus anticipating by half a century the first Christian crusade, provoked by kindred outrages on what the Moslems denounced as the idolatry of the followers of Christ. The Indian holy war dates from A.D. 1043, the first crusade from A.D. 1095. The Mohammedans were ejected from their recent acquisitions. Thence the Hindoos marched towards the fort and temple of Nagrakote, whose capture and plunder have been described in a former page. Four months was devoted to its recovery. The garrison having all their supplies cut off, their provisions consumed, and no hope of succour from Lahore, were reduced to an unconditional surrender. The Hindoos, naturally elated by their repeated successes, calculated on the entire restoration of their independence, and the re-establishment of their multifarious creeds in all their pristine splendour and power. The great incentive to a superstitious people, the direct and immediate interposition of providence, on so many occasions, and in so many places, pressed into service, was not wanting. It was authoritatively, publicly, and generally announced that the Rajah of Delhi had a vision, in which the great and venerated idol, so summarily treated by Mahmood some years previous at Nagrakote, had appeared, and asserted that he was now prepared to avenge the sacrilegious contumelies heaped upon him, that he had executed summary punishment at Ghizni, and would meet the rajah at Nagrakote in his former temple. This story was hailed with general credence. Zealots from all quarters soon swelled the ranks of the pious rajah, and he soon saw himself at the head of a numerous force, confident in the assurance of heavenly aid, ready to confront every danger, and dare the most hazardous. With these enthusiasts he besieged Nagrakote. It soon fell into their hands. The following morning, in a garden in the centre of the place, where for centuries it had received the homage of its credulous worshippers, stood identical in size, shape, and features, the cherished idol of their adoration, which had been shattered into fragments by the vigorous assaults of the audacious Mahmood. Great was the exultation of the surprised and delighted votaries. They exclaimed that their god had returned from Ghizni. No artifice was imputed to the rajah and the Brahmins. To their god and his mysterious influence was thankfully given all the credit of this palpable miracle. Its reputation suddenly raised to such a degree the fame of this shrine, that thousands came daily from all parts of Hindostan to

perform their devotions, and to consult the oracle upon all important occasions. Ferishta, the Mohammedan historian, avers that in his time—in the seventeenth century—"the offerings of gold, and silver, and jewels, brought and sent by the different princes of India, from far and near, were supposed to have nearly equalled the mass of wealth removed by Mahmood."

The success of the Rajah of Delhi inspired such confidence into the princes of the Punjab and other places, that, "though before this time," our authority quaintly says, "like foxes they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Moslems' arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance."

Three of the allied rajahs, with an army composed of ten thousand horse, and an innumerable host of infantry, advanced on Lahore, and invested it. The siege lasted seven months. The Mohammedans had everything to fight for; they defended the town street by street, for the walls, being bad, were soon reduced to a heap of ruins; despairing of aid, and finding that they must be overpowered, they bound themselves by oath to conquer or die, and with this alternative made a sally. Their temerity was their salvation. The enemy, panic stricken, fled in disorder when they presented themselves, and fearful slaughter was made of the flying host.

The petty but fierce and treacherous conflicts waged by the succeeding princes, till their utter extinction, have no historical interest to command lengthened notice: suffice it to say that attempts, and in some cases attended with temporary success, were made for the recovery of Ghizni. Wars, interrupted by alliances often sacrificed to political interests, were waged with the Turks and the princes of Ghoor, as well as with the rival members of their own house. One of these princes, and not the worst, confirmed to the Turks all the territory which they had wrested from his family. In the reign of Musaood III. it is recorded that his army passed the Ganges, and carried his conquests farther in Hindostan than any Mussulman had previously, except the Emperor Mahmood. The Sultan Beiram is described as possessing a noble and generous spirit, and as a patron of literature. "Several works were by his orders translated from various languages, among which is one particularly mentioned, an Indian book, called the *Kuleel-oo-Dumna*, translated into Persian, and presented with a chess-board to Nowsherwan, surnamed the Just, King of Persia, before the dissolution of the Hindoo empire of India." The present of the chess-board was said to be intended as an experiment to try

the genius of the vizier, and to indicate, that in the great game of state, attention and foresight were of more importance than chance; while the book was calculated to convey the lesson that wisdom is always in the end an overmatch for strength.

Beiram, in the days of his prosperity, made two attempts to chastise a refractory Indian subject. This was his governor of Lahore, whom he succeeded, in his first visit, in reducing to obedience, and then reinstated him in his post, A.D. 1118. Shortly after, this ungrateful subject, whose name was Mohammed Bhyleem, built the fort of Nagore, to which he conveyed his wealth and family. He then raised an army composed of reckless adventurers, and committed great devastations in several Indian principalities, and at length aspired to sovereign power. Sultan Beiram, apprised of his intention, marched a second time to chastise him. Bhyleem, and his ten sons, all governors of provinces, united their respective forces to oppose him. A battle followed; the malcontents were obliged to break ground; in their retreat the eleven, with their attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, and all there ignominiously perished. Having appointed a ruler over the conquered districts, Beiram retired to his capital.

His next important deed was the public execution of his brother-in-law, the prince of Ghoor, whose death was amply avenged, and the sultan was obliged to evacuate Ghizni to the avenger. The triumph of the latter was brief. His new subjects betrayed him into the hands of their late sovereign, who inflicted on him a singular and ignominious death. The captive had his forehead blackened, was

then seated on a bullock with his face towards the tail, and thus having been exposed to the entire populace, amid their shouts and insults, he was put to the torture, his head cut off, and sent to the Turkish sultan. This barbarity hastened the downfall of this failing dynasty. The surviving brother of the two murdered chiefs prepared to avenge them. Beiram suffered a signal defeat, and fled for safety towards his Indian realms, but, overwhelmed by his misfortunes, he soon breathed his last after a reign of thirty-five years, A.D. 1152.

Alla-ood-Deen, of Ghoor, the conqueror, entered Ghizni in triumph, and that noble city, the seat of empire, was for seven days committed to the plunder and fury of the victorious and avenging army, while the heir of Beiram found refuge in Lahore. The last scene of this horrid drama was played by Mohammed of Ghoor, a brother also of the three princes who figured in the last acts, and Koshrow Malik, grandson of Beiram, and last of this race, who rather atoned for the offences of his predecessors than his own. His private and public virtues, all of which are claimed for him, did not propitiate his hereditary enemy, who first reduced Ghizni, then marched to India, overrunning the provinces of Peshawur, Affghanistan, Mooltan, and the Indus, at length approached Lahore, and A.D. 1180 invested Khosrow Malik in his palace. It did not then fall, but in four years after the attack was renewed for some alleged violation of treaty, and two years after, A.D. 1186, the empire passed away for ever to the house of Ghoor, whose history shall form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE DYNASTIES OF GHOOOR AND KHILJI.

MOHAMMED GHOOORY, the founder of this dynasty, was, nominally, acting under the orders of his brother, but possessing greater abilities, and being more actively engaged in civil and military affairs, he was in greater favour with men of influence than the sovereign, of whom he was in reality the ruler. As soon as he had restored order in the lately captured province of Lahore he returned to Ghizni, but did not long remain there. In the year A.D. 1191 he proceeded to Hindostan, to encounter a formidable combination of native rajahs. The leaders of this patriotic movement were the princes of Delhi and of Ajmeer. Their army was com-

posed of two hundred thousand horse and three thousand elephants. The hostile forces met within eighty miles of Delhi; and although Mohammed is said to have displayed great personal courage, his army was completely routed, and he, with great difficulty, escaped, severely wounded, having been hotly pursued for a distance of forty miles. After this discomfiture he retired to the court of his brother in Ghoor, and having brought together a force of a hundred and twenty thousand chosen horse, composed principally of Turks and Affghans, he sought the recovery of his dominions, and marching through Peshawur and Mooltan (names immortalized

in English history), he directed his course to Lahore, whence he sent an ambassador to the Indian chiefs, with a declaration of war, should they refuse to embrace Islam. As might be expected from a people so devoted to their vernacular belief, flushed with recent victory, a haughty answer was given, and a formidable host, far more numerous than the former, was prepared to indorse this acceptance of the issue. They met again—rather a strange coincidence—on the banks of the Soorsutty, to decide their fate. The number of Rajpoot princes in the Indian camp amounted to a hundred and fifty, but this number will not be deemed incredible, if, as Briggs states, the title was applied to all the members of a family which enjoyed feudatory estates, and may be compared to the title of baron in Germany. They pledged themselves by the most solemn of their oaths (the sacred Ganges), “that they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith,” and dispatched a threatening letter—an avowal of their determination—to their invader, in which they averred, in the high-flown phraseology, which can find a faint medium of conveyance in the English language, “that they had sworn, if he had determined to brave his evil destiny, to advance upon him with their rank-breaking elephants, their plain-trampling horses, and blood-thirsting soldiers, early the following morning, to crush the army which his ambition was leading to ruin.” To this a modest reply was given, that Mohammed was merely executing the commands of his sovereign, and requesting a truce till he had communicated to him the state of affairs. This message had the intended effect. The Indians, thrown off their guard by the affected semblance of apprehension, spent the following night in riot and revelry. The dawn of the morning revealed to them the true aspect of affairs. As the darkness cleared away the sheen of the splendid mail, glittering with a profusion of jewels and gold, of an army in battle array in possession of their outposts, flashed upon their startled vision. They were surprised in a double sense, but not dismayed. The extent of their lines enabled them to push forward their cavalry, and give a timely check to the advancing Mohammedans until the main body was in order to engage. By this manœuvre they were enabled to commence the fight, which they did in four lines, with great resolution and military organization. The details, though interesting, may be well sacrificed to space and other matter. Enough to say, by a well devised stratagem, the Moslems eventually achieved a victory. Two of the Indian chiefs fell; many of the princes shared the same fate; and, as the his-

torian forcibly phrases it, “this prodigious army, once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins.” The usual consequences of Eastern warfare follow—havoc, plunder, butchery, and slavery. Desolation charred the path of the conqueror. In the following year (1196)—it may be well to mention it, as it is the first notice of the town—Gwalior fell into Mohammed’s hands, and, by the death of his brother, he succeeded to the regal name, having long possessed the power. The remainder of his reign was principally occupied in affairs, however important, alien to Indian history. He was assassinated while reposing in his tent, A.D. 1206.

It may not be irrelevant here to say that contemporaneous to these events the caliphate of Egypt was the theatre of one of the most extraordinary incidents in history, and in which the people of England played the most prominent part—namely, the war waged by the “lion-hearted” Plantagenet, Richard I., in the remote realms of Saladin, equally famous in the history of his people. It was during this period the siege of Acre took place, when the Christian chivalry, in the vigour and strength of their steel-clad squadrons, broke through the ranks of the Turkish host, and left twenty emirs and seven thousand of the flower of the sultan’s cavalry to “bite the dust” on their native plains; that Jaffa and Cesaræa fell, the way to Jerusalem and its holy places, as they are called, were opened to the Christian pilgrim, an object *then* paramount to all others; and such deeds performed by England’s king, that for centuries after the Syrian mother hushed her screaming babe to silence with his awe-inspiring name. This period also witnessed the second crusade, the beginning and end of the fourth, and several other memorable events, not to be noticed further here.

The successor of the last-named prince was Kootb-ood-Deen, who had not any hereditary nor testamentary claim. In the reign of his sovereign he had acquired some distinction for his civil and military capacity, and liberality to men of letters,—a virtue or a policy which secures for him, as for every Mæcenas, whatever his transgressions, a distinguished niche in the posthumous gallery of illustrious men. He had been originally a slave, and the development of his qualities and subsequent aggrandizement may, without any depreciation of his personal virtues, be attributed to the accident of having a king for his purchaser. When the death of his master was made known, he proclaimed his own independence, which he maintained till his death, and made Delhi the seat of his government. When a man is praised for his gene-

rosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as liberal as Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk." A few slaves succeeded to him on the throne; they are called by historians the Slave Dynasty.

Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, his successor, was, like himself, a slave. On him had been conferred by Mohammed Ghoozy the honour of carrying the black standard of Ghizni, a privilege confined to the heir-apparent. On the death of his royal master and benefactor, Taj-ood-Deen was proclaimed King of Ghizni. His first act after his accession was the invasion of the Punjaub, and the occupation of Lahore; but in his course of conquest he was checked by his contemporary, Kootb-ood-Deen, and deprived of his kingdom, but soon after recovered it, and conceived the notion of conquering India. For this purpose he raised an army some time after the death of Kootb-ood-Deen. Having reduced a few of the northern districts, he was defeated near Delhi by Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, taken prisoner, and died in confinement, A.D. 1215, having reigned only nine years.

To understand this very intricate passage of Indian history, avoided by many, confused by others,—when the divided empire of their master was contemporaneously ruled over by his four favourite slaves, and his nephew, his legitimate heir,—it is necessary to say a few words of another of them.

Baha-ood-Deen Togrol had raised himself from a servile condition to a position of some repute in the service of Mohammed Ghoozy, who, when he was leaving Hindostan, gave the command of a fort to Togrol in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, and assured him if he conquered that district he would confirm him in the government. Unable to storm this stronghold, he environed it with detached forts, and thus effectually blockaded the hills, and calculated on its inevitable surrender. The Rajah of Gwalior was *sensibly* apprised of that disagreeable fact by his pressing necessities; but in order to disappoint the vulture expectations of his foe, he privately communicated to Kootb-ood-Deen that he would surrender it to him. The latter accordingly took possession of the valuable and much-sought-for prize. The consequences might be expected. This arrangement nearly produced a war between the two chiefs. The sudden death of Togrol alone prevented it.

The fourth now remains to be noticed. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish rose rapidly in royal favour, and in the course of time became the son-in-law, and subsequently general-in-chief, of Kootb-ood-Deen. Upon the death of his father-in-law, Altmish was not satisfied to have the son succeeding the

father. To that position he himself aspired, and being a favourite with the army, and by marriage a member of the royal family, he had the means to accomplish his ambitious projects. He advanced against Delhi, the capital, and in the year A.D. 1211, expelled his unoffending brother-in-law from the throne, and declared himself king. There were some who viewed this acquisition as its heinous injustice deserved. The greater part of his Turkish horse, the flower of the army, deserted him. They, uniting with other supporters of legitimacy, advanced in great force on Delhi, but were met and defeated by his superior skill and numbers.

After this event the tributary Rajah of Jalwur having refused to discharge his obligations, he compelled him to do so. He proceeded against the reigning prince of Ghizni, his lord paramount, who had occupied the Punjaub, and defeated and imprisoned him; his death soon followed, as some relate, from poison. He also, on the banks of the Chenab, gained, in A.D. 1217, a complete victory over his brother-in-law. In 1221, the famous but unfortunate Julal-ood-Deen, being defeated in the north by Jenghis Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where his hopes of safety were destroyed, and he compelled to retreat towards Scinde Seveistan. In 1225 he led his victorious army towards Bahar, and Lucknow, the capital of Ghoor, and wrested tribute from the Rajah of Bengal. He caused the currency of that kingdom to be struck in his own name, appointed his son to the government of Bahar, and then returned in triumph to his city of Delhi. About this time, his unfortunate brother-in-law having been drowned, he seized on all his kingdom. In 1227 he conquered the province of Malwa. In 1231 he laid siege to Gwalior, which had again fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. He became master of it. This deed was celebrated by a contemporary poet in four verses, which are still to be seen on an inscription cut upon stone over one of the gateways. After the reduction of this town he directed his march towards Malwa, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, and took the city of Oojein. Here he destroyed a magnificent temple, similar to that at Somnauth, already described. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits high. The image of Vicramaditya, so renowned in Hindoo mythology, and the image of Mahakaly, both of stone, with many other statues in brass, were found in the temple. These the pious vandal had conveyed to Delhi, and they were broken at the door of the principal mosque. He was on his march to seize on Delhi, when his

proud and destructive career was stopped by a power more inexorable than himself. He fell sick, returned to his capital, and terminated his life and his conquests on the 30th of April, 1236.

Little survives, with the exception of his cruelty and treachery to the members of his family, his insatiable thirst for conquest, and the ruthless onslaught on his conquered victims, to afford materials for a discriminate estimate of his character.

His vizier, towards the close of his reign, had been in a similar capacity with the Caliph of Bagdad. It may be worthy of remark that the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, which was so generally adopted after his reign, is first applied to this vizier. This reign lasted twenty-six years.

His son, Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, who happened to be in Delhi at the demise of his father, ascended the throne without opposition. His reign is pronounced by the Mohammedans themselves to have been a continuous scene of debauchery and cruelty. While his time was entirely resigned to women, comedians, musicians, and dancing-girls, the management of public affairs was left entirely to his mother, a Turk and a slave, whose character is comprised in this short summary—"a monster of cruelty." The feelings of his subjects, who greeted his ascent to the throne with every demonstration of respect, were grossly outraged and estranged; and when his younger brother, the governor of Oude, raised the standard of revolt, crowds flocked to him. The miserable king was deserted by his principal courtiers, and after a profligate reign of seven months the sceptre was placed in the hands of his sister. He was imprisoned, and died in confinement. His mother shared his captivity.

Ruzea Begum, the eldest daughter of Altmish, proved that she possessed qualifications to rule far superior to those of her brothers; indeed, contrary to oriental precedents, during the life of her father she had, by his encouragement, taken a prominent part in public affairs. It is very probable that it was owing to the knowledge of her business habits that she owed her selection in preference to her brother, the governor of Oude, who was at that time in arms. During the expedition against Gwalior she was entrusted with the reins of government.

She proved herself worthy of the preference. She studiously attended to affairs of state, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave audience publicly from the throne; revised and confirmed the laws of her father, which had been set aside in the last short reign, and dispensed justice with rigid impartiality.

A powerful confederation, formed against her, she effectually suppressed, and also a combination of Indian rajahs. She selected the right men for the right place, and would have in every probability ruled with entire satisfaction had she, so prudent in all other matters, not betrayed that she was not impervious to those softer influences, whose witchery lead captive the human heart. The object of her affections was one least calculated to soothe the wounded sensibilities of her native subjects. Her suspected idol was a foreigner—an Abyssinian. Insurrection followed, and he was the first victim. More than one Rizzio has been poinarded to avenge the suspected honour of a royal dame. She was made a captive, and her young brother raised to the throne. The imprisoned queen fascinated one of her nobility, they were married, and the connexion enabled him to raise an army. Many chiefs of distinction among the neighbouring clans proffered their fealty. The newly-levied force marched on the capital. The two armies met near Delhi; an obstinate conflict ensued. The queen was defeated; she fled to Bithunda. Her adherents were again, after some short time rallied, and in a condition to make a bold effort for the crown. Another defeat followed, and the queen and her husband were seized in their flight, and both put to death by the traitors, whose crimes could not be justified. If there be a similarity in the fates of the suspected paramours, can no parallel be drawn between the fates of the royal mistresses? Does the ill-fated Indian husband exhibit anything in common with the Scottish laird? The histories of nations most widely severed abound with pictures drawn from one original. Such is human nature!

While the Sultana Ruzea Begum was confined in the fort of Bithunda, her young brother Beiram ascended the throne, 1240. The year following intelligence reached the court at Delhi, that the danger which had been for some time approaching had at length reached their doors. The Mogul hordes of Jenghis Khan had invested Lahore; the troops had mutinied, the viceroy had fled, in consequence, by night, and was actually on his way to Delhi. Lahore was plundered by the enemy, and thousands of the inhabitants carried away into slavery. A general council of the state was summoned by royal proclamation, and a resolution adopted to send the vizier and the most experienced officers towards Lahore to oppose the Moguls. The unfortunate king was not aware that the vizier was his enemy; although, not long previously, he was implicated in a conspiracy against him. After the army had penetrated the Punjaub, and reached one of

the five celebrated rivers of that country—whose geographical features have been, in recent years, disclosed by the British campaigns, and which, by that aid, are so fully and satisfactorily before the readers of this history, namely, the Beas, where the town of Sultanpore now stands—he began to sow the seeds of discontent in the minds of the officers; and to facilitate his ends he, in the interim, wrote privately to the king, imputing disaffection and sedition to several of the nobility, requesting that he would either come in person to the army or furnish him with ample power to punish the traitors. Though the prince had just grounds for suspecting the fidelity of his vizier, the wily minister had insinuated himself into his confidence, and he unfortunately gave full credence to his misrepresentations. Beiram replied, that the officers merited the punishment the vizier wished to have the authority to inflict; he at the same time recommended to him the exercise of the greatest amount of caution, and to lull them into an imaginary security till such evidence could be supplied as would leave their guilt unquestioned, and punishment could be inflicted with impunity and without apprehension of disagreeable results. This was the procedure which the crafty minister expected would be adopted, and which would best subserve the plans which he entertained. He produced this communication to the parties unsuspectingly implicated; he inflamed their minds with the bitterest animosity against their grossly abused sovereign, and misled them as to the accuser. He expressed to them his fears that he himself was an object of suspicion, and in as imminent danger as the most obnoxious of them. After some deliberation, the body of the implicated officers resolved to unite in support of the vizier against the king.

The news of this confederacy reached the king's ears; but it was now too late, the mischief was done. Instead of proceeding against the enemy, the army retraced their steps, and, influenced by the worst passions, sought the capital. Having arrived before the walls, they laid siege to it. For three months and a half the citizens stood faithfully by their sovereign. At length, when want and rumours had done their worst, disaffection began to pervade them too; and in May, 1241, both the city and the king became the prey of the rebel force. The unfortunate monarch was thrown into a dungeon. In a few days after he suffered death, after a short and troubled reign of two years and two months.

The anarchy and confusion which prevailed throughout the entire kingdom, on the

capture of the city and of the king, gave confidence to faction, and an adventurer having forced his way into the palace, caused himself to be proclaimed king. His rule was of very brief duration: the morning ushered in his ascent to the throne—the evening smiled upon his successor, Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, a member of the royal family, but not the heir-apparent. The rebel vizier still maintained his influence, but he soon met the fate historical justice demanded; he was assassinated at the instigation of the nobles, to whom his overbearing pride, insolence, and crimes had rendered him odious.

In this reign, and in the year 1244, an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by way of Khutta and Thibet. Musaood sent a force to the aid of Toghan Khan, the governor of Bengal. The Moguls were completely defeated. The following year another army of Moguls, from Candahar and Talikhan, advanced as far as the Indus, and attacked Oocha. The king in person led an army against them, and when he had arrived on the banks of the Beas, they raised the siege, began to retreat, and finally evacuated the country. This prince was deposed after a reign of about four years, having disgusted his subjects by his scandalous debaucheries, and was succeeded by his uncle, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood.

This prince, who was the son of the Sultan Altmish, was appointed by his father governor of Bengal; and on his death was imprisoned by the cruel queen, and released on her overthrow. His great military character, acquired in the wars with his Indian neighbours—his justice, sound policy, and the flourishing state of his province, attracted to him the attention of those who were the authors of the recent revolution. The historians aver that while in prison he disdained any support but that which he commanded by the exercise of his pen; and that when in power, he was the friend of the poor, the protector of the common people, and the patron of learning. It is related that when nominating his vizier to his high office, he assured him, that he confided his own honour to his loyalty and good conduct, he impressed upon him to do no act for which he could not answer to God. In 1247, he took the field and marched towards Mooltan, and thence proceeded to inflict punishment on the Gukkurs, for the assistance they had rendered to the Moguls in their incursions. Several thousands of them, without distinction of age or sex, were doomed to captivity. Several of the ancient nobles, who held estates in the Punjaub on a tenure similar to the feudal, who had not furnished the prescribed quotas

to the army, were deprived of their titles and carried prisoners to Delhi, and their fiefs conferred on their sons or relations on the former military tenure. The countries of the Punjab and Mooltan were, by these wise and decisive precautions, reduced to entire subjection, and the king's authority firmly restored. In 1247, he led his army into the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna, and after an obstinate siege, captured the fort of Bithunda, now Bulundshehr; continuing his progress, he was met at Kurra by two rajahs with their combined forces. These he defeated, plundered their territories, and made prisoners of many of their families. They had previously overrun and pillaged all the country south of the Jumna, a portion of the dominions of Delhi, and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. This exploit concluded this campaign. In 1249, at the head of a well-appointed force, he marched on Mooltan. The only result of this campaign worth record is, that he placed a governor in Nagore and Oocha, who, in the following year, attempted to throw off his allegiance, but was defeated, and obliged to sue for mercy. He was not only pardoned, but reinstated. His attention was then challenged to the hostile demonstrations of one of the Hindoo princes, Jahir Dew, who had recently fortified the strong fort of Nurwur, and prepared to defend it to the last extremity. On the approach of the Mohammedans he boldly marched out to oppose them, at the head of five thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot. He was defeated, and the fort, after a short siege, surrendered. He then subjugated Chundery and Malwa, established his authority there, and appointed a governor. In another quarter, at the same time, his viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan had repelled one of those frequently recurring attacks of the Moguls. Towards the latter end of 1257, a Mogul army crossed the Indus, but retired at the king's approach. In 1259, a confederation was formed of the rajahs and Rajpoots of Mewat, who, having collected a large force, plundered and devastated the surrounding country. On the approach of the Delhians they retired into the strong forts in the mountains of Sewalik, and also towards Runtunbore, to which they laid siege. The Rajpoots, soon after descending in large force from their mountain fastnesses, made a violent and terrible attack upon their invaders; they were, however, at length repelled back to their hills with great slaughter. The captive chiefs were put to death, and the rest were confined to perpetual slavery.

One of those glimpses at other public

affairs than military, which unfortunately so seldom present themselves in the histories of nations, is had in an embassy which arrived at the close of this reign in Delhi, from the court of Persia. The vizier went out to meet it in state, with a train of fifty thousand foreign horse then in the service, two thousand elephants, and three thousand carriages of fireworks. The ambassador was conducted, amid some feats of horsemanship in sham fights and a magnificent display, through the city, direct to the palace. There, the court was arranged in the most gorgeous style; all the nobles and public officers of state, the judges, the mullahs, and the great men of the city were present, besides twenty-five princes of Irak-Ajum, Khorassan, &c., with their retinues. Many tributary Indian princes also were there, and stood next to the throne.

This prince, whose memory is still cherished, died 1266, after a brilliant reign of twenty years. Contrary to the custom of other Indian princes, he had no concubines, and but one wife, whom he obliged to attend to the humblest part of domestic duties; and after his accession to the throne, he continued to purchase his food by the fruits of his pen.

Among the leading incidents in the reign of his successor, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun—a prince who was worthy of the throne, though also a slave—are the following:—None but men of merit and family were admitted to any public office; his justice and wisdom were themes of general approbation; he used to affirm that one of the greatest sources of the pride of his reign was, that upwards of fifteen unfortunate sovereigns—who had been driven from their respective realms by Jenghis Khan—had found an honourable asylum at his court, which was esteemed the most polite and magnificent in the world, and was the resort of all the distinguished wits and *litterati* of Asia, a society of whom met frequently, as did also another of musicians, dancers, actors, and story-tellers; and various other societies were established and patronised. The use and manufacture of fermented liquors was prohibited under the severest penalties. His political foresight was clearly shown when, on being advised to undertake an expedition to reduce Gujerat and Malwa once more to the Mohammedan yoke, which they had thrown off in a previous reign, he replied, he would not assent to such measures, when the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulman princes; that he thought it wiser to secure what he possessed than leave his country exposed to foreign invasion. When the exigences of the empire rendered unavoidable an appeal to arms, he proved

himself as accomplished in the pursuits of war as of peace. The revolt of the Mewatties—the inhabitants of mountains eighty miles to the north of Delhi—was met with terrible retribution—a hundred thousand of them were put to the sword; their forests were cut down, and soon converted into arable land. The Moguls suffered severely from his arms; and Togrol Khan, the rebellious ruler of Bengal, though he had destroyed two armies sent against him, was at length slain, the king having, in person, led an army against him. He died in the eightieth year of his age, 1286, after a reign of twenty-one years: the Indian Mohammedans designate it glorious.

The closing scene of the dynasty was reached in the reign of the successor of the late king, who, though not the immediate heir, was by birth the heir in reversion. In the absence of his father—governor of Bengal—Kerkobar was placed on the throne. During his reign the Moguls, who for some time have been playing no inconsiderable part in the northern provinces of India, had risen to such power and influence in the court of Delhi, that they were enabled to carry matters with a very high hand, yet professing great attachment to the royal family. The reigning sovereign having been paralysed, the Mogul omrahs contrived to secure the person of the young prince, an infant, three years of age. At this time there was no man in Delhi who had greater influence than Ferose, of the family of Khilji, who was the leader of the native party. A proclamation was issued proscribing, by name, the principal men of the Kiljies; but they escaped the danger, and soon after rescued the young prince from them, had his helpless father assassinated, and raised to the throne their chief Ferose. The young prince was also soon murdered, and thus ended the Slave Dynasty, and the rise of the royal house of Khilji.

The Khiljies were of Tartar origin, as well as their predecessors, the Ghoorians. Ferose was in the seventieth year of his age when he waded through the blood of his sovereign and infant son to the throne. His moderation and general conduct, having once secured his position, stand in strange contrast with the means he employed. He professed the deepest regret for his conduct, and great respect for his predecessors; and when a member of the fallen house had made an unsuccessful effort to restore its prostrate fortunes, he was not only pardoned, but had an estate conferred upon him. He became a patron of men of letters, and acquired a character for humanity and benevolence. Early in his reign, a hundred thousand Mo-

guls invaded Hindostan; he led an army in person to oppose them. The Moguls, after an obstinate conflict, were defeated. He did not avail himself of the opportunity presented of inflicting punishment upon them; on the contrary, he granted them peace and permission to withdraw from his dominions. In consequence of this lenity, and with the ambition of all adventurers who dream of acquiring on a strange arena those distinctions which they despair of ever receiving at home, Oghloo Khan, grandson of Jenghis Khan, entered into his service with three thousand followers, and had conferred upon him, shortly after, the hand of the daughter of his new sovereign. The Moguls all embraced Islam, and erected a city called Mogulpore.

The principal event of this reign was the extension, for the first time, of the arms of the Mohammedans into the Deccan, 1294. Alla-ood-Deen, the king's nephew, who had been appointed governor of Kurra—the capital of which, of the same name, stood on the Ganges, on the route from Allahabad to Cawnpore, about forty miles north-west from the former—requested permission to attack the Hindoos of Bhilsa, who infested his province. This was conceded. He, without delay, marched against them, subdued them, and returned with a large booty, collected in the pillage of the country, a part of which he sent as a present to the king. The latter was very much pleased both by the success and conduct of his relative, and in return annexed Oude to his government. On his preferment, he informed the king that not far from his territories there were some rajahs of immense wealth, whom, if he were permitted, he would in a very short time reduce to subjection. The bait was too tempting for the old king; he gave his consent. Accordingly, 1294, he commenced his preparations for future conquests, probably with the hope of establishing a new empire in the central provinces of the peninsula. He conciliated many chiefs of high distinction, the adherents of the fallen dynasty. With a body of eight thousand chosen horse, he proceeded by the shortest road against the rajah of the Deccan, who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings. Though he was opposed with great gallantry, he was successful. The probability is, that the unsuspecting and inoffensive Hindoo king was taken by surprise, and had no resources but those which he improvised to meet the danger. He pillaged the capital, seized on the merchants, Brahmins, and principal citizens, and put them to the torture to coerce them to disclose their hidden treasures. Having received from the

unfortunate prince between twelve and fifteen thousand pound weight of gold, besides a large quantity of pearls and jewels, and retained the elephants which he had taken in the royal stables, he released his prisoners, and agreed to quit the country on the fifteenth day from his first entry. The unprincipled adventurer found pretexts for violating the terms of his treaty; he exacted a far larger amount, and obtained a permanent footing, by the cession of Elichpore and its dependencies, in which he placed a garrison. The Mohammedan historian observes, "that there is scarcely anything on record to be compared with this exploit, whether regard is paid to the resolution in devising the plan, boldness in its execution, or the great good fortune attending its execution." Frenzied with wealth and success, his passions were inflamed; and one of the objects which he contemplated was the destruction of his indulgent uncle; who, notwithstanding the remonstrances and warnings of his nearest and dearest friends, placed himself defencelessly in his power, and suffered death in his presence for his temerity. And thus was avenged, by a blow from him who was among the nearest and dearest to him, the royal blood that had been shed for the possession of a crown.

An abortive effort was made to place the son of the deceased on the throne. The reputation acquired for military skill and enormous wealth, opened the way for the unnatural assassin, Alla-ood-Deen. The young king and dowager queen sought safety in flight, and the usurper entered Delhi in triumph. The people were for days sumptuously feasted; largesses were liberally bestowed; and, as is the case with usurpers in every age and in every clime, men of the highest reputation and greatest popularity for the exercise of the nobler virtues, were called to his councils, and a degree of moderation assumed to mollify the aversion which crime invariably generates even in the breasts of the degraded. Though fortune smiled on the earlier days of his reign, his horizon was soon darkened by lowering clouds, massing from all points. He again crimsoned his hands in the blood of the male members of the late king's family. Scarcely had this series of murders been perpetrated, when an invasion of India by the Moguls was announced, and they soon made their appearance in Lahore. They were defeated with great loss. This invasion was the prelude to several others—six in all—which were a continuous source of trouble and anxiety through this reign, though they were defeated in each attempt. His dearest friends deserted him. The assassin's knife, from

which on one occasion he barely escaped with his life, was a constant cause of terror. His subjects were smitten with famine; his sons became objects of suspicion; to blunt the pricks of conscience, he indulged in intemperance and excess, and ruined his constitution. When reduced to a bed of sickness, his wife and son abandoned him; and to crown all, the flames of insurrection, long smouldering, at the close of his days began to burst forth. The first manifestation was in Gujerat, which he had subdued in the earlier part of his reign. His general, sent to suppress the outbreak, was taken prisoner and suffered a cruel death; in another quarter, the Rajpoots of Chittoor threw the Mohammedan officers over their walls, and asserted their independence. While the Deccan, which he had likewise subdued, rose in arms and drove the Mohammedans from several of the garrisons. This retributive accumulation of providential visitations excited him to the extreme paroxysm of fury; he frantically bit his own flesh; his grief and rage intensified his disorders, and baffled all medical experience. In this terrible state of mental and bodily anguish, he was sent before his Maker and his Judge,—not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by a villain whom he had raised from the dust to power,—in the year 1316, and twenty-first year of his reign.

A spurious will was produced by the courtier who was suspected of hastening his end, in which his youngest son was named his successor, and the wretch himself guardian and regent. The two eldest sons he had deprived of sight, and a third was in prison awaiting a like fate. The protector had, in the meantime, married the mother of the young king. These events were crowded into a very short space; for on the thirty-fifth day after the death of Alla-ood-Deen, the regent was dispatched by the indignant foot-guards, who, to prevent further crimes contemplated by him, entered his apartment and struck him down in the presence of some of his confederates. The young prince, his tool, Omar Khan, made way for his elder brother and legitimate heir to the father.

Mobarik Khilji ascended the throne in 1317. The officers of the guards who, with their swords, had cut his way to the throne, met with an unexpected requital; they were put to death on no better pretence than that they had presumed too much on their services. The first acts of his reign were to incapacitate his infant brother from aspiring to the sovereignty, by depriving him of his sight; and, as if to atone for this unnatural but customary barbarity of Indian princes, he liberated seventeen thousand

prisoners, recalled the exiles, gave free access to all suitors, restored the confiscated lands, and gradually abolished all the obnoxious restrictions by which commerce had been restricted, as also the heavy taxes and tributes exacted by his father. In the first year of his reign an insurrection was spiritedly suppressed in Gujerat, and in the second he led an army into the Deccan, to chastise Harpul, who there had raised the standard of independence, and, having been unsuccessful, was put to death with severities worthy of the son of Alla-ood-Deen. The elevation of his low minions to power did more perhaps than the excesses in which he shamelessly indulged, and his outrages of all decency, to alienate the respect and attachment of his subjects. His especial favourite was Mullik Khosrow, a Hindoo renegade of the lowest caste, whom he even honoured with the ensigns of royalty, and had raised to the government of Gujerat. In fact, Khosrow had become the source of all honours and promotions, and, from his many acts of cruelty, an object of universal abhorrence. From the date of his elevation he was a traitor at heart; and though reports were made of his treason to his master, such was his influence, that no attention was paid to them, and he enjoyed unbounded confidence, and even slept in the king's apartment. The palace was filled with his creatures, and every facility was thus, imprudently, afforded for the execution of his design. The king and his palace being in the hands of the conspirators, his projected fate was a subject of common conversation in the city, but, knowing the influence of the favourite, none dared to communicate the danger but one, and that was Kazi, his tutor when a youth. He gained access, honestly and plainly revealed the plot, assured him of its notoriety, and recommended immediate measures for the apprehension of the traitor. At this identical moment Khosrow, who had been a listener to the conversation, entered in female apparel, with all the assumed airs of a coquettish girl. The infatuated prince,

yielding to his affection, stood up and embraced him, and dismissed the warning from his mind. The following night Kazi, still apprehensive of the danger, could not rest. He went out at midnight to see whether the guards were on the alert. In his rounds, he met with Khosrow's uncle, who engaged him in conversation; with a sabre cut from behind he was brought to the ground, leaving him only strength enough to cry out, "Treason! Treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" His attendants fled and gave the alarm, proclaiming the assassination of their master. The guards started up in confusion, but before they could act, were attacked by the conspirators and massacred. The king, alarmed by the tumult, asked Khosrow, who lay in his apartment, the cause. The villain arose as if to inquire. By some feigned explanation he diverted his attention till the conspirators approached the royal apartment, and slew the chamber attendants. Hearing the clash of armour and the groans of dying men, Mobarik sprang up in great alarm, and ran towards the harem by a private passage. At this moment Khosrow, fearing he might escape, pursued him, seized him by the hair, and the deed of blood was completed by the other conspirators; with a stroke of a scimitar, his head was severed from his body, and flung ignominiously into the courtyard; and thus says Ferishta, "the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla-ood-Deen, for his ingratitude to his uncle Feroze, and for the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands."

Khosrow seized the sceptre, and endeavoured by promotions and promises to win over the chief men to his side; with some he succeeded, while others fled to enrol themselves under the command of Ghazi Beg Toghluk, governor of Lahore, Depalpore, and the Punjaub, who marched to Delhi, and after having defeated the usurper, who was dragged from a tomb in which he had sought an asylum and put to death, was proclaimed king, A.D. 1321.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE DYNASTY OF TOGHLUK.—INVASION OF TAMERLANE.—THE DYNASTIES OF SYUD AND LODI.

THE ancestry of the Toghluks dynasty has not been recorded, but Ferishta states when he was at Lahore, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a tradition that the father of the first of this line was the son of a Turkish slave. When Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluks had succeeded in dethroning Khosrow, he assured the people that he would support the object of their selection. As might be expected, apparent moderation was an additional stimulant to bestow on him the vacant throne, to which, by his services, he was best entitled, as the last monster had extirpated every member of the royal family, old and young. Toghluks's administrative capacity soon restored to order the anarchy and confusion which were prevalent. He repaired the neglected fortifications, encouraged commerce, invited men of learning to his court. A code of laws was instituted, founded upon the Koran, and, his historians say, conformable to the ancient usages of the Delhi monarchy. His immediate relatives, as a safeguard to the yet new and infirm government, were entrusted with the highest offices of the state. The next measures were ones of defence. Troops were stationed along the frontiers of Cabul, and forts erected, and strongly garrisoned, to repel the incursions of the Moguls. Such was the wisdom with which these measures were conceived, planned, and executed, that during the whole of his reign he was released from those incursions, the constant irritants of many of his predecessors, and the total ruin of a successor.

Hoping for impunity in the first unstable stages of an upstart house, the Hindoos—who always loathed the intrusive stranger, however long located, and detested the Mussulman and his sword-taught creed—thought this a favourable opportunity to strike again for independence. The rajahs of Wurrungole and Dewgur had refused to send tribute, having become disaffected. Sudder Dew, the Rajah of Wurrungole, opposed the Moslems with spirit, but was at length driven under shelter of his walls. The siege, conducted by the son of Toghluks, was carried on with severe loss to both sides. The town had been recently so strongly fortified, the assailants could make no breach; indeed, the followers of Mohammed were never skilled in siege operations. A malignant distemper, the effect of hot winds, broke out in the camp of the besiegers, which swept away hundreds every

day. They were at length obliged to desist. Their retreat was disastrous; thousands perished by pestilence and the sword; and of all the many thousands who formed that army, only three thousand returned to Delhi. In a short time a more numerous army beleaguered Wurrungole, and compelled it to surrender. Expeditions were also sent against Jagnuggur and Tirhoot. In the midst of these successes, Toghluks lost his life by the fall of a temporary erection prepared for his reception by his son, Aluf Khan, who succeeded him, after a reign of four years, A.D. 1325.

This prince assumed the title of Mohammed Toghluks, and such was the joy of the people on his succession, that in his progress through Delhi the streets were strewn with flowers, and every demonstration of joy was exhibited; his munificence had no limit but his means; he not only patronized literary men, but shone eminently among them; and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian, are said to display so much taste, elegance, and good sense, that they are still studied as models of purity. Many other accomplishments are ascribed to him. There is one stain on his character which blots all these amiable traits,—he was without mercy or compunction, and so little did he hesitate to spill human blood, that one might have supposed his object was to exterminate his species. The Mogul incursions, by the absence of which the reign of his father was so happily distinguished, were again renewed. Before his government was settled, a Mogul chief of great fame invaded Hindostan, at the head of a vast army, with the design of subjugating the entire peninsula. He overran Lumghan, Mooltan, the northern provinces, and advanced rapidly on Delhi. Mohammed, unable to oppose this overwhelming force, sued for peace. He secured a temporary respite by the payment of a ransom nearly equivalent to the value of the empire. This disaster did not subdue Mohammed's passion for appropriation. He so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir, Kumpila, Wurrungole, Lucknow, Chittagong, and Soonargam, that they were as effectively incorporated with the empire as the suburban villages of Delhi. He likewise conquered the Carnatic to the shores of "Oman's dark waters." Brief was his hold upon them. In the succeeding storm which shook his hereditary empire

to its deepest foundations he was obliged to relax his grasp of all these conquests, with the exception of Gujerat. The drains made upon the finances of the country to meet his extravagance, and for the equipment of his extensive armaments, were to be met some way. The booty collected from the plundered conquests were inadequate to the requirements. The repeated predatory excursions of his predecessors had dissipated many of the royal treasures, the accumulation of a succession of ages. There remained to him only one resource, the last a prodigal monarch has to fly to,—the plunder of his own subjects under the name and form of law: an expedient, too, which has been fraught with the most disastrous results to those who have hazarded it. The heavy taxes levied on the inhabitants of the Doab* and other provinces, the substitution of copper money for silver by public decree, the exaction of half a million of horses for his campaigns, the indiscriminate massacre of Mohammedans and Hindoos, produced general discontent, which soon ripened into disaffection; public credit was destroyed, and famine and pestilence aggravated the mischief. The copper money, for want of proper regulations, produced evils of equal magnitude. A curious passage occurs on the latter cause of grievance in Ferishta, which is here extracted; not so much in elucidation of the financial derangement in the kingdom of Delhi, at this remote period, as to place within the reach of the money-mongers a precedent for a paper currency, which, it appears, could not have been known to the bank historians, Gilbert, Lawson, and Francis. This expedient is far older than “the bills of exchange,” the wonderful invention of the early Italian merchants, the Lombards, who came over and established themselves in London in the street which bears their name; and than “the receipts the goldsmiths issued,” in the days of the protectorate,† “for the money lodged at their houses, which circulated from hand to hand, and were known by the name of goldsmiths’ notes, which may be considered the first kind of notes issued in England.”‡

“The king,” says Ferishta, “unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper on the emperor’s credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mohammed, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a

decree throughout Hindostan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received in exchange solid silver and gold in foreign markets. There was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, merchants had their coin struck considerably below the value, and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. How could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?”* Such was the popular fermentation, that the king was obliged to call in the copper currency, the treasury was emptied, and there still remained a large balance due. This debt the king struck off, and thousands were ruined. The scheme terminated in the exhaustion of the treasury, and bankers and merchants were enriched at the expense of their sovereign and the people. The armies levied for grand projects of further conquests—indeed, nothing less than all Persia and Tartary—were in arrear, and breaking up into independent bands, carried ruin and destruction through the length and breadth of the land. A project was conceived, by the king and his advisers, as wild as any that animated the adventurous speculators of the concluding part of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth century, nearer home. This was nothing less than the conquest of China. An early intercourse had existed between the two countries, and a vast number of the Indians were united with them as fellow disciples of Buddha. Mohammed had heard of its great wealth, and already possessed it in imagination. This ideal wealth, like an enchanter’s spell, he fondly hoped would resolve all his difficulties, and realize the dreams of his ambition. One obstacle intervened, and that was the hardy mountaineers of Nepaul, which lay on the confines of both empires. To overcome this was the first step: one hundred thousand cavalry were sent on this service, and when the Indians came in sight of the promised land, wearied by their toilsome journey, and with numbers considerably reduced, a large army was ready to receive them. To add to their hardships, the commissariat was in an impoverished state, the rainy season, so detrimental to Indian campaigning, was at hand, and their country was at a great distance; the troops decided on

* A district situated between two rivers.

† Francis’s *History of the Bank of England*, vol. i. p. 10.

‡ Ibid., p. 28.

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 414.

retreat. The mountaineers seized their baggage, and the Chinese hung on their rear. Hemmed in on all sides, they perished in the defiles; scarcely a man returned to relate their fate.

The king was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur, and its more central position, that he translated thither the seat of his government, and evacuated Delhi, then the envy of the East. Men, women, and children, were driven to remove, with all their portable possessions: on this project much wealth was foolishly lavished.

A series of revolts followed, in which the royal troops generally were victorious. The one exception was a revolt in the Deccan, excited by apprehensions that preparations were being made by the Moslems for the massacre of all the natives—the Hindoos. The result was that the former were expelled from the entire country, except the capital, the late residence of the court. The revolt of the king's troops in this province quickly followed, and in rapid succession an insurrection in Malwa, and another in Gujerat; previous to this the Punjaub had been invaded by the fierce Affghans, and immediately after by the Gukkurs. But the most formidable of all the wars, one which occupied him to the close of his life, was that into which, by his impolitic proceedings, he forced the Ameer Judeeda.* On his march to punish the Rajah of Scinde for his protection to these, he terminated his eventful life by having surfeited himself with fish (A. D. 1351), after a reign of twenty-seven years.

His cousin Feroze, who was fortunately in the camp, was proclaimed king by the army, and by the dying injunction of the late king. The Mogul portion of the troops had risen, and plundered the royal treasury. The first care of Feroze was to inflict punishment on the Mogul auxiliaries. Ambassadors were received at his court from Bengal and the Deccan, which had thrown off the yoke, and whose treasons had not been punished in consequence of the occupation which other quarters had given the king. This reception was an official acknowledgment of the independence of these provinces of the kingdom of Delhi; the only fealty which they henceforth (1356) exhibited, was the payment of a very small tribute. In 1358 the Moguls

* Ameer-Judeeda—new officers—was a name conferred on the newly-converted Moguls and their descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced the Mohammedan religion, and the service of the kings of Delhi, at the same time. Being foreigners, without local partialities, they were considered to be the best instruments for carrying into effect the orders of a despotic prince. They were bold, spirited, and soon shook off their allegiance. See Briggs's *Ferishta*.

made an incursion as far as Depalpore; but before an army dispatched to oppose them arrived, they had retired, laden with spoils. In the year 1359 Feroze marched in the direction of Lucknow. In his progress he reduced to terms the governor of Jektulla, laid waste the territories of Songhur and Jagnuggur, and then returned to Delhi. He subsequently marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he punished the rajah, but left him in possession of his territories. A singular anecdote is recorded of this visit by the Mohammedans. They relate that the inhabitants informed Feroze that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Now Shaba, the wife of Alexander the Great. In this temple they also relate was a library of Hindoo books, consisting of one thousand three hundred volumes—a large collection, considering they were all manuscript. He then proceeded down the Indus to Tutta, to check a rebellion. Wearied by age, and the cares of state, he surrendered his sceptre to his son, in 1387.

There survive many testimonials of the attention which this prince paid to the development of the natural resources of the country, and particularly to extend its water intercourse. He constructed a canal from the Sutlej to the Kugur; another between the hills of Mundvy and Surmore, from the Jumna, into which he conducted seven minor streams, which all uniting flowed through Hansi, and thence to Raiseen,* where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroza; he conveyed an aqueduct from the Kugur over the river Soorsutty to the village of Pery Kerah, where he founded the city of Ferozabad. He cut another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake, which he constructed at Hissar Feroza. In the vicinity of the city of Perwar, there was a hill, out of which ran a stream that discharged itself into the Sutlej, and beyond it a smaller one,—named respectively the Soorsutty and the Sulima,—and between them a mound, which, if cut through, the water of the former would flow into the latter, and then to Soonam, through Sirhind and Munsoorpore, which would not fail at any season of water. To effect this desirable object, he set fifty thousand men to the task, in the execution of which “they exhumed the bones of elephants—more probably mastodons—and men. The bones of the human forearm,” says Ferishta, “measured three guz (five feet two inches); some were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone;”† a fort was built there, still called Ferozepore; nine hundred of his public

* There is a town of this name in Malwa also.

† Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 453.

works are enumerated. Such details as these, though not so thrilling as the neigh of war steeds, clash of armour, or groans of men, are the true materials of history, and the genuine records of greatness.

Feroze, who had resigned in favour of his son Mohammed, in consequence of that prince's misconduct was obliged to resume the reins of government, which in a short time he delivered into the hands of his grandson, Futteh Khan. The old king died in the ninetyeth year of his age (1388).

Futteh Khan, on ascending the throne, assumed the title of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk. This young prince soon abandoned himself to sensual indulgences. When these have "withered up the feeling," the other animal passions luxuriate unchecked; his jealousy was soon awakened and developed, his brother and other relations were its victims; at length, deserted by those whom nature had bound to him, he fell a victim to the vengeance of his enemies, after a reign of five months.

His immediate successor was his cousin, Prince Zuffur, though his uncle, by whose imprudence he himself had mounted the throne, was living, but in exile. The reign of this young prince, who assumed the title of Aboo-Bukhr Toghluk, was also cut short. The Ameer Judeeda of Samana had assassinated their chief, Mullik Sultan, and sent his head to prince Mohammed, the son of Feroze, who had forfeited his father's respect, and then the throne, by his vices. At the same time they earnestly entreated him to come and assert his rights. He complied with their invitation, proclaimed himself king, and at the head of an army marched on Delhi. Mohammed, having sustained some repulses, was at length successful, and made the ruling prince prisoner, in the year 1390, after a reign of one year and six months.

Nasir-ood-Deen Mohammed Toghluk II. first, as has been said, ascended the throne in his father's lifetime. He had been scarcely reinstated when an insurrection broke out in Gujerat. The chiefs sent to quell it rebelled, and declared himself independent. Similar movements agitated Lahore and Mooltan; indeed, the empire, from the recent convulsion, seemed shaken to the core, ready to fall to pieces, and to become the prey of the first vigorous adventurer. The vizier fell under false suspicions, and on the accusation of his own nephew suffered death. The king, in 1392, set out on a campaign to Mewat to quell some disturbances in that quarter. He was attacked with fever, and, while in an enfeebled state, was informed that an enemy had plundered the country to the very gates of Delhi. Though far from recovered, he hastened to Mewat, attacked and

totally routed the foe, and compelled him to fly. Another outbreak in Lahore his son was dispatched to suppress, but before the prince left Delhi, news of his father's decease was brought to him; the king had succumbed to a relapse. He died after a reign of six years and seven months (1394), and was followed by his son and successor, Hoomayoon, in forty-five days after.

The premature demise of the youthful sovereign Hoomayoon gave occasion to intrigues and violent disputes amongst the nobles for the vacant throne. Their choice was eventually fixed on Mahmood, whom they selected for their sovereign. The minority of the king, and the jarring interests of the various factions, had rendered the government so weak that the vassals of the crown thought a favourable opportunity had presented itself for the assertion of their independence, and they did not hesitate long to avail themselves of it. Kuraja Jehan, the minister of the last king, and who was not removed by the reigning prince, established an independent kingdom at Juanpore, and became so powerful as to be able to impose tribute on the older one of Bengal. This dynasty was called Shur-keea, to distinguish it from that of Bengal, the capital of which was Lucknow, and called Poorbeah, both towns signifying eastern. To the west Sarung Khan, governor of Mooltan and the north-western provinces, had defeated the Gukkurs, and shortly after (1395), seizing on Mooltan, aggrandized his power. The state of the kingdom promised him every facility of accomplishing more ambitious designs still. The kingdom was at this time distracted; the government had fallen into anarchy; civil war raged everywhere; two kings in arms, equally supported, and with alternating advantages, held their courts in the one capital—a thing unprecedented in that kingdom. Sarung Khan advanced towards Delhi and reduced Samana, but he shortly after suffered an effective check. An army was dispatched against him by one of the rival kings; he was defeated, and compelled to fly to Mooltan. Here he was besieged for six months, and eventually reduced to surrender at discretion through want of provisions. Mooltan was occupied by the royal troops, but Sarung Khan contrived to escape. In the interim Mahmood was reduced by his supporters to a state of abject dependance, and was king only in name, while his rival had been defeated and obliged to seek refuge in a remote dependency. Mulloo Yekbal Khan, the general of the victorious army, now marched, accompanied by the pageant-king, Mahmood, against the pretender Noosrut Shah, and his protector, Tartar Khan, at

Paniput, by whom a counter movement on Delhi was attempted without success. Tartar Khan, thus frustrated, fled to Gujerat. The victorious general entered the capital again, and began to establish order, and remedy the disastrous effects produced by the convulsions of the past. The process of reorganization was interrupted by a danger which had long afflicted, and still further threatened the state, namely, the incursions of the Moguls, which in this instance had assumed the most formidable dimensions, and was about to discharge their concentrated and indiscriminate fury on the doomed inhabitants of Hindostan. Timour Beg, better known to the Westerns as Tamerlane,* had crossed the Indus with preparations commensurate with the undertaking, and thus were the miseries of this unhappy people completed.

Tamerlane—the more general and classic name of this hero—was a descendant, by the female line, of Jenghis Khan, previously mentioned in this history. He was the son of Taragai, whose fourth ancestor, Karashar Novian, of the noble tribe of the Barlass, had been the vizier of Zagatai, the son of Jenghis Khan. His father had feudal possession of the province of Kesh. His birthplace was Resch, one of its towns situated about one hundred and thirty miles to the east of Bokhara, and about thirty south-east of Samarcand.† He was born A. D. 1336 (A. H. 736). His first aspirations were for conquest, and from the first stage of youth he ambitioned to be the ruler of the world. Among the traditions pertaining to his birth, it is stated that on that interesting event he made his *débüt* with his hand firmly grasping clotted blood. His first exercises were of a martial character. He acquired a perfect mastery of the lance and in sword exercises; the most fiery steeds were soon subjected to his control; he delighted in the pursuit of the fiercest and most dangerous animals; and by the great superiority of his genius and fixity of purpose, he obtained absolute control over his high-spirited and im-

petuous playmates. Conquests and thrones were the subjects of even his commonplace conversations. At the early age of twelve years he entered on his military career, but the first historical recognition of him was in his twenty-fifth year. On the death of his father at this period, his uncle, by seniority, as was the custom of his clan, succeeded him. The contentions with which the province of Transoxiana was torn, opened to Tamerlane a career which he embraced with ardour. The empire of Zagatai, from its foundation, bore within its bosom the germs of rapid decay. The insubordination and repeated revolts of the Novians* had enfeebled the authority of the sovereign. Twenty khans had succeeded each other in less than a generation. Cazan, the last of the line, had become detestable by his tyranny, and perished in an engagement with his revolted emirs.† In those disturbances the uncle had played no insignificant part, and, in one of the vicissitudes of his faction, had to fly, and seek an asylum in Khorassan. But Tamerlane, his nephew, submitted to the victor, and thus became the chieftain of his clan, and was confirmed in the possession of his principality of Kesh, and in the command of ten thousand men. At the age of twenty-seven he rendered very important services to the Emir of Khorassan and Transoxiana against the Getes, who were devastating his territories. The emir, as a recognition of his worth, bestowed on him his sister in marriage, but after her death Tamerlane commenced hostilities against his brother-in-law, captured the capital of his territories—the venerable city of Balk. The fortress was razed, the emir's children perished, and his property, treasures, and harem became the prey of the conqueror. This event occurred in 1370, and placed the kingdom of Zagatai at the conqueror's mercy. Tamerlane selected Samarcand for the seat of government, which he strongly fortified, and richly embellished with palaces and gardens. His recent elevation seemed to him a mere glimpse of the glorious vista before him; with an ambition inferior to none of the greater conquerors who preceded him, he looked upon the earth as his and his only. "There is but one God in heaven," said Tamerlane, "so there must be but one lord on earth." Having subjugated Turan, that is, the country beyond the Oxus, he turned his mind to the acquisition of Iran on this side of that river, where a number of independent principalities had risen on the

* *Timour*, *Demour*, or *Demir*, is the Mongolian term of iron. Tamerlane is a corruption of Timourlenk, *i. e.* the lame Timour. His lameness was occasioned by a wound received at a siege in the early part of his military career, according to Sherefeddin. For the full particulars of the life of this extraordinary man the reader is referred to his own institutes, and the pages of Arabsha and Sherefeddin. The former was a native of Damascus, and well versed in the Mohammedan law. He died A. D. 1450. A translation of the Arabian work has been given in the French by Vatie. Sherefeddin was born at Yezd, in Persia proper. His work is also translated into French by M. Petit de la Croix, and from the French into English (London, 1723). The full title of Tamerlane when at the summit of his power was, Sultan Riamram Cothbeddyn Timour Kourkhan Saheb-Keran.

† Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 285.

* Novian, an hereditary title borne by the descendants of kings only.

† Emir and Beg are synonymous titles, and equally designate a prince, commander, chief, &c. The former is Arabic, the latter Turkish.

ruins of the empire of Jenghis Khan. He soon attached the provinces of Khorassan, Siestan, and Sabulistan, and then commenced his first war against Persia proper, which occupied him during three years. The Persian empire presented a spectacle similar to that which was presented in Delhi on his approach to that capital. Two rival houses divided the regal sway, and incapacitated the Persians from offering a combined and effective resistance. These were the dynasties of Mosasser, in Persian Irak, and the province of Fars (Persis), and that of Ilchane, in Arabian Irak, and Azerbaijan, or Atropatane. Shadshesha, who then ruled in the former, submitted without opposition, and gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Tamerlane. Sultan Ahmed, the sovereign of the latter, resisted, but was soon overpowered, and compelled to make submission. The adjacent states followed the example—Georgia, Shirwan, Gilan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, as well as Persia, bowed their necks, and accepted the yoke of the conqueror. During the campaign of Tamerlane in Persia, Tokatmish Khan, of Western or Great Tartary, who, twelve years previously, by his aid, had been raised to the throne, now raised the standard of independence. He soon received the punishment his temerity provoked. The army which had triumphed in Persia was poured upon devoted Tartary. The Djettes and other nations of Mongolistan were conquered; the Czars Khodja Aglyn and Kamar-eddyn, their sovereigns, were pursued to the Irtesch. The officers of the army of Tamerlane marked for posterity the extent of their north-western conquests, by the representations of their armours and national devices, burned into the trunks of the gigantic pines which, in extensive forests, wave over the banks of that river. Tokatmish sought refuge in flight, having sustained a decisive defeat near the banks of the Volga. The following winter (1391) was spent by Tamerlane in the midst of festivities at Samarcand, and there he hurried forward preparations for his next campaign. He quitted his winter quarters (1392), and entered on an expedition of five years' duration, during which he completed the subjugation of Persia, captured Bagdad and the fortresses of Mesopotamia, pursued his successes in Armenia and Georgia, defeated Tokatmish a second time, and having crossed the Danube, the Dneiper, and the Don, penetrated into Russia, and conquered the sacred city, and afterwards Moscow.

Some cessation was required after these events which crowded the five years' absence. The following year he spent in Transoxiana, in the midst of fêtes and amusements. He

had a magnificent palace erected in the environs of his capital; he bestowed on his son Chah-Rokh the sovereignty of Khorassan, of Siestan, and Mazanderan, as far as Ferouzkoub and Ree, and sent him to reside at Herat. He received an ambassador from the emperor of China, and, though in the sixty-second year of his age, he contracted another marriage. His vigour and activity had not as yet been impaired. He was during this time preparing not only the most brilliant but also the most difficult of his enterprizes. He resolved on the conquest of Hindostan, and must have been encouraged to this undertaking by the pitiable state of that great country, particularly by the distraction, which had been only partially subdued, when all the states of that country were startled by the rapid approach of the terrible Tamerlane, flushed with victories, and an appetite sharpened for more. His emirs, surfeited with wealth and honours, were opposed to this campaign. He had recourse to the Koran to remove their opposition, and showed the piety of a war against nations, the great majority of whose population were steeped in idolatry. His grandson, Pir-Mohammed, was sent forward with an army of observation. Tamerlane departed from Samarcand in the end of March, 1398, and attacked, in their snow-capped mountains, the inhabitants, who were detestable in his eyes, not only as idolaters, but also as banditti, and put great numbers to the sword. His own dangers and losses were very severe, and many of the horses perished of cold and fatigue. He also conquered and destroyed many tribes of Affghans. After a wearisome march of six months he arrived on the banks of the Indus, and passed it by a bridge of boats at the same spot where it had been passed by the Sultan Julal-ood-Deen when flying from Jenghis Khan.

The approach of Tamerlane to Delhi was one horrid series of bloodshed and devastation. He marched along the river to the conflux of the Chenab and the Ravee, where the strongly fortified town and fort of Toulumba stood. Mooltan, Bhutnir, and Lony, fell into his hands. When he had reached as far as Paniput, he crossed the river with seven hundred men to reconnoitre Delhi. Seeing so few troops, the Delhians sallied out with five thousand horse and foot and twenty-seven elephants. A skirmish took place; the Delhians were repulsed. On this occasion he was informed that the number of prisoners captured, since he had crossed the Indus, amounted to over a hundred thousand; that on the previous day, when they had witnessed his danger from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian detachment which had attacked

him, they could not conceal their great joy ; and that it was extremely probable that on a day of battle they would join their countrymen against him. He ordered them to be put to the sword. On the 13th of January, 1398, he achieved a complete victory under the walls of Delhi. The sack of the city followed. A large booty was seized, and a great crowd of captives. He subsequently besieged and captured Meerut, having undermined and blown up its strong walls. He then pursued his march, skirting the mountains of Sewalik, marking his way with fire and sword, until he reached the banks of the Ganges. He crossed this river, and laid waste the fertile tract extending northwards to where the stream, gushing from the mountains, winds its course through the plains. In his progress he vanquished the Rajah of Jummoogur, and compelled him to become a believer. The Sheika of Lahore was beheaded. A great number of natives on both sides of the river were exterminated, and several princes subdued ; he received the submission of several others, amongst the rest, that of Shah Iskander, King of Cashmere ; and returned to Samarcand by the route of Cabul on the 28th of April, 1399. The after career of Tamerlane is well known. His next war was waged against Bajazet, Emperor of the Ottomans, from 1400 to 1402, in which year was fought the memorable battle of Angora,* which was contested with great obstinacy through a long day, and by the military skill and admirable tactics of Tamerlane ended in the total defeat and captivity of the Ottoman sultan. Angora was also almost the extreme limit of the wider devastations of the conqueror. He afterwards laid siege to Smyrna. This was the extreme limit of his Western conquests. He returned to Samarcand, where, as lord paramount of Asia, he received embassies from various nations, and celebrated the nuptials of six grandsons with unrivalled magnificence and festivities. He then set out towards China, with the purpose of conquering that country, and died on his march, at Otrá, on the 19th of February, 1405, in the seventy-first year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.

The city of Delhi remained in a state of anarchy, for the space of two months, after the departure of Tamerlane, and famine and pestilence raged without a palliative. At length the authorities summoned courage to return ; the inhabitants began to revisit their homesteads, and the capital once more assumed its former populous appearance.

* This engagement is the first on record at which military uniforms and cuirasses were first worn. Tamerlane introduced them among his troops.

The narrow tract between the two rivers, and a small district round the city, were all that remained to it of its recent extensive possessions. The governors of the detached provinces during the civil convulsions had asserted their independence. Gujerat, Malwa, Kanouj (including Oude, Kurra, and Juanpore), Lahore, with Depalpore and Mooltan, Samana, Byana, Calpec, and Mahoba, were under respective governors, each of whom usurped the title of king. The sovereignty of Mahmood was merely nominal. Successively the tool of his adherents, at others a refugee at the court of men who were once his subjects, he led a miserable life of dependency, and died at length in possession of his capital, after a disastrous, inglorious, but eventful reign of twenty years, in 1412 ; and with him fell the kingdom of Delhi from the rule of the Turks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shahab-ood-Deen Ghooory, the second dynasty of the Mohammedan princes of India.

Dowlut, an Affghan by birth, who had been originally a private secretary, and promoted through various grades, was the successor to the throne, and was acknowledged by many of the nobility. However, after a reign of one year and three months, he had to surrender to a turbulent and more powerful aspirant, by whom he was confined to prison, and there died shortly after in A.D. 1416.

Khizr Khan, by whom the last-mentioned King of Delhi was overthrown, had played a prominent part during a portion of the reign of Mahmood III. His father was the adopted son of a governor of Mooltan, and his family laid claim to being descended from the Prophet. The allegations on which this ancestry is claimed are of a trivial and ludicrous character. Whatever their merit, he is styled Synd.* After the conquest of Delhi he waited on Tamerlane, and had the good fortune to ingratiate himself into his favour, and was re-appointed to his former government, together with the provinces of the Punjaub and Depalpore. This accession to his power enabled him to make his way to the throne. The moderation which he exhibited in the day of his success contributed essentially to the stability of his position. While he exercised all the attributes of sovereignty, nominating to high offices of the state, he refrained from assuming regal titles, and declared himself to be the dependant and tributary of Tamerlane. By this prudent policy he secured two very important ends : by one, he disarmed the jealousy with which

* Synd or Seyed were the descendants of Ali and Fatima, and considered the legitimate descendants of the Prophet.

such an assumption would have been received by his fellow nobles, and by the second secured the countenance and support of the conqueror, whose name and approval were sufficient to awe any malcontents. His first care was to repress the turbulent chiefs in his vicinity, who had the will but not the power to maintain their independence. He reduced Kuttehr, accepted the proffered submission of the governor of Budaon, exacted the revenue, which during the commotions had fallen into arrear, from Gunpore, Kampella, and Chundwar, recovered Jaleswur out of the hands of the Rajpoots of Chundwar, and took possession of Etawa. All this was accomplished in the first year of his government. In 1414 there was an irruption of the Turks into Sirhind, and the governor was assassinated by them. Khizr Khan sent an army to oppose them. They retreated across the Sutlej; but as the mountains were then in the possession of independent zemindars, in alliance with the Turks, there were no important results. The King of Gujerat, with some hostile designs on Delhi, advanced as far as Bagore, but on the approach of Khizr Khan diverted his course to Malwa. The latter then proceeded to Gwalior, where he levied tribute. In the year 1419 he discovered that a conspiracy had been formed against him by some powerful adherents of Mahmood III. This circumstance induced him to raise the siege of Budaon, before which he then was, and to return to Delhi, where, having assembled the conspirators, he commanded the household troops to fall upon them, and put them to the sword. About this time an impostor, who laid claim to the throne in the name of a defunct prince, had collected a body of insurgents, which was defeated. The survivors deserted their leader, each man withdrew privately to his home, and the forces of Delhi also disbanded, and returned to their respective stations. The impostor in the following year made his appearance, and united his force with an insurgent chief. The latter, discovering that he was master of a considerable and valuable collection of jewels, caused him to be assassinated. In an expedition to Gwalior and Etawa, which, during his government, though often punished, were a constant source of annoyance, falling sick, he returned to Delhi, and died on the 20th of May, 1421, after a reign of seven years and a few months.

Khizr Khan was highly esteemed by his subjects; indeed, the strongest fact adduced to support his claim to being a descendant of Mohammed was that "he possessed the qualities of charity, courage, mercy, benevolence, virtue, abstinence, truth, kindness, in a degree

which rendered him like the Prophet himself."* As a token of their respect for his memory, the Delhians, by common consent, wore black for three days.

The respect in which his memory was held secured the sceptre for his son, Syud Mobarik, who was elected by the vote of the assembled nobles. The fact that his father had not assumed a kingly title, and that the nobles assembled to elect the new king, are evidences of the control which the aristocracy had possessed over despotism, and proves how precarious the tenure by which the prince held his throne.

The reign of this prince was a continued warfare, in which he himself took an active part, and generally his arms were crowned with success. From his ascent to the throne till the close of his life he had to contend against the pretensions of an energetic and powerful aspirant to his crown. In the very month on which he handled the reins of government, he received advices that Jusrut, who had the previous year defeated and made prisoner Ally Shah, the King of Cashmere,† inspired by his success, aspired to the throne of Delhi. There was scarcely a year that he did not renew his attempt; nor did repeated defeats and loss of treasures modify his ambition. Probably the plunder which his mountaineers swept from the fertile plains prompted the recurring campaigns rather than any strong hope of attaining the ostensible object.

In 1429 another adventurer appeared on the stage, whose proceedings created no small share of trouble and annoyance. A courtier, Syud Selim, died in that year, who during thirty years of power had amassed an enormous fortune; indeed, it was supposed to be equal to the private coffers of the king himself. According to the usages of India, it could be claimed by the crown. The king availed himself of no such privilege. He resigned the entire to the two surviving sons, whom he, moreover, elevated to the highest distinctions which he could confer. These indulgences did not secure the fidelity of the young men. On the contrary, they dispatched one Folad, a Turkey slave, to Sirhind, to stir up an insurrection privately in their name. The plot, shortly after the departure of their emissary, was discovered, and both the traitors committed to prison. Folad justified the confidence which his masters testified in his abilities. On his arrival in Sirhind he entered

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 507.

† The kingdom of Cashmere is the only Mohammedan state of India which is not found having relations with the empire of Delhi. Its history forms a separate portion of this work.

into negotiations with the principal officers of the royal army there stationed, and succeeded in lulling them into profound security. In the depth of night, with a band of followers, he made an attack on their camp, in the hope of being able to surprise it. He was wrong in his calculations. His approach was perceived; and he was received with such promptitude by the king's troops, that the attack altogether failed. But this discomfiture did not cool the ardour of Folad. Having retired after his repulse to a fort occupied by his adherents and accomplices, he made another attempt on the ensuing night, and being supported by a heavy fire from his works, the Delhi troops, as if panic-stricken, fled with the utmost trepidation, leaving their camp and baggage a prey to their assailants. This disaster impelled the king to take the field in person. Folad had occupied Sirhind, the capital of the province, and had an abundance both of money and supplies, and resolved to defend it against the king to the last extremity. With a courage and success worthy of a better cause, he held his post for six months, though towards the close greatly distressed. Seeing no other means of extricating himself, he sought an alliance with the ruler of Cabul, between whom and the King of Delhi no friendly relations had been cultivated. A force was sent to his assistance, and these, on crossing the Beas, were joined by the warlike Gukkurs. The confederates laid waste the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjaub, and who were now prosecuting the siege of Sirhind. The royal army were compelled to raise the siege. The troops of Cabul were rewarded by Folad for their services; but on recrossing the Sutlej they plundered the Punjaub, and acquired a hundredfold the value of their remuneration from him. His retreat was marked with every injury that may be inflicted on an invaded country. On reaching Lahore he imposed a contribution of one year's revenue. From Lahore he proceeded to Depalpoore, laying waste that district also. It is asserted that forty thousand Hindoos were massacred; besides, thousands were carried into slavery. He directed his march to Khuteelpore; he then crossed the Ravee, and devastated to within a few miles of the walls of Mooltan. Here he defeated the army of Delhi, and hastened on to the assault of that town. In this attempt they were unsuccessful, but continued the siege, and committed daily depredations, putting all whom they met to the sword. At length the hour of retribution was at hand. The plunderers were again encountered by the reinforced Delhians: a sanguinary conflict ensued. The

Moguls were progressing favourably, when the fall of a favourite chief so inspired his troops with revenge, that the enemy fought with desperation, and at length snatched the victory. The depredators were totally defeated. They lost all their plunder, and their chief escaped with a few attendants, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Jhelum in their attempt to escape.

Folad was not disheartened nor inactive; he marched shortly after out of his fort to attack Lahore, but had to fall back on his old retreat again. Shortly after this, in 1435, Syud Mobarik founded a city on the banks of the Jumna, and called it by his own name, Mobarikabad, and then made an incursion towards Sirhind. On his road he had intelligence that that fortress was at length captured, and the head of Folad was presented to him. The other transactions of his reign was the endeavour to recover the eastern territories which had been, during these convulsions, wrested from the empire, and to repel the incursions of the mountaineers who harassed his confines and made repeated irruptions into the interior. The King of Malwa and of Juanpore felt the force of his arms; the Rothors of Rohilcund were forced, by his presence, to pay their tributes, and the Mewates were often checked in their predatory expeditions. His temper was so finely regulated that he is said to have never spoken in anger, and on most occasions he was just and benevolent; to his nobility he had never given offence, except in removing them for misbehaviour from their appointments. These qualities did not shield him from enmity and the assassin's blow, directed by his vizier, to whom he had given some cause of offence. This occurred after a reign of thirteen years and four months, in the year 1435. The vizier, who had preconcerted his arrangements, placed his confidant, Mohammed, the grandson of the late king, upon the throne.

Syud Mohammed's elevation was not hailed by unanimous approval. The deputy vizier and other nobles, then in camp, severely censured the conspirators. Their indignation, for the present, was suppressed; and to avoid the horrors of civil war, they resolved on submitting to the new king. This party was further outraged, when they saw two Hindoos, the actual murderers, promoted to the government of provinces, and otherwise liberally rewarded; while the officers of the late monarch were persecuted, and even the lives of some sacrificed on the most trivial pretexts. Several of the nobles had reason to apprehend that they would be stripped of their estates held on tenure from the crown. These, for self-protection, entered into a con-

federacy and took up arms. The deputy vizier had hitherto so guardedly dissembled his feelings, that he stood high in favour with the vizier, and was accordingly entrusted with the command of the army for the reduction of the malcontents. They soon united their forces, and marched on Delhi, to wreak their vengeance on the conspirators. The king, in this exigency, took measures for his safety, and decided on abandoning the vizier, and entered into negotiation with the besiegers for securing his own escape or for cutting off the minister. These preparations did not escape the jealous watchfulness of the latter, who had recourse to counter measures, and with a band of accomplices broke into the royal apartments to put the king to death. Intimation of their design having preceded them, they were received by a more powerful body; and all, including the vizier, were cut to pieces. The confederates took the oath of allegiance to the reigning prince, and were promoted to the highest posts of the state. All who were concerned in the murder of the late king suffered death. After this adjustment, Mohammed displayed some energy. He made a campaign towards Mooltan. Many of the disaffected chiefs being intimidated, came in and made submission; their example was followed by the other malcontents. He also marched towards Samana, and detached a portion of his army against Jusrut Gukkur, whose territories were surrendered to plunder. The king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of government. The inevitable results soon began to manifest themselves. An insurrection broke out among the Affghans; and Behlol Lodi, the nephew of one of the leading chiefs among the confederates, usurped Sirhind, and seized on Lahore, Depalpore, and the country as far south as Paniput. While Mohammed was temporising with him, the King of Malwa advanced within three miles of Delhi, at the head of a threatening force. Syud Mohammed, in great alarm, called to his aid Behlol, who, accordingly, succoured the capital with twenty thousand horsemen arrayed in armour, and repelled the danger. Behlol conceived the greatest contempt for the vacillating voluptuary, and boldly aspired to the throne. Having been confirmed in the governments of Lahore and Depalpore, which

he had forcibly seized, his means of furthering his designs were strengthened; and, accordingly, he induced a large body of Affghans to enrol themselves under his standard. Instead of proceeding, as he had been ordered, to wage war on Jusrut Gukkur, the old enemy of Delhi, he induced that chief to co-operate with him, and they seized several of the districts belonging to the crown, and eventually laid siege to Delhi, but he was compelled to relinquish that enterprise to attend to some more pressing emergency. Such was the decline of the power of Delhi, through the imbecility of the government, that the zemindars of Byana placed themselves under the government of Malwa. Syud Mohammed died a natural death, in 1445, after a reign of twelve years and some months.

His son, Alla-ood-Deen, succeeded him on the throne. All the nobles of the kingdom took the oath of allegiance with the exception of Behlol. The contempt of the latter the young king was not in a position to resent and punish. However, in 1446, he assembled an army for the recovery of Byana; but on his march he was informed that a hostile army was on its way to attack Delhi. Although advised to distrust this report, which was vague and unauthenticated, and remonstrated with by his vizier, he returned to the defence of his capital. As had been conjectured the rumour was false. This step was the ruin of his reputation; the people pronounced him a greater imbecile than his father. Another act of his was still more offensive to his subjects. He preferred Budaon to Delhi; and spent a considerable portion of his time there laying out gardens, building palaces, and giving entertainments. While thus employed, Behlol renewed his designs on the capital. The imprudent abandonment of his minister by the king induced the latter to attach himself to his ambitious rival; the result was, that the throne of Delhi was abdicated by Alla-ood-Deen, in favour of Behlol, on the condition that the ex-king was to be left in quiet possession of the town which he had selected for his residence. In this retreat—a good exchange perhaps, after all, for a tottering throne—he spent the remaining twenty-eight years of his life. He reigned for the space of seven years. He was the last of the Syuds.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE AFFGHANS AND MOGULS

BEFORE we proceed to sketch, briefly, the history of the princes of the Affghan line, an opportunity is supplied of giving an account of the political divisions of Hindostan at that particular period. The materials have been principally furnished by Ferishta.

The peninsula was at this time—the middle of the fifteenth century—split up into several separate principalities, possessing or claiming independence. The Deccan, Gujerat, Malwa, Juanpore, and Bengal, had each its independent king. The Punjaub, Depalpore, and Sirhind, as far south as Paniput, formed the territory of Behlol Khan Lodi. Mehrowly, and the country within a few miles of the city of Delhi, as far as the Seray Lado, was in the hands of Ahmood Khan Mewatty. Sumbhul, even to the suburbs of Delhi, was occupied by Duria Khan Lodi; Kolejalesur, in the Doab, by Eesa Khan Toork; and Raberry and its dependencies by Kootub Khan Affghan; Kampila and Pattialy by Rajah Purtab Sing; and Byana, by Dawood Khan Lodi; Candesh, Scinde, and Mooltan, had each its distinct Mohammedan king: so that the city of Delhi had but a very small tract of country attached to it; in one place it only extended twelve miles from the walls, and in another scarcely a mile, when Behlol took possession and assumed the title of king.

The new king, Behlol Lodi, was of Affghan descent. The Affghans claim to be of Jewish origin, and were from a very remote period a commercial community, and carried on the trade between India and Persia. In the reign of Feroze Toghluk, the grandfather of the king possessed wealth and power, and rose to the government of Mooltan. His uncle, in the army of Khiza Khan, commanded the Affghan contingent, distinguished himself in that war, and as a reward of his bravery and fidelity, was appointed governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Khan. His brothers participated in his good fortune; and one of them, the father of Behlol, had a district bestowed upon him. On the father's death, he entered the military service under his uncle, Islam Khan, and subsequently married his daughter; and though he had full grown children of his own, Islam Khan made Behlol his heir, and he was also nominated his successor in command of the troops, a body of twelve thousand Affghans. The daily augmenting influence of the Affghans in Sirhind had, ere this, excited the jealousy of the ruling power at Delhi, and

Syud Mohammed had sent an army against them; while at the same time Jusrut Gukkur was also instigated to attack them. During the vicissitudes of this war, Behlol was forced to retreat to the hills with the women and children, but his cousin fell into the enemy's hands; his head was cut off and carried to Jusrut, and by him placed before the young man's father, who had been treacherously placed in the hands of his enemies. The father denied that it was the head of his son, but hearing of the gallant manner in which he provoked his fate, the brave old warrior burst into tears, and exclaimed, "Yes, it is my son; but I would not recognize his countenance till convinced he had done honour to his tribe." He observed at the same time, "My nephew Behlol could not have been in the battle or he would have been slain also. He lives, and will avenge the death of my boy." The result justified the prediction; the old man escaped, joined the nephew. Sirhind was quickly retaken, and the entire province of the Punjaub occupied; the vizier, at the head of a large army, was defeated, as has been related.

Hamid, the vizier by whose intrigue the government had been secured to him, still possessed great influence. He was, in the beginning of the reign, treated with the greatest respect; but the king either apprehensive of some such treachery as had been practised towards his predecessor, or thinking that he was overshadowed by the great power of his benefactor, by an artful stratagem seized on his person, and coerced him to retire into private life, after he had effectually crushed his influence.

By the accession of Behlol, an important addition was made to the territories and strength of Delhi. All the petty chiefs around that city, who had been tempted to throw off the yoke, were soon reduced to obedience; and Behlol's supremacy was established over all, but the principality of Juanpore, with which a vigorous war was waged during the successive reigns of three sovereigns, extending, with short intervals of hollow peace, over a lengthened period of twenty-six years. This state, too, he eventually conquered. This war he survived ten years. He died at an advanced age, in 1488, after a reign of thirty-nine years.

Though he gets credit for being virtuous, mild, and just, and for having successfully prosecuted his enterprises, the breaking up of his

kingdom into six divisions amongst his relatives, if creditable to a parent's care, was not a wise act for a sovereign. He had greatly increased the kingdom, having left at his death a territory extending from the Jumna to the chain of the Himalayas, as far east as Benares, besides a district to the west of that river extending to Bundelcund.

To his son, Nizam Khan, better known as Sikunder, he bequeathed the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his nobles, who maintained that the right of succession undoubtedly rested in his grandson, whose father had been assassinated by one of his servants. It does not appear that the kings of Delhi had a testamentary power; their privilege apparently extended no further than a recommendation, as we find on every vacancy created by the peaceful demise of the sovereign, that the right of election was exercised by the nobles. On this occasion the crown was claimed for three different aspirants: the father's nominee; the grandson, a minor; and the eldest surviving son. The decision was in favour of Sikunder, but his election was disputed by two of his brothers. These he defeated, reduced to submission, received into favour, and reinstated in their governments. The Rajah of Gwalior, and the governor of Byana, acknowledged fealty; and the latter was removed from that district and appointed to Jalesur, Chundwara, Marhera, and Sukeet. Agra was taken by him. An insurrection was fomented among the zemindars of Juanpore, which soon spread to an alarming extent. An army, one hundred thousand strong, took the field, and though they at first put to flight the adherents of the king, they were at length reduced to obedience. Bahar, as far as the confines of Bengal, was re-annexed to Delhi. The rajahs of Dholpore and Gwalior submitted; he obtained possession of Chundery, but was baffled through the intrigues of one of his disappointed nobles, in laying hold of Rhuntunbhore. He was renewing his preparations for another attempt on Gwalior, when he was taken ill and died of quinsy, 1517.

Sikunder exhibited during his reign several attributes of a good king. His military prowess was acknowledged, and the internal and civil affairs were not neglected. All the articles of life were abundant and consequently cheap, and peace pervaded the interior. He frequently spent the entire day at business, and was strictly just in his administration. When on his march to give battle to one of his rivals, he was met by a calendar, who saluted him with, "God send you victory." "Pray," said the king, "that the victory may

be his who will best promote the good of his subjects." The profession of arms under his government assumed a new character. He made a point of ascertaining the qualities of every officer who was promoted, and particularly inquired into his origin and education. The result was that the officers were all well educated men. He established horse-posts through the country, and received accounts regularly from every military detachment. Reports of the armies, of the courts, and of the principal cities were received daily. The great flaw in his character—that which among his co-religionists was his highest virtue—was his sectarian devotion to his creed. He made a point of destroying all Hindoo temples. He had musjids and bazaars built opposite the bathing stairs in the city of Muttra, leading to the river, and ordered that no Hindoo should be suffered to perform his ablutions there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants, to prevent them from the discharge of their religious duties. Before his ascent to the throne, in a disputation with a holy man, who maintained the impropriety for a king to interfere with the religion of his subjects, or to prevent them from bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages, he drew his sword, and exclaimed, "Wretch! do you maintain the propriety of the Hindoo religion?" The holy man replied, "By no means, I speak from authority; kings should not persecute their subjects on any account." A story is also told of a Brahmin who, being upbraided by some Mohammedans on account of his faith, maintained "that the religions, both of the Moslems and Hindoos, if acted upon conscientiously, were equally acceptable to God." This opinion being maintained with some ingenuity and much argument, says Ferishta, the subject came to be discussed publicly, and the Brahmin was ordered to defend his thesis against twelve of the most learned men in the empire. Whatever may have been the success of the learned doctors against their solitary adversary, the issue of the disputation does not speak well for their liberality. Their intemperate decision argues their defeat. They decided, unless he renounced his errors and embraced Islam, he ought to suffer death. The Hindoo, refusing to apostatize, was accordingly executed, and the doctors were munificently rewarded. Sikunder was a poet, and a patron of learned men. His reign lasted twenty-eight years.

Sikunder dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim ascended the throne. This prince had estranged his kindred by a maxim which, though offensive to them, is by no means unworthy of a man destined to rule a mixed people,

that is, provided that all were to be treated with kindness and justice—"that king's should have no relations nor clansmen, and that all should be looked upon as subjects and servants of the state." It would appear by the sequel that such was not Ibrahim's interpretation, for instead of elevating the others to the status of the Affghans, he degraded theirs to that of the masses. The Affghans had the privilege of sitting in the royal presence, but were constrained by him to stand in front of the throne, with their hands servilely crossed behind them. The disaffection of the Lodi chiefs began early in his reign to manifest itself. They came to an agreement to leave him in possession of Delhi and a few dependant provinces, and to elevate his brother, Julal Khan, then governor of Calpee, to the throne of Jaunpore. He soon secured in his interest all the nobles of the eastern provinces. His partizans, reflecting on the injury the division of the kingdom might inflict upon themselves, repented of what they had already done; but it was now too late. Ibrahim issued a proclamation, denouncing as traitors all who should adhere to the pretender, and at the same time sent presents and envoys to all the principal officers. These precautions had the effect of detaching the nobles, and of bringing them over to his side. Julal Khan prepared to maintain his claims. He sought with success a powerful alliance, assembled an army, attacked the forces of Oude, and compelled them to retreat on Lucknow. Ibrahim, on being informed of these proceedings, arrested and imprisoned his other brothers, and then led his forces towards Oude. Julal being deserted by his ally, who moreover passed over to the king, marched on Agra, and might have taken possession of that city or plundered the treasury there. He was prevented from doing either by an assurance which was given, that Ibrahim would ensure to him the independent possession of Calpee. But the king having taken Calpee, repudiated that arrangement; and Julal Khan having been forsaken by his soldiers, was obliged to fly to Gwalior to seek the protection of the rajah. The king, capriciously, after this turn of fortune, had his vizier put in chains, and at the same time he loaded his son with honours. An army having set out for the siege of Gwalior, Julal Khan sought refuge in Malwa; not being well received, he fled to Gurrakota, but being intercepted on the road, he was sent prisoner to the king. Julal was sent to the prison at Hansi, where his other brothers were confined; but private orders were given for his assassination on the journey. Gwalior, which for a hundred years pre-

vously was in the power of the Hindoos, fell into his possession. The cruelty of Ibrahim, whose hands were imbrued, not only in the blood of his brother, but in that of many of his chiefs, had provoked another rebellion. The army of the insurgents amounted to forty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and a large force of infantry, with which they proceeded to oppose the royal forces under Ahmood Khan. They were defeated, leaving one of their chiefs on the field of battle, and the others, together with all their treasures and baggage, in the hands of the royalists. A series of butcheries succeeded this victory, and Ibrahim manifested the bitterest hatred and resentment against the nobles who had figured in the court of Sikunder. These proceedings provoked another rebellion, in which the governor of Bahar was assisted by several men of extensive influence. The governor having died, his son, Bahador Khan, assumed the title of king, as Mohammed Shah. Such was the odium in which the tyrant was held, that this chief was joined by a number of disaffected chiefs, and found himself at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men, with which he took possession of all the country, as far as Sumbhul, and defeated the royal troops in many successive engagements. Ghazee Khan Lodi, in obedience to a summons which he had received from the court, was hastening from Lahore with an army to its assistance; but having been informed, on his way, of the treacherous and bloodthirsty proceedings of the king, he became alarmed for his own safety, and returned to his father, Dowlat Khan Lodi, who, seeing no safety for himself or his family, threw himself on the protection of Baber, the Mogul prince then ruling in Cabul, and encouraged him to undertake the conquest of India. Before the invasion was matured, an attempt was made by Alla-ood-Deen, who had contrived to escape from his brother Ibrahim, and fled to Cabul; Dowlat Khan encouraged his pretensions, but his object was to clear the way for the future prosecution of his own ambitious designs. Alla-ood-Deen was soon joined by many chiefs of distinction, and was, in a very short time, at the head of an army of forty thousand, with which he directed his course to Delhi. He was met by the royal army, which, after a hard fought battle, defeated him and forced him to retreat to the Punjab. After this, no events of importance transpired till the year 1526, when Baber arrived in India, and at the battle of Paniput defeated the Delhians; and Ibrahim lost both his crown and his life, and left the empires of Delhi and Agra a prey to the victorious de-

scendant of Tamerlane. The reign of Ibrahim Lodi lasted twenty years.

Few of the many conquerors of India deserve more special notice than Baber. He not only subdued a great portion of it, but he also imposed a dynasty, and is therefore more identified with its history than was either of his ancestors, Jenghis Khan or Tamerlane. Baber was the sixth in descent from the last-named conqueror, and a worthy inheritor of no inconsiderable share of his acquisitions. His military and political operations were as solid and enduring as they were brilliant. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abasaid, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmood Mirza, obtained Samarcand and Bokhara; Balk, or Bactria, came to another; Cabul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Beg. Omar Shekh * Mirza, the fourth son, and father of Baber, at first had charge of Cabul, but was transferred during his lifetime to Ferganah, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, which Baber always mentions with affection. He was born at Indijah in February, 1483, the same year which gave birth to the father of the Reformation, Luther, and the year of his accession was that in which Charles VIII. invaded Italy. His father having been killed by an accidental fall from the roof of a pigeon-house, Baber was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of *Zeheer-ood-Deen* (protector of religion), in 1494. He was then only twelve years old. His father had been involved in a war with both his brother and brother-in-law; the extreme youth of the young king gave them hope of ample satisfaction, and they calculated that with little difficulty they would be able to appropriate his kingdoms. To save him from this imminent danger, his relations proposed to convey him into the mountains; but this intention was overruled, and Baber began to make preparation for the threatened siege. An incident which occurred at this time will give an insight into the character of the future man. One of the courtiers was detected in corresponding with the enemy, and, being summoned before the king, he slew him with his own hand. The confederates entirely failed in their attack on his capital; a raging pestilence having suddenly broke out among their cavalry, their horses died off in hundreds daily, and a peace was concluded. The khans of Kashgar and Khostan, after this led their armies against him, but they also, eventually, made peace. The governor of

* *Shekh* or *sheikh*, an Arabic word, meaning an old man and prince.

Asheera rebelled: Baber besieged the town, and the rebel was compelled to come forth, with a sword suspended about his neck, and a shroud hung over his shoulders. Thence he proceeded to Sharokia, where he met his maternal uncle, and a reconciliation was effected. The King of Samarcand having occupied Aratiba, one of the provinces belonging to his father in his lifetime, he resolved to retake it, and accordingly marched with an army against it. The war was protracted through three years, when the King of Samarcand, having been abandoned by his ally, the ruler of Turkistan, proceeded with a small retinue of three hundred horse to solicit the assistance of Khosrow Shah, ruler of Khondoos. Baber availed himself of his absence, and hastened to Samarcand, where he was received into the city, and ascended the throne with the approbation of the majority of the nobles, in 1497, and in the fifteenth year of his age. Some of the chiefs, being disappointed in not having the town given up to plunder, went off in a body, and having placed at their head his young brother, Jehanghire Mirza, they demanded for him the province of Indijan. When this demand was presented to Baber he could not restrain his indignation, and threw out imputations which affected his adherents as well as those who had deserted him. This imprudence so offended the remaining officers, that in a body they went over to his enemies. To aggravate his perils, he was seized with a dangerous illness, by which he was reduced to the last extremity. His life, indeed, was preserved, with the greatest difficulty, by conveying sustenance through moistened cotton applied to his lips. On his recovery he found his affairs in the greatest confusion. The officers and soldiers, despairing of his life, began each to shift for himself; and Ali Dost Taghai, having heard that he was dead, surrendered Indijan to the rebels. He then applied to his uncle, Mahmood, for aid; and though he marched to his assistance, having no military capacity, he listened to the artful proposals of the cabal, and was persuaded to retreat. This misfortune was followed by the desertion of all his forces, with the exception of three hundred, who faithfully adhered to him, and shared his exile and fallen fortunes. He took up his quarters in Khojend, a town so small as to support with difficulty two hundred men. Burning with the desire of conquest and dominion, his ambitious spirit spurned the insignificance of his position, and aspired to a wider and a nobler field of action. In the winter of 1498 he led forth his few followers, and, as he himself relates, won all the strongholds of Yar Ailak by treaty, storm, or stra-

tagem. The first gleam of good fortune was the return of Ali Dost Taghai to his allegiance. The Sultan Mahmood next sent an army to his assistance; and the chiefs of the rebellion had acted so tyrannically, that the towns began to rise up against them, and their troops to desert them; and in 1499 his paternal kingdom was entirely restored to him. An act of indiscretion made him a second time a refugee. A party of the rebels, who had capitulated on condition of taking away all their property, were with his sanction plundered by his partizans. This order was issued with too much precipitation; and as Baber himself observes, "in war and affairs of state no matter ought to be finally determined till it has been viewed in a hundred different lights." The Moguls in his service were so alarmed, that they forsook him, and marched away, in number about four thousand, and offered their services to a neighbouring sultan, who by this reinforcement was enabled to defeat the forces of their former master. After a series of operations a convention was made between Baber and his brother Jehanghire, by which the latter should have the territory on the north of the Sirr, while Indijan and Urkund were to belong to the former; and in the event of Baber obtaining possession of Samarcand, the whole should be resigned to Jehanghire. On his part he bound himself to unite his forces with his brother's for the invasion of that country.

By repeated invitations Baber was induced to renew his designs against Samarcand, and set out for that capital; but before he reached it, he was informed that both it and Bokhara were seized on by the Uzbecks, who were at that time laying the foundation of that dominion, which has continued to the present in Transoxiana. In his absence Tambol had a second time taken possession of Ferghana, and Baber with his followers fled to the mountains to the south of that country. While in this retreat he learned that Sheibani Khan, the chief of the Uzbecks, had left Samarcand on some expedition, leaving a garrison of five or six thousand men. He resolved to surprise it in his absence, and with that object proceeded with the small force of two hundred and forty men. They rode all night, and when all the enemy were at rest they escalated the walls without giving the least alarm. The citizens received them with thanksgivings for their success, and united with them heartily in their attack upon the garrison, and assisted with clubs and stones in driving out the Uzbecks. Sheibani Khan, on being informed of this dashing exploit, hastened back, but found the gates closed against him and ultimately

withdrew to Bokhara. Shadmar, and Sogdiana, with its fortresses, before the end of a few months, submitted. In 1501 he marched against the Uzbecks, and suffered a signal defeat: with difficulty, attended by a few followers, he escaped to Samarcand, by plunging on horseback into the river Kohik, and swimming across. He determined to maintain his hold in this town "for life and for death." The citizens were reduced to extreme distress. Some of the meaner sort were constrained to eat dogs and asses; the leaves of trees were collected to feed the horses. Some were fed with shavings and raspings of wood steeped in water. The citizens and soldiers could endure these hardships no longer, and therefore, having made a sort of capitulation, he evacuated the town at midnight. The following two years of his life were embittered by vicissitudes and privations of the most afflicting character. He commonly went barefoot through the mountains with his companions, and their feet, he says, became so hard, that they did not mind rock or stone in the least. His servants deserted from want of food. He sometimes expresses the despondent feelings by which he was in these wanderings harassed. The following is a translation of a verse composed by him then:—

"No one remembers him who is in adversity:
A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness.
My heart is far from joy in this exile:
However brave, an exile has no pleasure."

At length his patience gave way, and he said to himself, "Rather than appear in this state of debasement, it were good to flee from the sight of man as far as my feet could bear me." He resolved to travel into Northern China. Occasional communications from his adherents in Ferghana served to keep alive his hopes, and at length, with the aid of his uncle, he recovered his capital, and was joined by his brother, who had hitherto been his rival. His old enemy and traitor, Tambol, called to his aid the formidable Uzbecks; Baber was again defeated. He fled with a few men, fighting at every step, and was so hotly pursued, that his guards fell one by one into the hands of the enemy, and his horse was so much exhausted, that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They called to him in an assumed friendly voice to stop, but he pressed forward up a glen till about "bedtime prayers." Both of them, with a solemn oath, assured him that Tambol desired to reinstate him, and they also "swore unto him by the holy book that they would follow and serve him wherever he led." If they were at any time sincere in their assurances, they ultimately abandoned their

honourable intentions, and betrayed him to his enemy. With great difficulty he again obtained his liberty. He rejoined his uncles, but with little advantage to himself, for Sheibani, invited by Tambol, arrived with an army "more numerous than the rain-drops," and routed the Moguls in a bloody conflict. Both his uncles were taken captives, and he fled to Mogulistan. He wandered in distress amongst the mountains for a whole year, and surrendered all hope of regaining his inheritance, and determined on seeking his fortune in Khorassan, bade a long farewell to his native land, and ventured beyond the Hindoo Koosh. Though he had figured in so many scenes, and suffered so many trials, he was yet only in his twenty-third year. The touching details of his eventful experience at this time, as recorded in his life, written by himself, are a faithful mirror of the fitful character of a determined boy. His transient feelings, and the elasticity of his spirits, were remarkable—at one moment dissolved in tears, the next with the keenest relish enjoying the agreeabilities of his situation. His domestic affections are as strong as they are simple and natural—there is no apparent concealment of his inmost thoughts. The genial glow of puerility in the earlier period of his memoirs renders it probable that they were contemporaneously written. During all his marches, says Elphinstone with much truth, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away upon him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can so fully penetrate as into Baber's.

In entering on a new field of adventure his followers were less than three hundred, and among them all there were but two tents. Bactria was at that time under the rule of Khosrow Shah, a favourite of Baber's late uncle, and subsequently minister to his son, the prince whom he had driven out of Samarcand, and whom Khosrow had since then murdered, and appropriated what remained of his dominions. With his lately-acquired subjects Baber was a favourite, and looked upon as the legitimate owner of the kingdom. It was not long after his arrival before all the Moguls in Khosrow's service offered Baber their allegiance; and even his brother came over to him with all his family and effects, and was followed by the whole of the army. He now found himself at the head of a respectable force, and proceeded onward to the conquest of Cabul. His uncle, Ulugh Beg, the king of that country, had died in 1501, two years previously, leaving

his kingdom to his son, a mere lad, who was expelled by his minister; the latter was assassinated, and the kingdom was then seized upon by a prince of Candahar. Almost without a blow Cabul and Ghizni, with all the provinces dependant upon them, acknowledged the dominion of Baber in 1504. Over this country he ruled for twenty-two years before he undertook the conquest of India, and his descendants reigned there until the end of the seventeenth century. A mere recapitulation of the leading events of that interval is all that is requisite here. He subdued Candahar; put down a rebellion fomented by his brother; he waged wars with his old enemies the Uzbecks; and probably would have shared the destruction which had annihilated the eldest branch of his house, had not Sheibani Khan been totally defeated and slain in 1510 by the King of Persia. Baber occupied Bactria and Bokhara, and again obtained possession of Samarcand in 1511, but before a twelvemonth he was driven out by the Uzbecks; and although he was sustained by the Persian alliance, and maintained the war for two years longer, he was stripped of all his acquisitions except Bactria in 1514.

It was then that he turned his attention to India, and entered on that enterprise which had been suggested to him by Dowlat Khan, governor of Lahore, and his sons. The application for aid made to Baber by him was accompanied with an offer of allegiance. No proposal could have been more acceptable; and he lost no time in making the necessary preparations. He directed his march through the country of the Gukkurs, and imposed his yoke upon them. Behar Khan Lodi, and other Affghan amecrs, who continued faithful to Ibrahim, or aversc to an invader, encountered him in the vicinity of Lahore, and were defeated. His victorious army sacked the town of Lahore. Depalpoore was next taken by assault, and a general massacre followed. Dowlat Khan, who had been expelled from Lahore by the King of Delhi, and had taken refuge among the Beloochees, here joined Baber with his three sons, and was favourably received. At this time he was recommended by Dowlat to detach a body of troops to Dura Ismael Khan, with whom several Affghan nobles had collected a force, but Dilawer, the son of Dowlat, informed Baber privately that his father and brother only wanted to separate his army, and weaken them. They were both on this information cast into prison, but shortly after released. This did not ensure their attachment; they fled to the eastern hills, and Dilawer was put in possession of their estates. Alla-ood-Deen was put in

possession of Depalpore, and hopes held out to him of being substituted for his brother Ibrahim in Delhi. The defection of a man of such influence as Dowlat Khan, with other unfavourable occurrences, induced Baber to retrace his steps to Cabul. No sooner had he withdrawn than Dowlat and Ghazee seized upon Sultanpore, and imprisoned Dilawer. Sultan Ibrahim forwarded an army to bring them to submission. The army was tampered with, and the general gained over Alla-ood-Deen, who, having been driven out of Depalpore, had fled to Cabul, and now returned to Lahore, bringing with him the orders of Baber to his commanders that they should assist in placing him on the throne of Delhi, and that he would support him in person as soon as the state of affairs would permit. Dowlat and his son professed their readiness to co-operate with him. The Mogul chiefs having obtained for Baber the cession of all the territories west of Lahore, permitted Alla-ood-Deen to join Dowlat Khan in order to prosecute his pretensions. These, with their joint forces, marched on Delhi. Ibrahim advanced from Agra to oppose them, but his army was taken by surprise in a night attack, and dispersed, but having rallied the next morning, snatched the victory and its fruits from the rebels. The unfortunate pretender was abandoned by his adherents, and fled in great distress to the Punjaub. Baber was then on his march back again to renew his Indian war. Ghazee Khan Lodi transferred his allegiance to his old sovereign, and united his forces with his when he heard of the advance of the Moguls, and remained faithful till that monarch's death.

In 1525 Baber commenced his fifth Indian campaign. On the route to Lahore he amused himself in rhinoceros hunting, and thus had an opportunity of testing the courage, prowess, and skill of his chiefs. In December of the same year he crossed the Indus at the head of a hundred thousand horse. Dowlat and his son, with an army—then in the interest of Ibrahim—of forty thousand, were encamped on the banks of the Ravee, near Lahore, but they did not await his arrival. The father retired into the fortress of Muluret, which, having been beleaguered, surrendered after a few days. The old traitor was pardoned, and again received into favour. On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghazee, who had retired to the mountains. He overtook and defeated him, after which he formed a junction with the army commanded by Ibrahim Lodi. Baber decided on marching on Delhi. To this step he was encouraged by messages from some traitors in Ibrahim's court; and on his way he was joined by an Affghan de-

serter with three thousand men. Ibrahim did not await him under shelter of the walls of Delhi; he had boldly taken the field, and when Baber was within two stages of Shahabad he learned that the vanguard, six or eight miles in advance, composed of twenty-seven thousand horse, were ready to dispute his progress. He hurried on his left wing to encounter them. They met at sunrise the following morning: the conflict was vigorously sustained. The issue was adverse to the Delhians; they were put to flight, and their commander fell in the retreat. The prisoners were barbarously put to the sword. The main army, under Baber, having reached the field of battle, encamped there for six days, during which he ordered his park of artillery to be linked together with leathern ropes, made of raw hides, according to the practice, Ferishta observes, which prevailed among the armies of Asia Minor.

Though Ibrahim's army consisted of a hundred thousand horse, and a hundred elephants, and that of Baber is represented as amounting only to twelve thousand men, he made an attempt with five thousand horse to surprise the Delhians. In this manœuvre he was disappointed. The next morning Ibrahim led his forces to the memorable plains of Paniput,* a day to be remembered in the history of the Indian peninsula. On the 20th of April, 1526, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his forces into two lines, composed of four divisions, with a reserve in the rear of each, and a small body of horse to skirmish in the front. The light troops were thrown out in advance; besides these there was a grand reserve in the rear of both lines. Baber having delivered his orders to his generals personally, and placed his army in battle array, took his post in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim placed his forces in one solid mass, and, according to the practice of the Indians, ordered his horse to charge. This attack the Mogul army awaited so steadily, that the Delhians began to slacken their pace long before they reached the enemy's lines. Those divisions which advanced to the lines of the adversary being unsustained, were repulsed, but as they fell back the reserves were ordered to wheel round their flanks, and, meeting in the centre, they fell upon their rear. By this manœuvre the Affghans were almost cut off to a man. Ibrahim was among the slain, and five thousand of his followers were heaped around him, and among these was the Rajah of Gwalior. Of the Delhians some authors report that sixteen

* Paniput is also the scene of a great battle between the Mahrattas and Ahmed Shah in 1761, which will be noticed hereafter.

thousand were killed, while others swell the amount to fifty thousand. In a few days both Agra and Delhi fell into his hands. The following characteristic observations on this conquest are made by Baber in his commentaries:—"From the time of the blessed Prophet down to the present day three foreign kings have subdued Hindostan—Mahmood of Ghizni, and Sultan Mahmood Ghoori, and myself:* both were great potentates, while opposed only by rajahs of petty kingdoms; I, on the other hand, while the whole power of the Uzbeeks threatened my dominions on the north-west, advanced with not more than twelve thousand, including camp followers, against the emperor of all India, whose army was composed of a hundred thousand men, and a thousand elephants. In reward for my confidence in him, the Most High did not allow me to endure so many hardships in vain, but overthrew my formidable adversary, and gave me the sceptre of Hindostan."†

The detestation in which the Moguls were held by the Affghans determined them to refuse submission. They appeared in arms everywhere, and put their forts in the best possible state of defence; even some of them who had joined the invader deserted, and the peasantry around Agra attacked them in several instances, cut off the foraging parties, and intercepted the supplies both for men and horses. The climate, to which the Moguls were not inured, also thinned their ranks. Thus circumstanced, Baber was pressingly urged by his chief officers to return to Cabul, but he replied "that a kingdom which cost him so much pains in taking should not be wrested from him but by death," and issued a decree proclaiming his determination to remain in India, at the same time permitting all who preferred safety to glory to retire to Cabul. This announcement proved favourable to his interest. Several of the influential men who stood aloof speculating on his withdrawal from India now gave in their adherence. The Affghan confederates had now an army of fifty thousand strong in the field, but there was treason in their camp. The vizier of the late king, Futteli Khan, deserted, and induced several of the nobles to submit. This diversion did not extinguish the hopes of the nationalists, several of whom espoused the cause of Mahmood, the son of the late Sikunder Lodi, and with an army of one hundred thousand horse resolved to re-establish the Affghan dynasty. This led to the battle of Ranwa, a village on the Ban-

gunga River, four miles south of Bhurtpore. The Affghans fought with desperate valour, and the fortunes of the day seemed to incline to them, till Baber, perceiving a favourable opportunity, charged with his private guards "like a lion rushing from his lair," and after an obstinate conflict the Indian line was broken, and they fled in disorder. To commemorate the victory a ghastly pyramid of the heads of the slain was reared on an eminence near the scene of action, and Baber assumed the title of Ghazee.

The enemy thus weakened and disheartened gave their conquerors a respite. Hoomayoon, the conqueror's son, was sent back to Cabul with orders to add Baetria to that province. Many of the strongholds now submitted. In 1528 Baber made a tour of his new empire. Towards the close of this year Prince Mahmood, the son of Sikunder, took possession of the province of Bahar, and the Beloochees in Mooltan revolted. Baber marched in person to Bahar, and defeated the enemy.

The Prince Hoomayoon having left his brother Hindal Mirza as his substitute in the government of Cabul, returned to visit his father. On the 24th of December, 1530, Baber expired, and in compliance with his will he was interred in Cabul. He reigned for thirty-eight years, and died in the fiftieth year of his age.

The particulars of his career have been drawn from his memoirs, written by himself in the Turkish language, transcribed by his son, and translated in the reign of his grandson Akbar, into Persian. The language, in which it was originally composed, is spoken to this day from the Caspian to the Chinese frontier. The chief portion of this was translated by Leyden, and the remainder by Erskine.

"In his person," Ferishta records, "he was handsome; his address was engaging and unaffected; his countenance pleasing, and his disposition affable." On his feelings and tastes some remarks have been made. He was learned, and had few equals in the arts of poetry, prose composition, and music. In the time of his ancestor Jenghis Khan, Samarcand and Bokhara were the first cities in civilization. Notwithstanding his warlike pursuits, his time was not absorbed by the duties of the camp. He was ardently devoted to the enjoyments of the eup, and to female society. When inclined to make merry, he generally gave orders to fill a reservoir in his favourite garden with the richest wine. The following verse was publicly exhibited to the revellers:—

* Baber has not mentioned the conquest of his ancestor Tamerlane. This may arise from Tamerlane not having established an Indian kingdom or imposed a dynasty.

† *Life of Baber*, by Caldecott, p. 179.

"Give me but wine and blooming maids,
All other joys I freely spurn;
Enjoy them, Baber, while you may,
For youth once passed will ne'er return."

Hoomayoon Padshah succeeded his father. He was a prince of refined taste and cultivated mind. He had scarcely mounted the throne when his brother Mirza formed the design of wresting the Punjaub from him, and asserting his independence. Hoomayoon was cognizant of his projects, yet not wishing to be involved in an unnatural war with his brother, anticipated him by sending him a commission nominating him to the government of the Punjaub, Peshawur, and Lumghan. Mahmood, son of Sikunder, was still in arms, and, in the hope of recovering the inheritance of his family, he had recently got possession of Juanpore; Hoomayoon having marched thither ejected him, and restored the former governor. A conspiracy against the king's life, by some of his own countrymen, was detected; the prime mover was pardoned, and some of the accomplices punished, these were officers of distinction in his service. Zuman Mirza, who had been pardoned, on taking the most solemn oath of fidelity, availed himself of the earliest opportunity of escape, and sought refuge at the court of Gujerat, with Bahador Shah. Here he was joined by about six thousand adherents, consisting of Moguls, Affghans, and Rajpoots. Hoomayoon demanded the surrender of Zuman Mirza, which being refused he made preparation to enforce his demand. Bahador Shah was then carrying on the siege of Chittoor, but owing to some circumstance not explained, although Hoomayoon had marched as far as Gwalior, and Prince Rana Sanka had claimed his protection, after two months, he broke up his camp, and returned peaceably to Agra. Despairing of relief, Rana Sanka, with costly presents, induced Bahador Shah to abandon the siege. The successful prosecution of his uninterrupted designs, spirited on this ambitious prince to more important measures, in fact nothing less than the expulsion of the new dynasty. He set up a new claimant for the throne of Delhi, Alla-ood-Deen, the son of Behlol Lodi, and to sustain his pretensions placed an army of forty thousand men at his disposal. This force, commanded by the pretender's son, advanced on Agra, but on the approach of an opposing army, the great bulk of his men deserted, and the remainder, with three hundred officers, were cut to pieces. Bahador shortly after took the field, and having collected a large train of artillery, on which he relied, he entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in the expectation that the Moguls would risk an engagement. The armies were in sight of each other for the space of two months; at length all his supplies being cut off, the men, horses, elephants, and camels perished daily, from want

and disease, in great numbers; and finding himself reduced to extremities, with five attendants he left his camp in the night time, and fled towards Mandoo. The following day his army dispersed, were pursued, and put to the sword. Mandoo, in which Bahador had a force of several thousands, was scaled at night by three hundred Moguls; the garrison, panic-stricken, betook themselves to flight, and the unfortunate refugee, with five thousand horse, escaped to Champanere, then the capital of Gujerat. During the flight he would have been taken by the king in person, had not one of his faithful attendants thrown himself between Hoomayoon's guards and his master, and thus saved his life. The pursuit was hotly sustained. Three days after the capture of Mandoo the victors reached Champanere. Bahador, taking with him all his treasures, fled to Ahmoodabad. The city of Champanere was given up to plunder, but the citadel, strongly garrisoned, and well supplied with provisions, threatened a prolonged defence. Hoomayoon continued the pursuit of the King of Gujerat, who pursued his flight to Cambay, and thence to the Island of Diu. He was so closely pursued that Hoomayoon arrived at Cambay on the very evening he had left it. The principal part of the royal treasures of Gujerat being stored at Champanere, Hoomayoon returned thither to conduct the siege in person. In the capture of this strong fortress the young king exhibited a large share of shrewdness and intrepidity. While one day reconnoitering, he observed a party of country people conveying supplies by a secret pathway leading through a wood; he induced them to carry him in disguise to the spot at which they were admitted. Having carefully made his observations, the following night with three hundred chosen men he prepared to escalate it. Feigned assaults, for the purpose of diversion, being made in other quarters, he with thirty-nine of the detachment approached that part of the fortification he had already marked out, and which, as being extremely difficult of assault, and in the opinion of the garrison unapproachable by the enemy, was left unprotected, the sentinels having been withdrawn for the defence of more assailable points. The king was enabled without interruption to fix steel spikes in the scarp of the rock, and by their aid thirty-nine of his officers ascended, after whom himself, making the fortieth. Before the sun rose the entire party were within the walls. A preconcerted signal was given, and a simultaneous attack was made on all sides. At the head of his detachment the king, sword in hand, fought his way to one of the gates, threw it open, and his troops poured into the

citadel. The garrison was put to the sword. The governor, for his fidelity and bravery, was spared. This daring feat is ranked, and not unmeritedly, by the Mohammedan historians as equal, in the opinion of their military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history. The treasures which fell into his hands, the accumulations of many years, were so great that it is stated Hoomayoon gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit. Bahador was not crushed by his misfortunes. He had again enrolled an army of fifty thousand men, and was daily advancing in strength and influence. He, however, sustained another defeat near Mahmoodabad. The province of Gujerat being partitioned among his officers, he directed his march to Boorhanpore, and in his progress received the submissions of the princes of the Deccan. Scarcely had he satisfactorily settled that affair when he heard that a formidable insurrection had broken out in the north, at the head of which was Sheer Khan. Having received the submission of Candeish, he proceeded to Mandoo, and thence to Agra.

Through the attachment still preserved for Bahador, as well as through the ambition and treachery of some of the Mogul officers, who had a design of raising the king's brother, Mirza Askari, to the throne, Malwa and Gujerat, the conquest of which had been accomplished at so much trouble, were now (1535) lost to Hoomayoon without a battle.

The troubles in the north did not allow much time to the king to indulge in those pleasures which were now daily growing upon him. He left his capital, Agra, in 1537, and set out against Sheer Khan. This chief, destined to play a great part in the affairs of Hindostan, was the grandson of Ibrahim Khan, an Affghan, who claimed descent from the kings of Ghoor. Hasan the father held a jaghir in Bahar. He had two sons, Sheer Khan and Nizam Khan. These he neglected, and the elder at an early age left his father, and as an adventurer sought his fortune as a private soldier in the army of the governor of Juanpore. Amid the arduous duties of his profession, he did not neglect the cultivation of his mental faculties. He devoted himself to study, and became versed in the literature of the East, and could repeat from memory all the poems of that popular oriental genius Sadi. He was subsequently reconciled to his father, and was placed in the management of his jaghir until Soliman, his step-brother, grew up, by the intrigues of whose mother he found himself in so uncomfortable a situation

that, accompanied by his brother Nizam, who in all probability was guided by him, he again forsook home, and entered into the service of Sultan Sikunder, who was then king. There he continued to the death of his father, when the jaghir of Sahseram was conferred upon him. After the disastrous battle of Paniput, in which Ibrahim lost both crown and life, Sheer Khan stooped not to the conqueror, but transferred his services to Mohammed Shah Lohani, who assumed the title and dignity of King of Juanpore and Bahar. This prince having yielded to the intrigues of Soliman the half brother, and transferred to him the paternal jaghir, Sheer Khan withdrew in disgust, and joined Junid, the governor whom Baber had appointed to Juanpore, in 1527. Aided by the conquerors he was soon enabled to raise a body of followers in the hills of Bahar, recovered his jaghir, and became a troublesome neighbour to his late master, professing himself a subject of Baber. Having paid his personal respects to that prince, he accompanied him to Chanderry, in 1528, was soon after confirmed in the possession of his inheritance, and appointed to a command in Bahar. In the year after, 1529, Sheer Khan once more is found in the ranks of the nationalists, but on the dispersion of Mahmood Lodi's army in that year, he was one of the chiefs who submitted to Baber. So did also Jelal, the son of Mohammed Shah Lohani, now dead. This young prince, still a minor, and under the guardianship of his mother, was received by the conqueror into favour, and invested with considerable powers. Sheer Khan had obtained great influence over the mother, and on her death, which soon after supervened, Jelal was left in entire dependence on this aspiring noble. He was soon master of Bahar, and of the strong fortresses of Chunar and Rohtas. These steps of aggrandizement were pursued in the beginning of the reign of Hoomayoon. Though the latter looked on with apprehension, and had more than once resolved on checking his ambitious projects, the necessity for his presence in other quarters, and particularly the more recent campaigns in Gujerat and Malwa, had prevented the prosecution of any effective measures. Thus Sheer Khan had been enabled to secure the complete possession of Bahar, and had already made considerable progress in attaching the rich kingdom of Bengal. Such confidence had he thus early in the stability of his power, that when Hoomayoon was in pursuit of Bahador Shah, his son with impunity withdrew with the body of horse which he had led to his assistance.

The grounds of quarrel with Bengal was that Jelal, wishing to assert his independence,

had sought and obtained the aid of the king of that country, but Sheer Khan bade defiance to both, and not only repelled their joint forces, but entered on an aggressive war, and laid siege to Ghoor, the capital of the kingdom.

This short summary will sufficiently explain the situation of affairs in the north when Hoomayoon had returned, and was about to bestow the attention which the emergency commanded. He had no contemptible adversary to encounter. Sheer Khan made his preparations with a masterly perception of the situation, of which the previous history of India furnishes no example. To enable him to complete his conquest of Bengal he threw a strong garrison into the rocky fort of Chunar, with the necessary supplies and appliances for a protracted and obstinate defence. This fort stands on the extreme verge of a detached portion of the Vindaya Mountains, which slope down to the Ganges in the British district of Mirzapore. This eminence, a sandstone rock, rises abruptly from the edge of the stream to the height of one hundred and four feet, and attains its greatest elevation about two hundred yards farther south-east, where it is one hundred and forty-six feet high. From that position the hills recede westward, covering the whole of the south-east of Bahar and Bengal, and shutting up the road along the south bank of the Ganges in two places, one near Chunar, and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bayhalpore.* As the march of the Mogul army lay along the Ganges, and their artillery was conveyed by water, it was essential to their purpose to obtain possession of this stronghold. The siege lasted six months. After the fall of the fortress the victors pushed on, still keeping to the Ganges, and, before Patna was reached, they were met by the unfortunate King of Bengal, who had been expelled his territory, and was still afflicted with a wound received in the last engagement. As they approached the defile of Sicragalli, a detachment was sent to occupy it, but this had been prudently occupied, and, in an attempt to force it, the Moguls were repulsed with considerable loss. The main army was now at hand, and to their surprise they found the position abandoned, and the road to the capital of Bengal thrown open to them. It was no part of the plan of operations, upon which Sheer Khan had resolved, to oppose, in the open field, the superior force of the enemy in this early stage of the campaign. His intention was to betake himself to the hills on the south-west, and he had already removed his household and valuable effects to Rohtas. During the delay at Chunar

Ghoor had fallen, and the battle which had sent its king a fugitive had been fought in Bengal. The detachment which had retired from the defile had been sent there, with instructions to avoid any serious affair, in order to retard the advance, and to complete the arrangements for withdrawal to the highlands. Ghoor yielded without a show of resistance. Though all shadow of opposition had disappeared, an enemy was at their doors more formidable than that which had so rapidly vanished. The Moguls had entered Bengal on the eve of the rainy season, which now had attained its height; the Delta of the Ganges was one waste of water, the slender streams were swollen into far-spreading pools, the plains were in every direction inundated. A stop was necessarily put to all military operations, and the communication with Upper India was seriously obstructed. This state of inactivity continued for several months. Disease, generated by the moist and sultry weather, spread amongst the troops, and several were daily falling victims. As soon as the waters had subsided, and the communications were again established, the soldiers deserted in crowds; and Prince Hindul, the king's brother, who had been left in North Bahar, abandoned his post. Before the rains had ceased, Sheer Khan was again in the field. He overran Bahar and Benares, had extended his lines of communication along the Ganges as far as Kanouj, and had thus skillfully shut Hoomayoon out from the facilities of intercourse with his capital. The result of these masterly movements was that he was obliged to leave his newly-acquired possessions in charge of an inadequate force, while he himself, with the remainder of the army, had to cut his way back to Agra. It was with great reluctance, and after considerable hesitation, that he finally decided on this course. Half the dry season had passed away before he commenced his retreat. He had dispatched a large body of his army as a corps of observation, under the command of one of his experienced veterans, and a favourite general of his father. When they had proceeded as far as Monghir they were surprised and defeated by a division of Sheer Khan's army, who had emerged from their state of inactivity, and again renewed operations in the field. When the Moguls had reached Baxar, between Patna and Benares, they were surprised to find that Sheer Khan, who had now assumed the title of king, had, by forced marches, outstripped them, and was prepared to intercept their further progress. Hoomayoon was advised to engage these troops, fatigued by a day's march of thirty-five miles. This suggestion was not acted upon, and on

* Elphinstone.

the following day Sheer Khan had so strongly entrenched himself, that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Hoomayoon was now obliged to throw up entrenchments, and collected a number of boats to form a bridge across the Ganges, that he might transport his troops across, and thus pursue his journey along that river. This he was the more anxious to effect as the troubled state of affairs in Agra demanded his presence. These preparations he was permitted to pursue without molestation during nearly two months. When the bridge had been nearly finished Sheer Khan one day left his camp, but with a force sufficient to conceal his movement from the enemy, and by a circuitous route came in the rear of Hoomayoon's position, and at the break of day, on the following morning, attacked him with his army divided into three columns. The Moguls were taken entirely by surprise. The king effected his escape at the imminent risk of his life. The bridge not being completed, he plunged into the Ganges. His horse, exhausted, was swept away by the stream, and his master would have shared the same wretched fate, had he not been saved by a water-carrier, who was crossing with the aid of a skin, inflated like a bladder, which sustained the king's weight as well as his own. Eight thousand Moguls were drowned, a party of the enemy having previously seized on all the craft on the river. This disaster occurred in 1539. With a small retinue Hoomayoon hastened to Calpee, and thence to Agra. His queen, whom he made an unsuccessful attempt to save, was taken by the enemy. It is a trait worthy of record, and creditable to the victor, that he treated her with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and sent her to a place of safety. A singular instance of the king's gratitude to the water-carrier is related by Ferishta: on his arrival at his capital he allowed him to sit on his throne for a half day, and permitted him to reward his relatives during that time with princely presents.

During this last campaign his two brothers, instead of uniting to oppose the common foe, had, insidiously, attempted to wrest from him his kingdom, and endeavoured to gain possession of the cities of Agra and Delhi. Hoomayoon used every argument with them in vain to affect a coalition of interest. After the recent defeat the two royal brothers, finding that the Affghans were likely to prevail, became ashamed of their conduct, and resolved to support Hoomayoon. The three met at Agra; Kamran severed himself from their councils and returned to Lahore.

While Hoomayoon was endeavouring to

repair his losses, Sheer Khan, after some respite, advanced to the Ganges, and occupied the neighbouring provinces. In the beginning of 1540 Hoomayoon again took the field, his army being strengthened by an addition of three thousand men left by Kamran. The engagement which ensued was fatal to the Moguls. The army was entirely defeated, and driven into the Ganges. Hoomayoon's horse was wounded, and he saved his life by means of an elephant, which he guided across the stream. The opposite bank was precipitous, and the prince must have perished were it not that two soldiers, who happened to have gained that part of the shore, had tied their turbans together, and threw one end to him, and thus enabled him to make good his landing. On his way he was joined by his two brothers and some troops; having narrowly escaped being pillaged on the road, he reached Agra. The power of Sheer Khan was now in the ascendant, and neither Delhi nor Agra appeared to be a safe domicile for the house of Baber; consequently the royal family, and the most valuable portion of their portable property, were transmitted to Lahore, and they themselves shortly after followed. There was no welcome here for the royal exile. Kamran was too apprehensive of his own safety, and afraid of being supplanted by his elder brother. To purchase exemption from Sheer Khan he ceded to him the Punjaub, and retired to Cabul, leaving Hoomayoon to provide for his security in the best way he could. In this extremity he directed his course towards Scinde, which bordered the dominions of his brother Kamran, having been at one time included in the kingdom of Delhi. Hoomayoon calculated that there existed among many of its chiefs an attachment to the symbol of power, and that they could be induced to recognise his authority. He passed into this province through Uch. Here in fruitless efforts, among which were the sieges of Bakkar on the Indus, and Sehwan, a year and a half were wasted away; his resources were expended, his followers were thinned by deaths and desertions, and the chief of this territory was advancing to attack him; in fact, he surrounded him while conducting the siege of Sehwan, and thus cut off all supplies both from him and the garrison. Deserted by his relatives and friends he was obliged to retreat, and could not find, for several days, a few boats to convey his faithful followers across the Indus. Flying from the enemy he passed through Jesselmere to Nagoor and Ajmeer, then ruled by Maldeo, Rajah of Marwar, one of the most powerful princes of India. Though he had directed his course here by the invitation

of that prince, the latter, perceiving by the shattered fortunes of the king that he had nothing to apprehend from his anger, and that his enemy, Sheer Khan, was in the ascendant, faithlessly resolved on seizing on him and delivering him up. Hoomayoon, warned of his danger, fled by night on horseback to Amurkote, closely pursued. His route lay through a sandy desert, where his followers endured the severest privations, and were entirely destitute of water. Some ran mad, others dropped suddenly dead, and nothing was witnessed but screams and lamentations, and to add to their misery the enemy were close in pursuit. The king had but a few attendants; no chance of escape presented itself. A well-directed arrow entered the breast of the commander of the party in pursuit—he fell; terror seized his followers; they unaccountably fled from the handful of royalists, and Hoomayoon was again providentially preserved from imminent destruction. The Moguls seized on many of the abandoned camels, and obtained possession of provisions and other necessities, of which they stood in such pressing need. By the Rajah of Amurkote he was in a most friendly manner received, and hospitably entertained. During his sojourn here was born his son and successor, Akbar, 1542, a prince by whose genius and fortune the Indian empire was exalted. Having been reinforced by his friend and host, Hoomayoon proceeded towards Candahar, but here he was opposed by his brother, who was in possession, and being attacked by him was compelled to fly to Khorassan, accompanied by only twenty horsemen and his queen. Such was the precipitancy of their flight that the infant prince was left behind in the camp, and carried off by his disappointed uncle, who pretended that he had come with kindly intentions, and indeed treated his nephew with great respect and affection, and removed him and his attendants to Candahar, December 14, 1543. Despairing of any succour from his brother, the king hastened to Siestan, and placed himself under the protection of the King of Persia. In this step he was not disappointed, he was received in a manner befitting a king, and munificently supplied with money, necessities, and attendants. Thence he proceeded to Herat, where he was honourably received by the son and heir to the sovereign, who abundantly supplied him with every requisite for his journey to the Persian court. In his progress he was waited on by all the governors of the province, who paid him their respects, and magnificently entertained him.

Having accompanied the royal refugee so far from his dominions, and leaving him the recipient of the favours of the Persian mo-

narch, his evacuated kingdom now challenges attention.

The successes which had hitherto crowned the prudent and brave prince, Sheer Khan, by whom Hoomayoon was expelled, have been briefly noticed. The retreat of the king placed him in possession of the provinces, which were stripped of their defences. He took possession of the entire of the Punjab. He erected a strong fortress on the Jhelum for its protection, destined to become famous, and which he called Rohtas, after a fortress in Bahar, and then returned to the late seat of empire, Agra. The chief whom he left in command in Bengal had revolted. This movement he quickly and effectually suppressed, and made such wise arrangements as to guard against the recurrence of disturbance. In the course of the next year he recovered Malwa, and in the succeeding he reduced the fort of Raizin. Though the garrison had capitulated, on the pretence of the authority of the construction of the treaty by some Mohammedan lawyers, the Hindoo garrison were cut to pieces after a brave resistance. "In comparison with their valour," says the Mohammedan writer Ferishta, "the deeds of Rostom and Isfundyai might be deemed child's play. Not an individual of the Rajpoots survived the horrid catastrophe." "No motive," says Elphinstone, "can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make, no injury to avenge, and the days of religious fury were long since gone by; yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mohammedan prince in India, except Tamerlane." His next campaign was into Marwar; when he was crossing the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions, and in this manner he passed through the country of the Rajah of Nagoor and Ajmeer. Maldeo, the most powerful of the independent rajahs, met him at the head of fifty thousand Rajpoots. Both armies lay thirty days in sight of each other. Sheer Khan was looking for some plausible pretext for withdrawing, when he availed himself of a stratagem not remarkable for its originality, but which has often been successfully employed. Most of the Rajpoot nobles had been reduced to submission by Maldeo. Sheer Khan caused letters to be written in the name of these stating, "That having been subjected by the rajah they had, through necessity, accompanied him, but that they were in secret inimical to him; that if Sheer Khan would reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to pay him tribute and acknowledge his supremacy." On these letters he indorsed in Persian, "Fear nothing,

but persevere, and you may be assured your wishes will be complied with." Some of these letters were artfully conveyed to Maldeo, who fell into the trap insidiously laid for him; and instead of attacking his enemy, he actually ordered a retreat. One of the high-minded Rajpoots felt so sorely the imputation, that he remonstrated with the infatuated prince. He told him, "That such treachery was unprecedented among true Rajpoots, and he was determined to wash off the stain on their reputation with his blood, or to subdue Sheer Khan with his own tribe alone." He accordingly, with only twelve thousand men, fell on Sheer Khan's force of eighty thousand, with such impetuosity and bravery, that he repulsed the enemy repeatedly, and threw the army into such confusion, that were it not for the timely arrival of fresh reinforcements, during the heat of the fight, they would have won the victory. Sheer Khan, when he had at last succeeded in defeating them, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of *jooar* (millet), alluding to the poverty of the country, and the insignificance of its products. Chittoor surrendered on terms. Rhuntunbhoore, he gave as a jaghir to his son. He then marched against Kalunjur, one of the strongest forts in Hindostan. In consequence of the perfidious violation of the treaty of Raizin, the rajah determined on its defence. Sheer Khan here providentially suffered for that crime, and indirectly in consequence of it. The fort had been surrounded, and batteries constructed for his artillery close to the walls; a breach was made, and a general assault ordered, when a shell which was thrown against the fort burst in the battery, in which the king stood, and communicating to a powder magazine that had been carelessly left exposed, the king and many of his chiefs were blown up by the explosion, and he so seriously injured that he was conveyed to his tent apparently lifeless. Though in great agony, he encouraged the prosecution of the siege, and continued to give his orders till the enemy surrendered, and when the intelligence was brought him, that the fort was reduced, he cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God!" and expired, after a reign of five years and a military career of twenty, in the year 1545. His remains were deposited at Sahseram, where his magnificent mausoleum still stands in the centre of an artificial piece of water, a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water.

This prince has been considered as a usurper. This decision may be ascribed to the restoration to the throne of the descendants

of Tamerlane. His title was better than any that that house had yet established. It had only been fourteen years in existence when overthrown by him. From an early period his personal observation convinced him that the only superiority which could be claimed by the Moguls over his kindred the Affghans, was the personal merits of their chief, Baber, and he patriotically resolved to rid his native country of the odious race. His talents, his good sense, and the benevolence and wisdom which characterized his measures for the improvement of his subjects, showed him worthy of the position to which he aspired. Notwithstanding his brief reign and constant military operations, he brought his territories into the highest state of improvement. In the *Muntakhib-ul-Tawarikh*, written fifty years after his death, it is recorded that he constructed a high road, extending for four months' journey, from Bengal to the Western Rohtas, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half. There was an iman and a muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper castes for Hindoos as well as Mussulmans. The roads were planted with rows of trees for shade, and in many places were in the state described fifty years after. Horse posts were established at convenient distances, both for the convenience of government, and the interests of trade and private correspondence. A similar establishment was maintained from Agra to Mandoo, a distance of four hundred and fifty miles. Such was the public security during his reign, say his historians, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the road side, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery. It is said that on being told that his beard grew white, he replied, it was true that he had obtained the throne in the evening of life, a circumstance he always regretted, as it left him so short a time to be of use to his country, and to promote the welfare of his people.

Selim Shah Soor, the second son of the late king, availing himself of the absence of his brother, who had been recognised by the father as his heir, ascended the throne. His brother being a prince of limited capacity, and himself a man of known abilities, he had the support of the nobles and army. Four of the principal men in the state having given an assurance to the eldest that his safety should be guaranteed, and the richest province in the kingdom conferred upon him, he was induced to make a formal surrender of his birthright. The result of this negotiation was, that the younger brother was proclaimed by the title of Selim Shah, and a tract of

country near Biana was assigned to his brother Adili. The reigning prince, it appears, considered his position insecure while his brother lived, and gave private orders for his arrest and deportation to the seat of government. By this harsh proceeding, the four chiefs who had interested themselves in the arrangement above recorded, felt that their honour was compromised. They took measures accordingly, and a formidable insurrection was fomented. This was suppressed by the king's promptitude and firmness. Adili fled to Bahar, and was never after heard of. A second revolt was also extinguished. The rest of the reign was not distinguished by any important incidents. However, on one occasion, the king had reason to apprehend a serious attack. Kamran flying from his brother Hoomayoon, who was on his march towards India from Persia, sought protection with Selim, and shortly after intelligence arrived that the ex-monarch had crossed the Indus. Selim took instant measures for his safety, and though under the operation of leeches, he instantly started from his seat, and gave orders for the immediate marching of his army; and on that very evening encamped six miles distant from Delhi. However, this proved to be a false alarm. Hoomayoon retreated, and Selim, returning to Delhi, eventually retired to Gwalior, and resided there. Two unsuccessful attempts were made on his life. Many of his chiefs were said to be privy to them, and were put to death without much inquiry. After this he became extremely suspicious and cruel, and continued so till his death. This event occurred in the year 1553, and in the ninth of his reign.

Like his father, he was magnificent in his court equipage, and studied the convenience of travellers, who were entertained at the public expense. A portion of the palace at Delhi was built by him; and although, by orders of Hoomayoon, it was called Nurghur, it still commonly retains the name Selimghar.

Prince Feroze succeeded his father Selim, in the twelfth year of his age. He had reigned only three days when he was assassinated by Mobbariz Khan, the brother-in-law of the late Selim, and the nephew of Sheer Khan, who usurped the throne, and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah Adili. This prince was a vicious debauchee, supposed to be too much devoted to dissipation and pleasure to enumber himself with the cares which royalty imposes. One of the first acts of his detested reign was to raise a Hindoo retail shopkeeper to the post of minister. He is described as illiterate, and a man of low tastes, but proved a man of great energy and

capacity. The king knew neither how to write or read. His time was spent among the inmates of the harem. His extravagance assumed the most capricious shapes. One of his amusements was as he rode out to discharge among the multitude golden-headed arrows, worth ten or twelve rupees each. He was nicknamed *Andly*, which in the English language signifies, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, shows himself a fool. His rashness and extravagance rendered the king more ridiculous daily. Once, during a public audience, he began to partition the estates and governments among his partizans. Among these he transferred the province of Kanouj from its old governor. The son of the latter, a young man of proud temperament and little discretion, being present, cried out to the king, "Is my estate, then, to be conferred on a dog-dealer?" Surmust Khan, to whom it had been given, was a man of uncommon strength and stature; he seized the young noble, Sikunder Khan, by the throat: he soon relaxed his hold; the dagger of the latter was imbedded in his heart, and his lifeless trunk was stretched at his feet: he then slew several who endeavoured to restrain his fury, and eventually made his way to the throne and attacked the king himself, who, leaping from his seat, ran into the seraglio, and escaped by shutting the door in the face of his pursuer. The king's cousin and brother-in-law, Ibrahim Khan Soor, coming to the rescue, cut the rash infuriate to pieces. Taj Khan placed himself at the head of the disaffected, took possession of the public money and the effects of the crown, and soon assembled a formidable army, which made the king take the field. Both armies met on the banks of the Indus above Chunar, and the insurgents suffered defeat. The success of this battle was in a great measure due to his relative Ibrahim, whose intrepidity had saved him from the fury of Sikunder Khan. These services, which had added greatly to the estimation in which he was held, served to inflame the jealousy of the king, and he accordingly gave private orders to seize him. His wife, the king's sister, informed him of his danger, and he fled towards his father, governor of Hindown. He was pursued, but defeated the king's troops. After this, Ibrahim assembled a considerable force and entered Delhi. Hence he marched to Agra; and reduced the circumjacent provinces. He had assumed the ensigns of royalty. Mohammed fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim retained possession of the western territory.

Another aspirant now raised the standard

of revolt, Prince Ahmood Khan, a nephew also of the late Sheer Khan, whose sister was married to Mohammed. He assumed the title of Sikunder Shah, and marched, with twelve thousand horse, towards Agra. He defeated Ibrahim, though in command of seventy thousand horse. He was not permitted to gather the fruits of his victory. The Punjaub, his territory, demanded his presence. Hoomayoon, returning from his long exile, had reached so far on his way back to recover the empire which he had previously lost. The late disaster had so weakened Ibrahim, that Mohammed began to acquire confidence, and prepared for the recovery of his western dominions. The vizier, Hemoo, with a well-appointed army, attacked Ibrahim at Calpee, and having there defeated him, pursued him to Byana, and besieged him in that city for three months. The remainder of Ibrahim's career, though chequered with some incidents of importance, is not sufficiently interesting to be interwoven in the web of our narrative. He was made prisoner in Orissa, in the subsequent reign of Akbar, and suffered an ignominious death.

On his arrival in the Punjaub, to which the presence there of Hoomayoon had summoned him, Sikunder found that Tartar Khan, whom he left in command, had fled from the new fort of Rohtas to Delhi; and the Moguls had, without opposition, recovered all the country as far as Lahore. Sikunder dispatched forty thousand horse to oppose their further progress. This army suffered a signal defeat; the baggage and elephants became the prey of his adversaries, and the fugitives never drew rein till they reached Delhi. This defeat did not deprive Sikunder Shah of all hope of retrieving his fortunes. At the head of eight thousand horse, he marched to the Punjaub, anticipating a greater accession of strength amid his subjects. Here he was frustrated; Beiram Khan, the tutor of the prince Akbar, encountered him near Sirhind. He was defeated, and fled to the Sewalik

mountains; expelled from this retreat, he sought refuge in Bengal, and assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.

On the defeat of Sikunder, the troops of Hoomayoon, elated with their victory, pushed on, and were soon in possession of both Delhi and Agra. Immediately after these events, the Vizier Hemoo—who, though raised from an humble station, manifested great abilities—having defeated Ibrahim Khan near Agra, and afterwards pursued Mohammed Shah Soor, the ruler of Bengal, whose army was routed and himself slain, joined his master Ibrahim Khan Adili, at Chunar, and then began to make preparations for carrying on the war against Hoomayoon. But the close of this prince's eventful life was at hand. While enjoying the fresh air on the terrace of the library at Delhi, the hour of prayer was announced; the king, as is usual with all faithful Moslems, stood still and repeated the creed of Islam, and then sat down on the steps till the crier had concluded. Then endeavouring to rise with the aid of his staff, it slipped on the polished marble, and he fell on his head. He was taken up insensible, and died the same evening, 1556. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The fate of Hoomayoon inspired Hemoo with new hopes and vigour; leaving his effeminate sovereign at Chunar, he set out with thirty thousand men to recover the lost capital. Marching through a country favourable to his pretensions, crowds flocked to his standard. Agra was taken after a siege. The Mogul army, who had accompanied the late king, were located at Delhi, under the command of Tardi Beg. The Affghans proceeded thither, and the Moguls, having suffered another defeat, precipitately evacuated the city. Hemoo was determined to give them no respite. He prepared to pursue them to Lahore, and terminate the war by a decisive blow. The Moguls, having crossed the Sutlej, were concentrating their forces in the last-mentioned province.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REIGN OF AKBAR.

AKBAR was only thirteen years and four months old on the death of his father, and was at that event in the province of the Punjaub. His tutor, Beiram Khan, who had given many proofs of his ability and fidelity, became his minister, and had the whole power, civil and military, lodged in his hands. The

annoyance which was given by Sikunder, and the revolt of some of the feudatories, did not permit the king and his guardian to hasten to the assistance of the troops in Delhi and Agra. The news of the victories recently achieved, which had wrested from Akbar all his dominions except the Punjaub, created

great alarm at head-quarters, and a proposal of retiring to Cabul was seriously entertained. Beiram Khan resolutely opposed this measure, and, unsupported, he strenuously advocated the propriety of giving the enemy battle, though their forces amounted to a hundred thousand horse, and the royal army could scarcely muster twenty. The ardour of the young king seconded the counsel of the minister. On the 5th of November, 1556, both armies met at Paniput. Though Hemoo fought with the greatest bravery, and gave an inspiring example to his troops,—rushing, when the fortune of the day seemed to incline to the enemy, into the centre of their ranks,—the royalists triumphed, and he was taken prisoner, having been previously pierced through the eye with an arrow. When Hemoo was brought into the royal presence, Beiram Khan encouraged the young prince to kill the infidel with his own hand, and thus win the distinguished title of *Ghazi*, or “Slayer of infidels and champion of the faith.” Akbar did not embrace his hands in the cold-blooded murder of a wounded captive: not so his cruel minister; with a cut of his scimitar, he severed the head from the trunk. Akbar soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra; and from this period may be properly dated the restoration of the house of Tamerlane.

The restoration was chiefly due to the consummate ability of the minister, who had now risen to the highest condition open to a subject. There were two vices to which Beiram was, in a special degree, addicted—cruelty and jealousy; the indulgence in which first estranged from him the affection of his royal pupil and ward. The summary punishment inflicted on Hemoo was not a solitary instance of his disregard for human life. It is related that one day while the king was at Agra, one of his elephants, infuriated, killed another belonging to Beiram, who ordered the keeper, who had lost all control over the animal, to be put to death; and a few days after, while he was sailing on the river, an elephant, which had been led down to the water, ran furiously against the boat and nearly sank it: the suspicious minister looked upon these accidents as deliberate attempts on his life, and in this instance he required the king to punish the driver. To satisfy him that his surmises were groundless, Akbar ordered the man to be sent to him, that he might punish him: he commanded him to be put to death. Several other instances are supplied of his capricious and cruel temper. The consequence was, that Akbar asserted his own independence, and stripped his regent of the power he had so frequently abused.

More than one traitorous attempt was made by Beiram to make himself master of the Punjaub, but at length he was reduced to such a miserable state of indigence, that he was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of his injured prince. The magnanimity with which the king acted on this occasion is worthy of the character he bears. On the approach of the fallen minister, a body of nobles was deputed to receive him, and conduct him to the presence with all the marks of respect once due to his exalted station. On entering the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. Akbar, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former rank at the head of the nobles. He then addressed him thus:—“If you prize a military life, the government of Calpee and Chundery offer a field for your ambition. If you prefer to abide at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should you be disposed to seek devotion in retirement and wish to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, you shall be escorted in a manner worthy of your rank.” The latter was his choice; a proper retinue was assigned him, and an annual pension of fifty thousand rupees (£5000): He then took his leave of the king. He never reached the grave of the Prophet; having arrived at Gujerat, on his way, he was there stabbed to the heart by a man whose father he had slain in battle with his own hand.

In 1561, Akbar commenced those conquests which terminated in the combination of the various kingdoms and independent states into which India had been divided. Bas Bahador, the ruler of the principality of Malwa, was conquered, and his territories appropriated. On this occasion Akbar gave an indication of his sagacity, firmness of purpose, and promptitude of action. Adam Khan, who commanded the invading force, distributed the spoil among his followers, and reserved to himself the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of the harem, and sent only a few elephants to the king. This strange proceeding led him to conclude that Adam intended to make himself independent. He accordingly, without giving any intimation of his suspicions or designs, marched to Malwa, surprised that chief, and returned with all the treasures that had been collected. Shortly after this he displayed a feat of great personal strength and intrepidity. While hunting in the neighbourhood of Nurwur, a royal tigress crossed his path; without a moment's hesitation, with a single stroke of his sabre, he stretched her dead on the plain.

Sheer Khan, the son of the late Moham-

med Shah Adili, who, after the defeat and death of Hemoo, had sunk into comparative obscurity, with forty thousand Affghans advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Juanpore. Khan Zuman was dispatched to oppose him. He gained the victory, but having neglected to forward the usual quota of the booty to the king, was brought to a sense of his duty by the sudden approach of Akbar at the head of an army. Some time after this, Bas Bahador induced the rulers of Candeish and Berar to assist him; and, thus reinforced, he recovered all his dominions in Malwa. His success was of short duration; he was again put to flight, and fled to the mountains of Kombulmere. Mohammed Khan Atka, who had been appointed minister at Delhi, acquired great influence at Court, but was assassinated by Adam Khan. The latter, by the king's orders, was thrown over a parapet twenty-two feet high. In 1563 Akbar had a narrow escape from assassination; an arrow was discharged at him on his road to Delhi, and lodged in his shoulder. The assassin was cut to pieces before the arrow was withdrawn. In ten days the wound was healed. In consequence of some calumnies which were insidiously circulated among his relations, many of them went into open revolt. They mustered a force of thirty thousand horse, and laid waste and plundered the territories of Bahar and Juanpore, and obtained possession of a portion of the royal treasure. An army which was sent to oppose them was defeated. The king having dispatched a second, followed in person. The confederates, under Sikunder Khan and Bahador Khan, having, in the meantime, crossed the Jumna, raised disturbances in the Doab; while Khan Zuman defeated a body of the king's troops on the banks of the Ganges. The royal army, having come up with Sikunder Khan and his colleagues, forced them to an engagement, though they were then endeavouring to compromise matters with the king, and had sent envoys for that end. The royalists sustained a total defeat, and fled in the greatest disorder, without halting, till they reached the king at Kanouj. The victors then attacked Juanpore, and carried it by assault. Akbar now marched to the scene of action, and having been joined by the forces of the surrounding provinces, whom he had summoned to his aid, the rebels fled, and soon after submitted. Their estates and honours were restored.

About this time an envoy from Cabul apprised Akbar that Solyman Mirza, chief of Budukshan, had appointed a deputy in Cabul, and was acting as an independent ruler. The king, more apprehensive of his northern

than of his eastern enemies, ordered the officers of the Punjaub to place themselves under the command of the governor of Mooltan. The enemy had anticipated the king's commands; Cabul was invested, and the royalists were compelled to fly, but on their journey were met by an army marching to their assistance under the orders of Fureedon Khan. This traitor recommended Mohammed Hakeem Mirza, the king's brother, to seize upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in the war with his relatives, who had seized all the eastern provinces; that once in possession of Lahore, he could with very little trouble drive out the late intruders from Cabul. This plot having been revealed to the king's adherents, they occupied Lahore, and resisted every attempt to seduce them from their allegiance. The king hastened to the Punjaub to crush this serious movement; he surprised his brother in Lahore, who fled with the utmost precipitation. The citizens received Akbar with joyous acclamations. The Uzbek chiefs, availing themselves of the king's absence, seized on Kanouj and Oude, and spread their conquests in every direction. The king quickly returned and marched against them. Though it was in the midst of the rainy season, he did not relinquish his purpose. He drove the rebels across the Ganges, and, mounted on his elephant, he waded the stream. After lying in concealment during the night, with his advanced guard of about two thousand men on horses and elephants, he attacked the enemy about sunset. Their leader was slain; one of the principal officers captured; the men were thrown into the greatest confusion, and fled in all directions; and thus, after a protracted war of seven years, was the rebellion of the Uzbecks effectually suppressed, in 1567. Before these transactions were completed, a movement, which ultimately led to very important consequences, was initiated. Sultan Mirza, who derived his descent in the paternal line from Tamerlane, and had accompanied Baber in his Indian expedition, was the prime mover. During the reign of Hoomayoon he evinced the blackest ingratitude to that prince, and had been generously forgiven. On the accession of Akbar to the throne, Sultan Mirza returned to India, and had the district of Sambal conferred on him. He had four sons and three nephews, all of whom were enrolled among the nobles of Akbar's court, though still in their minority. The four sons had attended the king in his campaign against the Uzbecks at Juanpore, and on their return had retired to their estate at Sambal. During the king's incursion into

the Punjaub, availing themselves of his absence, they ungratefully took up arms, and collected to their aid a number of malcontents, and with them commenced to levy contributions on the king's subjects. The feudatories in their neighbourhood rose up in arms against them, captured Sultan Mirza, and expelled the others with very little effort. They sought an asylum in Malwa. Throughout the kingdom of Gujerat they subsequently scattered the seeds of future troubles, which were not eradicated till the subjugation of that kingdom.

The most important undertaking was the siege of Chittoor, for the defence of which eight thousand Rajpoots had been left, with an ample supply of provisions, by the Rana, who had retired with his family to a position more difficult of approach. A full description of this siege is given by Ferishta; and from it, it is evident that the arts of mining and the construction of military field-works were familiar, from a remote period, to the nations of Hindostan. The skill displayed at the siege of Ahmiednuggur, in 1595, against the Moguls, and in that of Kerowly, in 1807, and Bhurtpore, in 1826, against the British troops, from whom the Indians could not have learned the science of mining, are additional and convincing proofs of their knowledge. Colonel Briggs, adverting to these facts, says it is curious to perceive how completely the Indian mode of attack corresponds with the practice of Vauban, and the best engineers of modern times. On the present occasion two *sabats*, or galleries, had been constructed, and two mines were carried under the bastions, to different spots, and matches laid to them at the same time. One explosion preceded the other, and a practicable breach was the consequence. It was supposed that both had been sprung, and two thousand men advanced in separate bodies to enter both breaches at once. The second mine exploded as the party arrived; five hundred of the assailants were killed, and also numbers of the besieged who were crowded on the bastion. Both attacks failed. The king, while superintending the progress of the works, perceived the governor of the place, by torch-light, directing the repairs of the breaches; seizing a match-lock from one of his attendants, he lodged the ball in his forehead. His soldiers, disheartened by this loss, abandoned all hope of success, and assembling their wives and children, burned them with the corpse of their chief on a funeral pile, they then retired to their temples, where they refused quarter. The temples being stormed, ten thousand Rajpoots were put to the sword. The Rana, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained

independent.* From Chittoor Akbar returned to Agra, and there learned that the Mirzas, having left Gujerat, had returned to Malwa, and renewed hostilities by laying siege to Oojein. They were soon compelled to seek refuge again in Gujerat, in 1568.

None of the dynasties which had ruled in India previously to the house of Tamerlane, had such a precarious tenure of the throne. His descendants were, in every respect, aliens "in religion, in language, and in blood." To the Mohammedans in India, these princes were as obnoxious as to the Hindoos. Unlike the royal races of Ghizni and Ghoor, they had no neighbouring dominions on whose people they had hereditary claims, nor such prolific sources as the slave kings to recruit their adherents. The interest which Baber had established in Cabul, was destroyed by the proceedings of Kamran, and the unceasing efforts of the Affghans, for the vindication of their prior claims, converted that warlike people and the Indian Moslems into determined foes. Akbar, at an early period of his reign, appears to have fully comprehended the insecurity of his position; the sudden and effective expulsion of his father, and the fact that it was by external influences that he effected his own restoration, were impressed on his youthful apprehension, and suggested the necessity of devising some means of internally strengthening his hold on the country. "It was probably," says Elphinstone, "by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or country, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindoos to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every part to the highest stations in the state, according to their rank and merit."

In this politic spirit he selected two wives from the Rajpoots, and obtained another for his son, and this alliance, far from being looked upon by the Hindoos as a loss of caste,

* Nine years after his son and successor, Rana Pertab, was deprived of his strongholds of Komulner and Gogunda, probably A.D. 1578, and compelled for a time to fly towards the Indus. But unlike his father, he was an active, high-spirited prince, and his perseverance was crowned with success. Before the death of Akbar, he recovered the greater part of the open districts of his dominions, and founded the new capital called Odeypore, which is still occupied by his descendants. His house alone, of the Rajpoot royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connections with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rajahs, looking on them as contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.—ELPHINSTONE'S *India*, vol. ii. p. 271.

soon came to be considered an honourable connection.

In 1569 the king invested the strong highland forts of Rhuntunbhore and Kalingur. In 1571, on the site of a village called Sikree, which he considered an auspicious spot, having had two sons born to him there, he laid the foundation of the city of Futtehpore.

A project of far greater importance than any which had hitherto occupied the young king was now presented to him—namely, the annexation of the kingdom of Gujerat. In the reign of Hoomayoon it has been related how Bahador Shah, the King of Gujerat, after having attained to a high degree of power, and played a conspicuous part in Indian history, had been repeatedly defeated, and coerced to fly from his kingdom. During the subsequent reverses of the King of Delhi, Bahador reassembled an army, and recovered his throne.

The kingdom of Gujerat, previously a province of Delhi, during the troubled rule of the Toghluks had asserted its independence, and from being a narrow tract of land on the plain, it extended from the hilly tract, which connects the Aravalli Mountains with the Vindaya chain, to the desert, including that portion called Rin, on the west, to the sea, on the south, which nearly encloses a part of it, and forms a peninsula, Kattywar, equal in extent to all the rest of the province, and on the north it is bounded by the Gulf of Cutch and Rajpootana, and on the east by Candeish and Malwa.

On the death of Bahador Shah, Gujerat had descended to his nephew, Mahmood II. On his death, a Hindoo slave named Etimad Khan, who had risen to be in high favour with this prince, conducted the government in the name of a boy whom he asserted was the son of Mahmood. This was denounced as a usurpation by a chief named Jenghis Khan. It was with this prince that the Mirzas had sought refuge, but their restless ambition soon gave offence to their protector, and they were expelled by force of arms. Jenghis Khan, having fallen soon after by the hand of an assassin, the Mirzas returned, in order to take advantage of the commotions they expected to ensue. From the year 1568 to 1572 the kingdom was distracted by various contending factions. To crush these, and restore some order, the regent, Etimad Khan, solicited of Akbar to march thither for the suppression of these distractions, and to take possession of the kingdom. For these purposes he set out for Delhi, in September, 1572, and when he reached Patan he was met by the reigning boy, who formally transferred to him the sovereign power. The

King of Delhi acted with prudence and resolution, punished the most formidable of the refractory nobles, and having established a government prepared to pursue the Mirzas, one of whom was at the head of an independent army at Baroche, and another with a considerable force near Surat. The king resolved on attacking the force at Baroche. Hossein Mirza, who was in command, apprised of his approach, set off for the Punjaub to excite an insurrection there. Akbar, with a small body of horse, hastened to intercept him, and after a day's pursuit found himself with an insignificant escort, which amounted to one hundred and fifty-six only, in presence of the enemy, one thousand strong. With this small force he commenced the attack. To the employment of Hindoo chiefs—a remarkable feature in his policy, and to which may be fairly ascribed the rapid extension of his authority—may be fairly attributed the preservation of the king's life, and the successes of the day. In this small band were several chiefs of note, and among them Rajah Bhagwan Singh of Jeypore, his nephew, and his adopted son, Rajah Man Singh. The latter led the advance, and having crossed the river, instantly charged and was repulsed. The king, who was with this band of Rajpoots, was compelled to halt in a lane formed by hedges of cactus, which did not admit more than three horsemen to advance abreast. In this situation three of the enemy attacked Akbar as he stood in advance of his men. The rajah of Jeypore gallantly threw himself forward to shield his sovereign, speared one and charged the other. The enemy fled, and the Mirzas succeeded in making their escape. They afterwards dispersed. At a subsequent period one of them was cut off in Gujerat, some of them escaped to the northern part of India, and, being defeated near Nagore, fled to the paternal estate of Sambal, and, driven thence, entered the Punjaub, where they plundered as they went, and then fleeing towards the Indus, they fell into the king's hands, and were put to death. One only escaped, Hossein, who, flying from Gujerat into the hills bordering on Candeish, remained there unnoticed. Gujerat was entirely reduced, and once more annexed to the crown of Delhi. Akbar, having completed this conquest, returned to his capital, Agra. A month had scarcely elapsed after his arrival, when he learned that Hossein Mirza had united with one of the former chiefs of Gujerat, and had occupied several districts in that province, and were then besieging Ahmedabad. Though the rainy season had set in, this did not deter the enterprising prince from adopting immediate measures to crush this

new attempt. He selected two thousand of his choicest cavalry, and sent them on before him. He soon followed, attended by three hundred nobles, mounted on camels, and overtook the main force at the city of Patan. His measures were so promptly decided on, and executed with such celerity, that in spite of the inclemency of the season, and the state of the roads, he accomplished his journey of four hundred and fifty miles in nine days. His little army was greatly inferior in number to the troops whom he had come to attack. On his approach to the besieged town he sent forward an officer to notify it. His sudden arrival astonished the rebels, and made them apprehensive of a simultaneous attack, both from the newly-arrived force and the garrison. Hossein Mirza having inquired, when they were first seen, whose army was that, and being informed that it was an army commanded by the king in person, exclaimed, "It is impossible, for it is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him in Agra; and I perceive none of the royal elephants." The other replied, "It is only nine days since he marched, and it is clear no elephants could have accompanied him." The engagement was sharp and decisive, the personal valour, judicious and timely charge made with his own guard, won the day; Mirza and his confederate both were slain; the garrison was relieved, and the conqueror again returned to the seat of his government.

The next theatre of his military exploits was Bengal. After the defeat of Sheer Shah II., 1560, a portion of Bahar was occupied by the Moguls. The remainder of that province, with all the country to the east of it, remained to be subdued. Before the restoration of Hoomayoon, Bengal had asserted its independence of Sultan Adili, and had since then been governed by a succession of Affghan princes. At this time Dawood Khan was on the throne. This prince was both weak-minded and vicious. The odium in which he was held had given hopes to his vizier that he might with impunity supplant him. Dawood being acquainted with his design had the traitor executed. This act of summary justice provoked a civil war, with which Bengal was now harassed. Akbar being disengaged from military enterprises, thought this a favourable opportunity of attacking one of the former dependencies, and he accordingly forced from Dawood a promise of tribute. A temporary cessation of troubles at home had tempted that ill-advised prince to reassert his independence, and he had ill-advisedly taken up arms. The king resolved to conduct in person the war in Bengal. In the depth of the rainy season he left Agra

with as many troops as could be embarked in a thousand boats. The reverses which he sustained in the first stages of the campaign intimidated Dawood, and he accordingly deputed a person to make terms with the invader, but Akbar insisted on his unconditional surrender. Dawood retired to Bengal, abandoning all Bahar. He thence fled to Orissa. In two battles, which were subsequently fought, the royal troops were defeated, but in the third engagement the rebels were worsted, with the loss of all their elephants, and pursued to the Bay of Bengal, and there soon after submitted. Dawood was left in possession of Orissa and Cuttack, and renounced all pretensions to Bengal and Bahar (1575). The vacillating Dawood did not remain long in quiet. Having been joined by several Affghan chiefs from Bengal and Bahar, he found himself in a very short space of time at the head of fifty thousand men, and retook the greater part of Bengal. A battle was fought between the belligerents. Dawood was defeated, fell into the hands of his enemy, was put to death, and in two days after his son, from natural causes, followed him to the grave. The remains of the sovereignty of the Affghans in India was thus entirely extinguished.

The final overthrow of Bengal as an independent kingdom, and the extirpation of the reigning house, did not terminate all disturbances in that province. Bengal had never been wrested by any of the descendants of Tamerlane from the sway of the Affghans. Its geographical characteristics made it a convenient haunt for the turbulent and disaffected. On the south there extended a tract of land both hilly and thickly wooded; the north was a combination of rugged mountains; intricate forests, marshes, and jungles; extended to the sea. Hither fled all the bold Affghan nobles who had incurred the hostility of the Moguls, and here among their kindred they met friends and protectors. The disgrace of the Affghans was often the source of wealth to the Moguls, and several of the estates held from the crown had come into their possession. The recent conquest of the country, completed about the time of Akbar's great commercial reform, afforded to the sovereign an opportunity of inquiring into abuses, and of regulating the revenue of the province, and placing it on a well organized basis. The tenures on which the estates were held from the crown were rigidly investigated, and the quota of troops were stringently exacted from all the present holders. These regulations pressed heavily on the Mogul proprietors, who, conscious of their power, prepared to resist the authorities. The spirit of insubordination spread rapidly

through both provinces—Bengal and Bahar; the insurgents had increased to thirty thousand men; the standard of rebellion was reared, and the king saw himself suddenly stripped of the fruits of his victories by the very forces by whose valour they had been won. During three years this unnatural war continued, and was finally ended by Azim Khan, who succeeded rather by well distributed largesses than by the sword. The Affghans, as might be supposed, were not negligent of the advantages these dissensions afforded them. They seized Orissa, and all the country up to the river Damotter, near Bardwan. Their further progress was interrupted by the death of their chief, and shortly after Akbar found an opportunity of effectually expelling them to Cuttack, and finally reduced them to submission (1580). Their last attempt in arms was in 1600, when their hopes of regaining Bengal were extinguished for ever.

Before the revolt of the Moguls had been suppressed, Akbar's presence was demanded in the Punjaub, to suppress the revolt and invasion of his brother, Mirza Hakeem, the governor of Cabul. Hakeem was defeated, sought an asylum in the mountains, soon after submitted, was generously restored to his former government, and is not found after this in collision with his brother and sovereign. On his return Akbar erected the fort of Attock* (1581), which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and marks the spot at which Alexander the Great and several other conquerors of India crossed that river; and two years after he caused the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. The ten years included between 1580 and 1590 were distinguished by a series of very important campaigns. The Affghans made an irruption, and intercepted all communication between Cabul and India, and were repelled. Gujerat, which had made a noble effort for its independence, was subdued, and re-annexed. Bengal, which had revolted from Sultan Adili before the return of Hoomayoon, and had remained under different Affghan kings till now, was entirely conquered. In the year 1585 his brother Mirza died, and he occupied his possessions. During these transactions Mirza Solyman had been driven by the Uzbecks out of Badakshan, and the success of the invaders, in all probability, imposed the necessity of the journey which Akbar made shortly after into Cabul. In consequence of his approach, or rather perhaps of the con-

querors being satisfied with being left in the undisturbed possession of the recent acquisitions, the peace remained unbroken.

These events having brought the emperor close to the northern range of mountains,—a great portion of which was comprised within his dominions, but which gave a merely nominal allegiance,—he was induced to vindicate his claims and also to extend his sway. The wars in which he thus became involved were attended with greater difficulties than any which he had hitherto undertaken. The first of these was the conquest of Cashmere. A description of this enchanting province, and of its early history, has been given in an earlier part of this history.* It had been held by a long succession of Hindoo princes down to the beginning of the fourteenth century; it then fell under the domination of a Mohammeden adventurer, and was held by kings of that religion to its conquest by Akbar, who subdued it, and annexed it to his Indian empire in 1586. The fame of its transcendental beauties induced him to pay it a visit. This he repeated once only, but it became the favourite summer retreat of the succeeding emperors; and still enjoys, undiminished, its well-merited celebrity.

His next war was with a fanatical tribe, the Roshenias,† who resided in the mountain district bordering on the Khyber Pass. An imposter named Bayazid had, by the assumption of the character of a prophet, acquired great influence over them. He had succeeded in destroying their faith in the Koran, and had taught them that nothing existed but God; that he filled all space, and was the substance of all forms. “God,” said he, “remains concealed in the human nature like salt in water, or grain in the plant; he is the same in all his creatures, and the Lord of all; since nothing existed but God, what meaning was to be assigned to such terms as right and wrong, good and bad, excepting that every man should implicitly obey his religious instructor? Behold now,” he added, “I am both your god and your prophet, there is therefore nothing which you can do so meritorious as to obey my commands. If you fulfil them, I will restore you after death to the forms of men; if not, you shall be degraded to the forms of hogs and bears, and those who obstinately oppose shall be utterly annihilated.” He totally denied the doctrines

* Page 105.

* Attock signifies the barrier, for according to the superstitious notions of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful for them to cross that river.

† See Dr. Leyden's account of the Roshenian sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. The doctor professes to have gleaned his information from the *Makhzan-Affghani*, in the Affghan language, and from the celebrated Persian work *Dabistanhi-i-Mazahib*. From the epithet *Roshan*, or the luminous, his followers derived the appellation *Roshenian*, *luminati*.

of a future state, and directed his perfect disciples to indulge their pleasures without reserve, and to gratify their inclinations without scruple; he assured them they had nothing to do with ordinances or prohibitions of the law; and that whatever was acquired by violence, robbery, or the edge of the scimitar, was lawful. As soon as he had thus prepared his followers, he accustomed them to the use of arms, and locating himself in the mountains, he began to plunder the merchants, levied contributions, propagated his doctrines extensively by the sword; and soon thus extended his sway, and struck terror even into princes. These successes had assumed a serious aspect, and demanded the vigorous interposition of the Mogul government. The power of the Affghans, though broken down beyond the Indus, was still formidable among the fierce and untractable mountaineers of the north-eastern frontier, who relied on their stubborn independence and the security of their alpine homes. The present inhabitants of the chain, which, rising west of the plain of Peshawur, connects the most southern and lowest range of the Hindoo Koosh with the Sufeid Koh and Salt range, and the Suliman Mountains, in their sanguinary and rapacious character fairly represent their forefathers. Bayazid had such a series of successes, that he had the audacity to descend from his ravines to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and soon after died of fatigue and vexation. Faith in his name, and the confidence he had inspired, survived him. His bones were exhumed, and borne as precious relics by the Roshenians at the head of their marching columns. His youngest son, Jelala, some time after his death, succeeded to the command, and became too formidable to be repressed by the resources of Cabul. The professed object of Akbar's approach to the Indus, and the temporary removal of his court to Lahore, was to crush this growing power. Successive corps had been sent across the Indus to effect that purpose. The command of them was entrusted to Zein Khan, the emperor's brother-in-law, and to Rajah Bir Bal, his prime favourite. From one of the Affghan tribes, unaided by the Roshenians, the imperial troops sustained a disastrous defeat in the defiles, in the mountains of Swat, supposed to be Karah-Korah and Bilandzei. The army was cut to pieces, and one of the generals and many of the chiefs were among the slain. With alternating fortunes, Jelala maintained the struggle till 1660, when he was in sufficient strength to gain possession of the city of Ghizni. Having been soon after expelled, he made an attempt to recover

it, but being repulsed and wounded in the assault, he was pursued, overtaken, and killed in his flight. His followers maintained this religious war during the two succeeding reigns of Jehanghire I. and Shah Jehan. The Affghan tribes have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and from the kings of Persia and Cabul, and, though conquered by the British in the campaign of 1839 and 1842, they still retain their turbulent independence.

The prosecution of this war, fierce and continuous though it was, did not engross all the attention or absorb the resources of the enterprising monarch. During the prosecution of it he conquered and annexed Scinde and Candahar.

Scinde had passed from the hands of the Affghans into the possession of other adventurers. Some internal commotions presented to Akbar the hope of being able to recover that former province of the kings of Delhi. He accordingly dispatched an army from Lahore to penetrate Scinde from the north. In this war the Scindians were aided by a band of Portuguese, and two hundred natives dressed as Europeans, who are to be, therefore, considered as the first sepoys in India; and they are also said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison, the first mention, Elphinstone states, that he has observed of these mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed, and so frequently employed. Scinde fell in 1592.

The troubles of the early years of Akbar's reign had enabled the King of Persia to re-occupy the province of Candahar, which had been treacherously and ungratefully wrested from that power by Hoomayoon. The King of Persia, Shah Abbas, being plagued by the attacks of the Uzbecks, against whom he wished to enlist the co-operation of Akbar, had neither time nor disposition to resist his attempts upon it.

The annexation of this latter province completed the restoration of all the hereditary possessions which lay to the west of the Indus; and the conquest of Hindostan proper was also nearly accomplished. None of Akbar's predecessors had more of it under his sway. The Rajah of Odeypore still maintained his independence, but all the other Rajpoot chiefs had become attached to his throne, and were now, in consequence of his conciliatory policy and the cultivation of their interests, firm and devoted adherents.

His next object was the Deccan. Of the remote history of this territory, already physically described,* little can be said. In the traditionary annals of the peninsula, it is re-

* P. 124.

lated that Rama, in his pursuit of Raven, the ruler of Ceylon, who had carried off his wife Siva, had attached it to his kingdom of Oude. The ancient geographical division of the district, into the Dravira, or Tamil country, Carnata, Telingana, Maharashta, and Orissa, is proved by the five corresponding languages, all derived from a matrix radically distinct from the Sanscrit. In 1325 Mohammed Toghluk completed the conquest of the Deccan, but did not long retain his hold of it. The rajahs of Telingana and Carnata were the first to re-assert their independence. Their success was followed by a general revolt, in 1347, and the dynasty of Bahmani established, and its independence recognised at Delhi. The final dissolution of this house, about 1494, gave rise to the independent Mohammedan states of Bejapore, Ahmednuggur, Golconda, Bahar, and Berar. Of these, the two latter, merging into one or other of the remainder, became extinct.

As early as 1586, Akbar espoused the cause of Burhan, a brother of Morteza Nizam Shah, the fourth king of Ahmednuggur, who aspired to the government in consequence of the insanity of the king. An army was sent to establish his pretensions. It failed to do so, and Burhan remained for some years a dependent on his imperial patron. In 1592, on the death of the imbecile, Burhan was called to the vacant throne, but found the kingdom plunged in difficulties from which he failed to rescue it. By his death, in 1595, matters were seriously aggravated. There were no fewer than four pretenders to the crown, and each supported by an army in the field. To the aid of the claimant in possession of the capital an army was dispatched by the emperor; but before it could effect a diversion in his favour, the city fell into the hands of Chand Sultana, regent for her infant nephew, Bahador Nizam Shah (1595). This princess was one of the most extraordinary women that ever figured on the Indian stage. On the approach of the Mogul army, whose designs she reasoned were not confined to the arrangement of the intestine distractions of her kingdom, but to its ultimate appropriation, she directed all her energies to open the eyes of the neighbouring independent states to the approaching gulf yawning for their destruction. She appealed to her relative the Rajah of Bejapore; his alliance she secured. She then applied herself to reconcile the jarring factions which weakened her government; she was here, also, successful. Laying aside their private differences, they combined to combat the ambitious power which threatened the ruin and extirpation of them all. Nehang, an

Abyssinian chief, hastened to her relief, and cut his way into the capital through the ranks of the besieging army of Moguls. The siege was prosecuted with a vigour, incited by the approach of the army of Bejapore; re-inforced by two of the contending factions, with equal energy and resolution did the besieged prosecute their defences, inspired by the presence and example of their royal and unwearied heroine, who fearlessly braved the greatest dangers. Two mines had been already run under the defences, when they were fortunately discovered and rendered useless. The third was fixed before the besieged could undermine it; in the attempt to do so the party was blown up, and a wide breach made in the fortifications. Their destruction disheartened the most manly of the survivors. Their faces were to the city and their backs to the storming party rapidly advancing to the breach. Their terror and despair were changed, in the twinkling of an eye, into admiration and resolution. The sultana, arrayed in full armour, with her veil thrown over her face, and a naked sword in her hand, sprang to the front. The Moguls stood appalled by the sudden apparition. Their first assault was checked, and the unequal fight maintained till a well-armed host rushed to her assistance from every quarter. The contest was sustained fiercely on both sides, till evening at length separated the combatants, leaving the victory to the gallant heroine. The victory brought no respite, the morning's dawn beheld the breach repaired and the bulwark stronger than ever. A peace ensued, but not until, say the traditions of the Deccan, her shot having been expended, she had loaded her guns, successively, with copper, with silver, and with gold coin, and, as a last resource, had begun to fire away her jewels. By the treaty which was then made, 1596, the King of Ahmednuggur surrendered to the emperor his claim on Berar, of which he had made a recent conquest.

This peace was not of long continuance, and the affairs of Ahmednuggur were in a more complicated state than ever. The bond of union, so skilfully completed by the sultana was soon severed. She herself was assassinated, the capital captured by Akbar, and the young king sent a prisoner to the hill fort of Gwalior. These events, though important in their consequences, did not secure the submission of the entire kingdom; another prince was placed on the throne, and its subjugation was not effected till the subsequent reign of Shah Jehan, in 1637.

Previously to the taking of Ahmednuggur, the kingdom of Candeish was incorporated with the empire of Delhi.

The remainder of the days of Akbar were embittered, and it is said shortened, by domestic troubles.* Both his sons were addicted to excesses of temper and habits, which afflicted the old king. The younger died of intoxication. His other son and successor, Selim, was cruel, a wine drinker, and had more than once rebelled against his indulgent parent, and was jealous of his own son, Khosrow. They were apparently reconciled before his death, which took place in 1605, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Of this great prince, it may be fairly pronounced that he was the most powerful, the wisest, and probably the most virtuous of the distinguished princely race from which he sprang. The summary here given of his glorious career, though stripped of much that is valuable, supplies all the leading and important events of his life, and must be read with peculiar interest now that his feeble descendants have fallen from their long-tottering throne, and the last crowned prince of the Mogul line, after a well-organized attempt to recover his independence, is doomed for the remainder of his days to expatriation.

Some years ago, in or about 1844, the attention of the *virtuosi* was called to the sale of some valuable Indian curiosities, which had been stored in the East India Export Dock, and left in undisturbed neglect for a period of four years. The origin of these exquisite marbles was then a subject of dispute. Mr. Laing, who had imported them, had departed this life a very short time previously, and there came no one forward to disclose their history. One report stated that these beautiful works of art formed the finest parts of that glorious monumental edifice, the Taj Mahal,† which stands in all its original integrity, about three miles from the fortress of Agra. This was an unjust imputation against the East India Company, who, far from acting with the vandal cupidity insinuated, and far from spoliating this remarkable specimen of Mohammedan architecture, had placed a

guard on constant duty to protect it, and had recently expended a lac and a half of rupees in restoring those portions that had been injured by time, and the more active hand of the pillager. Another report had it, that they belonged to the palace of Akbar Khan at Cabul, and had been saved from destruction when, as was stated, the outraged soldiery were demolishing that residence in revenge for the treacherous murder of Sir William M'Naghten. But the facts of the case were, they had belonged to the sumptuous palace which Akbar the Great had erected at Agra, after he had transferred the seat of government from Delhi thither, and formed the linings of the great hall of audience (*Dewan Khaneh Aum*). This chamber was beautifully adorned with arabesques and other devices cut about one-eighth of an inch deep into the marble; the interstices being filled in with coloured stones of every hue and shade, so as to imitate, with equal fidelity and splendour, the flowers, fruits, leaves, and other objects comprised in the design.* In consequence of the state of decay in which this chamber was,—the marbles threatening to detach themselves from the walls, and to be shivered by the fall,—Lord William Bentinck thought it advisable to remove those exquisite ornamentations. They were, instead of being remitted to enrich our stores of art, sold by auction, and the decorative portions of the *zenana* (the women's apartment), together with the elegant pierced windows, carved or moulded into every geometrical form that the ingenuity of the artist could devise, were purchased by the late Mr. James William Laing, who held a high civil office in the district of Agra. By this gentleman they were packed up in cases, and transmitted, at considerable expense, to England, and eventually brought under the hammer. They were successively knocked down to the highest bidder, fell into private hands, and were dispersed, never to be reunited, thus frustrating any plans which Mr. Laing might have entertained of reproducing in England the architectural wonders of the Mogul empire.†

* Colonel Tod, on the authority of the Boondi records,—which, he asserts, are well worthy of belief,—says that a desire to be rid of the Rajah Maun Singh of Jeypore, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akbar to prepare a *maajun* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned, but presenting by mistake the innocuous part to the rajah, he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Maun Singh's offence was, that he seconded the pretensions of his nephew, Khosrow. The old writers of the west attribute the death of this monarch to a similar cause.—*Top's History of Rajpootana*.

† For its history, see page 94.

* If the authority of the Portuguese Jesuit, Catrou, can be relied upon, the native architects of Akbar's reign were furnished with designs for the internal decorations of his palace by Italian artists; and this seems to be corroborated by the fact, that the works of that period far excel in the fertility and abundance of pictorial and artistic genius.

† These interesting particulars the author has gleaned from that valuable serial, the *Asiatic Journal*, vol. ii. p. 83. 3rd Series.

CHAPTER XL.

THE REIGN OF JEANGHIRE.

ON the 10th of October, 1605, Selim, the son of Akbar, ascended the vacant throne, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The materials which supply the following sketch of his reign, are drawn principally from his Autobiography, translated by Price, and Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, with occasional references to Elphinstone's *India*—a work in which the student of the Hindoo and Mohammedan periods of that history will find much to interest and instruct; and from various other works in which special or incidental particulars illustrative of the period are given.

The empire was at this time divided into fifteen *subahs*, or provinces: viz. Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Gujerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul, Lahore, Mooltan, Malwa, Berar, Candesh, and Ahmednuggur. There presided over each a governor or viceroy (*sepah siltar*), who was invested with supreme executive powers, military and civil. Therefore the revenue officers, the army and militia, and police, and courts of justice, were under his control, subject to the instructions of the king alone.

Selim assumed the title of Jehanghire, the World-subduing Emperor, and ordered the following pompous legend to be inscribed on the coin of his realm, the new issue of which, together with the substitution of the name in the form of public prayer, were the initiative acts of the emperors of Delhi:—"Struck at Agra, by Khosrow, the safeguard of the world, the sovereign splendour of the faith, Jehanghire, son of the imperial Akbar."

Of the splendour of that power, now shattered and degraded, some idea may be formed by the extravagant magnificence with which the coronation ceremonials were performed. The jewels of the throne alone were estimated at one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and four tons of gold were employed in the workmanship of it. The legs and body were loaded with seven hundred weight of ambergris, so that wherever the throne—which was so constructed that it might be taken to pieces—was removed, no further perfumes were necessary. The pearls and rubies, with which the crown was clustered, were worth two millions and seventy thousand pounds; and the space which surrounded the throne was covered with the most costly brocades and gold-embroidered carpets. Censors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions, from which was emitted the delicious perfume of burning odoriferous

drugs. Three thousand camphorated wax-lights, three cubits in length, in branches of gold and silver, scented with ambergris, illuminated the scene from night till morning; a number of beautiful blooming youths, clad in dresses of the most costly materials, woven in silk and gold, with zones and amulets sparkling with the lustre of the diamond, the emerald, the sapphire, and the ruby, rank after rank, and in respectful attitude, awaited the imperial commands; and to crown all, the ameers of the empire, from the captain of four hundred to the commander of five thousand horse, covered from head to foot in gold and jewels, in brilliant array, encircled the throne, awaiting the commands of their sovereign. The *tout ensemble* furnishing an example of imperial magnificence seldom paralleled, as the great Mogul truly says, in this stage of earthly existence.

Among the salutary ordinances, which were proclaimed at the commencement of his reign, the manufacture or sale of wine, or any other description of intoxicating beverage, was strictly prohibited. "I undertook," he says, "to institute this regulation, although it is sufficiently notorious that I have myself the strongest inclination for wine, in which, from the age of sixteen, I have liberally indulged." * The remarks and reflections which follow are of so singular a character, that their insertion may not be deemed impertinent.

"And in very truth, encompassed as I was with youthful associates of congenial minds, breathing the air of a delicious climate, ranging through lofty and splendid saloons, every part of which was decorated with all the graces of painting and sculpture, and the floors bespread with the richest carpets of silk and gold, would it not have been a species of folly to have rejected the aid of an exhilarating cordial,—and what cordial can surpass the juice of the grape? With some acknowledged beneficial effects, it must, however, be confessed, that these indulgences to excess must expose a man's infirmities, prostrate his constitutional vigour, and awaken false desires, such being the most injurious properties belonging to the best of stimulants. For myself, I cannot but acknowledge that such was the excess to which I had carried my indulgence, that my usual daily allowance extended to twenty quarts. So far, indeed, was this baneful propensity

* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 6.

carried, that were I but an hour without my beverage, my hands began to shake, and I was unable to sit at rest." The growth of this morbid propensity at length alarmed him, and he gradually reduced his supply to one fourth. After ascending the throne, and when the affairs of the state demanded his attention, he never exceeded his five cups on any occasion; and hoped to be able, eventually, as did his grandfather Hoomayoon, to abstain totally from its use.

The recorded wealth of the sovereign was immense. Jehanghire asserts that, of the paraphernalia and regalia for state pageants, accumulated by his father, whether in treasure or splendid furniture, the invincible Tamerlane—who had subdued the world, and from whom his father was eighth in descent—did not possess one-tenth; and that on his wishing to ascertain the amount deposited in the treasury at Agra, he had four hundred pair of scales at work day and night weighing gold and jewels only, and at the expiration of five months, the task was far from being completed, and never was. The cause is not stated. An inventory has been published of the treasure in jewels, bullion, coin, and other property belonging to Akbar at the time of his death, in which it is recorded that there were eight large vaults filled with gold, silver, and precious stones, the value of which was inestimable. Of a species of coin struck by Akbar, and called his rupees, there were 199,173,333 crowns = £50,000,000. In jewels, 30,026,026 crowns; statues of gold of divers creatures, 9,503,370 crowns; gold plate, dishes, cups, and household stuffs, 5,866,895 crowns; porcelain and other earthen vessels, 1,255,873 crowns; brocades, gold and silver stuffs, silks and muslins, 7,654,989 crowns; tents, hangings, and tapestries, 4,962,722 crowns; twenty-four thousand manuscripts, richly bound, 3,231,865; artillery and ammunition, 4,287,985 crowns; small arms, swords, bucklers, pikes, bows and arrows, &c., 3,777,752 crowns; saddles, bridles, and other gold and silver accoutrements, 1,262,824 crowns; woollen cloths, 251,626 crowns; brass and copper utensils, 25,612 crowns: making a total, coin included, of 274,113,793 crowns, or £68,528,448 sterling.*

The follies in which he indulged during the lifetime of his father, and the crimes with which he was stained, did not encourage the hopes of the measures he pursued as king. His first ordinance, though a very primitive one, was the cause of much self-gratulation. To the battlements of the royal

tower of his palace, his own apartment, he had attached a gold chain—which he named the chain of justice—which extended to the Jumna, with eighty small bells appended, in order, when any injustice were done by a magistrate, the injured party might, by the use of this medium, communicate directly and unobserved with his sovereign; he also remitted some of the taxes which pressed heavily on his poorer subjects; provided for the protection of property and the re-peopling of devastated districts; rendered travelling more secure; saved merchants from the annoyance of having their bales opened without their consent; quartering troops on the inhabitants was forbidden. No person was to suffer, for any offence, the loss of nose or ears; the lords were prohibited from infringing on the lands of the commons, or from exercising authority beyond the confines of their own estates; hospitals, infirmaries, and competent medical aid were provided for the necessitous at the public expense. A decree was issued confirming the dignitaries and feudatories of his father's government in all that they enjoyed during his life, and all grades of public officers were advanced a step. A general pardon and enlargement of prisoners were granted, and the number of persons benefited by this indiscriminate boon may be surmised, when, within the limits of Hindostan, there were not less than two thousand four hundred forts of name and competent strength, and that from one of these, Gwalior, seven thousand prisoners were liberated.

He found the kingdom—so much of it as lay on the north side of the Nerbuddah—in a state of profound tranquillity; but the commotions in Bengal had not been suppressed by the late sovereign, and the independent party in the kingdom of Ahmednuggur, though their capital was in the hands of the foreigner, were daily increasing in strength, and preparing for its recovery.

Though thus devoting his time to the civil administration, his ambition for conquest was not extinguished. He inherited the aggrandizing propensities of his lineage; and, like his father, always cherished a longing desire for the recovery of the inheritance of his ancestors. He contemplated the completion of Akbar's designs on the Deccan, but was restrained by those measures just named, and by a stronger motive still,—what he deemed the impolicy of leaving India unfurnished with troops to the discretion of any son. At this time, although he hypocritically, in his Memoirs, professes the strongest affection for his son Khosrow, he entertained against him the most virulent jealousy, and

* See Mandelsloe's *Travels*; Harris's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 762.

none of those feelings of hostility were mitigated, which he displayed in the lifetime of the late king, which had driven the mother of the young prince to suicide, and which, at the bedside of his dying father, he had promised to repudiate. Having achieved the conquest of the Deccan, a feat of which he assured himself, it was his intent to conduct his triumphant legions into Samarcand. Some changes in the latter province now challenged his attention; yet he thought the prosecution of the war with the Rana of Odeypore of greater importance, and accordingly sent there an army under the command of a younger son, Parveis, accompanied by some officers of great trust and experience. Shortly after he had reached the scene of action, but not before he had effected an arrangement with the rana, he was recalled, in consequence of the rebellion of his elder brother Khosrow. That young prince, though under surveillance, was no doubt in communication with his adherents. His maternal uncle was one of the most powerful men in the empire, was ruler of Bengal, and had, in the previous reign, actively espoused the cause of his nephew. In March, 1606, at midnight, Jehanghire was roused from his slumbers, and informed that his son had fled towards Delhi, with the intention of proceeding to the Punjaub. In a few hours his favourite commander, Ameer Ool Ombra, was sent in pursuit, with instructions that should matters verge to extremities, "he was not to fail in the application of the resources placed at his disposal; for in the concerns of sovereign power there is neither child nor kin. The alien who exerts himself in the cause of loyalty, is worth more than a thousand sons or kindred."* With all the troops whom he could muster, well provided, he followed, first giving to his ministers commands that they should forward the intelligence to the ameers on the frontiers, and require their immediate presence under the imperial standard. A body of three hundred horse, whom Khosrow met on the road to Delhi, joined him. He hastened to Delhi, and when he reached the Punjaub his force amounted to thirty thousand horsemen. His followers were maintained by the plunder of the districts through which he pursued his way. The father was hurrying along the same line of march, with upwards of ten thousand soldiers, mounted on the fleetest steeds and swiftest camels of the royal stables.

A curious anecdote is related by the king, illustrative of the credulity of the man, and which adds another to the many of the extraordinary historical instances of marvellous

coincidences. It is thus related in his own words:—"I had mounted my horse, and had not proceeded far on my march, when a man came to me who could not have possessed any knowledge of my person, and I demanded his name; he replied Murad Khanjah, 'Murad the Auspicious.' 'Heaven be praised!' said I, 'my wishes shall be attained.' A little further on, and not far from the tomb of the emperor Baber, we met another man, driving before him an ass loaded with firewood, and having a bundle of brambles on his own back. I put the same question to him, and he told me, to my great delight, that his name was Dowlut the Auspicious. I then observed to my attendants, how encouraging it would be if the third person we met was Saadet (felix) the Auspicious. What, then, must have been the surprise when, proceeding a little further on, we observed a small boy on the bank of a rivulet watching a cow grazing. I ventured to ask him his name; his answer was, 'My name is Saadet the Propitious.' A clamour of exultation arose among my attendants, and with feelings of equal gratification and satisfaction, I, from that moment, determined that, in conformity with these three 'auspicious' prognostications, all the affairs of my government should be classed under three heads, and called 'the three omens.'"

Khosrow had got possession of the town of Lahore, which had been surrendered into his hands, and was besieging the citadel, when the approach of his father was announced to him, his advanced guard was actually at hand. These were charged by the rebels, commanded by four of Khosrow's principal generals. The royalists were victorious; two of the rebel generals fell into their hands, and one thousand prisoners. These, by the king's direct orders, were condemned to various punishments, some to be flayed alive, some to carry wooden yokes around their necks, others to be drawn through the river, and the remainder to be trampled under foot by the elephants.

Khosrow and his forces were not dismayed by this defeat; they prepared at night with one hundred and twelve thousand horse to attack the imperial camp. With this resolve they abandoned the siege of Lahore. Intelligence reached Jehanghire at Sultanpore, that the armies were actually engaged. With his body of ten thousand horse he hastened to the scene of action. On reaching Gundwal, he was reinforced by twenty thousand horse and fifty thousand camel-mounted matchlock-men, all of whom were forwarded to the support of Sheik Fered, the commander, who was engaged. The royalists commenced the attack. Khosrow's army, his father states,

* *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehanghire*, p. 66.

amounted on that day to two hundred thousand, of whom thirty thousand fell on the field of battle, and the remainder fled in dismay. Khosrow, having dismounted from his horse, had entered a litter, in the hope of escaping in the confusion of the pursuit; but being surrounded by the victors, he surrendered himself. Thus ended this decisive battle.* That same night Khosrow was conveyed to the presence of his father, while the latter was discussing the probable issue of the engagement.† The same day the victorious monarch entered the city of Lahore. The king relates, that the treasures of Khosrow, amounting in value to eighteen million pounds English money, fell into the hands of some person who was never discovered. Khosrow was placed in strict custody, and on his unfortunate adherents were inflicted the most excruciating tortures. "Seated in the pavilion," he states, "having directed a number of sharp stakes to be set up in the bed of the river, I caused the seven hundred traitors, who had conspired with Khosrow against my authority, to be impaled alive upon them. Than this," he coolly continues, "there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment; since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonizing torture, before the hand of death relieves them; and the spectacle of such frightful agony most if anything can, operate as a due example, to deter others from similar acts of perfidy and treason towards their benefactors."‡ Nearly a year after these events he returned to Agra.

Prince Parveis, who had been recalled from Odeypore, had not time to reach Agra, the command of which was to be intrusted to him during his father's absence, before the rebellion was crushed, and he was now commanded to divert his course to Lahore.

The jaghiredars of the provinces of Ferah and Siestan, led on by the governor of Herat on the part of Shah Abbas, King of Persia, thinking the death of Akbar, and Khosrow's rebellion, a favourable opportunity, laid siege to the fortress of Candahar. They were resisted with such determined bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the enter-

prise, and their master repudiated the abortive attempt.

An insurrection at Nagore was crushed, and a garrison stationed in Ajmeer. Kulmac, who had been for some time in rebellion, made his submission, and was received into favour. The emperor, in 1606, made a hunting excursion into the Punjaub, leaving Khosrow at Lahore, under charge of one of his confidential chiefs, Asof Khan. The sultan had his younger son Khorum declared his heir; and it was commanded that in all grants and patents he should be recognised heir-apparent.

In the following year (1607) a revolt of the Affghans called for the emperor's presence in Cabul; and whilst here he sent for his son Sultan Khosrow, and showed him some acts of kindness. This resuscitation of paternal affection was soon repressed by the detection of a conspiracy, which had for its objects the release of the young king, and the assassination of his father.

Cabul having been restored to order, Jehanghire next directed his arms against Gujerat and the Deccan, in which insurrections still raged. Having first returned to Agra, he thence marched on Delhi. Mohabat Khan was sent against the Rana of Odeypore, and Khan Khanan in command of the army to the Deccan. These operations not having been conducted successfully by either, the former was succeeded by Abdullah Khan, and the latter by Sultan Parveis. Shortly after his arrival at the seat of war Abdullah Khan obtained a considerable victory over the rana, and blockaded him in the passes of the mountains.

At this period Koteb, a man of low origin, pretending that he was the Sultan Khosrow escaped from prison, collected such a body of adherents, that he was enabled to seize the town of Patna. In an engagement, on the banks of the river Punpun, on which he ventured, after a shadow of resistance, he fled, closely pursued, to Patna, had not time to close the gates, and fell into the hands of Afzul Khan, who put him to death.

The campaign in the Deccan was a succession of disasters. Neglecting to lay in supplies, the imperial army was exposed to all the hardships of famine. The capital of the kingdom, Ahmednuggur, in the possession of the Moguls, since it fell into the hands of Akbar, was lost, a dishonourable peace concluded, and the army forced to retreat, greatly displeased with the conduct of their commander. He was consequently recalled, and on his arrival at court met with a very cool reception.

In 1611 Cabul was again the scene of a

* Memoirs, p. 88.

† The particulars, as given in the text, are taken from the king's Memoirs. Elphinstone, relying on the narrative by Gladwin, who does not supply his authorities, gives a far different version of the capture of the young prince. He says, "he was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Cabul, he was run aground in a boat, as he was passing the Hydaspes (Chenab), and was seized, and brought in chains before his father." See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 349; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 9.

‡ Memoirs, p. 87.

formidable insurrection, headed by Ahdad, an Affghan. An ineffectual attempt, which was repulsed with great slaughter, was made to surprise the city.

What by some of his historians is called the most important event of his life took place in this the sixth year of his reign. It certainly influenced all the after events of his career. This was his marriage with Nour Jehan.* A very romantic tale is told of her birth, abandonment, and being, Moses-like, entrusted by her generous preserver to the cares of her mother; how by his generosity they emerged from privacy and obscurity, till at length, through the magic influence of their paragon of a daughter, they found themselves her companions in the regulation of the greatest as well as the richest then existing empire. Her personal charms were unrivalled; her mental powers of the highest order: indeed, it is said that one of those attractions which captivated her royal spouse was her facility of composing extempore verses. "The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense diminished by her good arrangements."† And to her is attributed the invention of "attar of roses." In becoming the bride of Jehanghire it is also added she had for her husband the murderer of her first. Her ascendancy was soon felt. Her father was made prime-minister, her brother made steward of the household. All affairs of state were entrusted to her management. She sat behind an open lattice whilst many of the nobility paid her obeisance, and the coin was issued in her name. She was in every respect the absolute monarch of the empire. Her influence was exemplified in the conduct of the emperor. Though retaining some of his old vices, he was never after guilty of such monstrous outrages as before.

In 1612 the Affghans of Bengal were defeated, with the loss of their leader, Osman. This chief had been for several years a troublesome foe. On his death all his adherents submitted.

About this time a treaty was concluded with the Portuguese. The envoy brought back with him all the curiosities he could procure, among them several curious birds and beasts, and amongst them Jehanghire describes a turkey cock as a bird that he had never before seen.

The protracted war in the Deccan at length decided Jehanghire on making one well organized effort. In order to understand the state of affairs, it is necessary to recapitulate

* "The light of the world;" also Nour Mahal, "the light of the harem."

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 356.

the events of some years previously. After the taking of Ahmednuggur, and the death of Chand Sultana, the Abyssinian, Malik Amber, whose heroic exploit in cutting his way through the besieging army has been noticed, founded a new city on the site of the present Aurungabad, and through several vicissitudes sustained the wavering fortunes of Nizam Shah. He proved himself an able financier, and as such is remembered still in the Deccan. By him the Moguls were repeatedly defeated, Ahmednuggur recovered, and Khan Khanan obliged to fall back on Berhampore. On the disgrace of this general he was succeeded in the command by Khan Jehan.

Abdullah Khan, viceroy of Gujerat, was directed to penetrate into the Deccan from that province, while Sultan Parveis and Khan Jehan Lodi, reinforced by Rajah Man Singh, were to advance from Candeish and Berar. Though this series of military operations was ably planned, it was entirely frustrated by the imprudence of Abdullah. He ill-advisedly advanced before the appointed time for the arrival of the other armies with whom he was to co-operate. His able adversary did not overlook the mistake. The proximity of the ports possessed by the Europeans enabled him to command a superior train of artillery, and they also afforded him a rallying point on which he could fall back and recruit his army. His tactics, while they enabled him to cut off the enemy's supplies, and to harass them on their march, afforded them no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle. The Moguls were in constant apprehension, and in continual disorder and fear, and were at length reduced to such straits, that they were obliged to resolve on retreat. The consequences may be easily foreseen. With a great loss of troops he reached the hills and jungles of Baglana. Thence his progress to Gujerat was unmolested. When he was falling back his colleagues were advancing. The disasters of the army on whose aid they relied, together with the confidence of their foes, flushed with recent victories, made them consider it the most prudent course to abandon the campaign, and fall back on Berhampore.

Fortune was more favourable elsewhere. The emperor had sent his son Sultan Khorum to command against the Rana of Odeypore. As soon as he arrived at his destination he began to pursue active and skilful measures; he dispatched foraging parties, which soon laid waste the most fertile districts, and drove the detached troops before them into the mountains, and reduced him to such extremities, that he sought earnestly for peace. This was granted in a liberal spirit; and the

moment that Rana Amcer Singh had tendered his homage, with a stroke of policy worthy of his grandfather Akbar, the prince, laying hold of both his hands, lifted him up, and embraced him, and entered into familiar conversation. All the lands conquered from him during the last sixty years were restored. The advantages secured by this conquest are thus catalogued by Jehanghire himself in his *Memoirs*: *—"It was agreed to put my lieutenants in possession of the best and most flourishing parts of the country, and, among others, of the city and town of Puttun, celebrated for the manufacture of its cloth of gold, such as is not to be met with elsewhere in all India. Ahmednuggur, the former capital, was also ceded. Khanapore, a district which for verdure of landscape and deliciousness of climate is unequalled, and the province of Berar, a month's journey in compass, and for its numerous and flourishing population, equal to any in India. All these were now transferred to my sovereign authority, together with a train of elephants, four hundred in number, of the highest value for size and courage. These were furnished with caparisons, chains, neck-fastenings, and bells, all of gold," &c. The success of his favourite son was hailed by his delighted father with every demonstration of affection; he was henceforth looked upon as the successor to the throne, and his hopes in that quarter seemed the more probable, as he had recently married the niece of Nour Mahal. Having received the name Shah Jehan, with which he afterwards ruled, that designation shall be employed in all future mention of him.

These events terminated in the year 1614. In the year following Ghoorka was annexed, and the Portuguese, who in 1613 had violated the treaty into which they had recently entered by seizing some merchant ships near the port of Surat, and making several Mussulmans prisoners, attempted to seize the castle of Surat, and were repulsed by the English, who resided there under the emperor's protection. The English, with their fireworks, burnt several of the ships belonging to the Portuguese, and gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to retreat. The Portuguese alleged that it was the English who commenced hostilities. In this year it may be also remarked that Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Agra as ambassador from James I. of England. The design was conceived in the reign of his more energetic predecessor Elizabeth. Her death prevented its consummation. He arrived at Ajmeer on the 23rd of December, 1615, and accompanied the emperor to Mandoo and

Gujerat, and did not leave till 1618. His observations, during his protracted residence, on the affairs of the empire, from the point of view from which a stranger first introduced to witness a state of things, of which he could have no definite conception, are necessarily interesting, and deserve perusal.*

In the year 1616 the plague, which had never before visited Hindostan, appeared first in the Punjaub, spread to Lahore, and after it had abated in that quarter broke out in the Doab and Delhi, and committed great devastation.

The proceedings of the army in the Deccan, owing to the mismanagement of Sultan Parveis, were daily becoming more unfavourable. The reputation which Shah Jehan had achieved in his late campaign, determined the emperor to assign to him the command in that quarter, whilst he himself advanced to sustain him. On this occasion Shah Jehan was raised to the rank of king, and some writers from this time call him Shah Khosrow, and others Shah Jehan, a dignity hitherto confined to the emperors of the house of Tamerlane. On this occasion both kings rode in carriages made after the English fashion drawn by four horses. The model had been presented by Sir Thomas Roe. On crossing the Nerbuddah Shah Jehan was met by Khan Khanan and the principal chiefs of the army in the Deccan. He entered Berhampore on the 2nd of March, 1617, and was soon after joined by the prince of Bejapore, who had already abandoned the declining fortunes of the brave old chief Malik Amber. Having risen from a private rank in life, Malik's abilities and successes did not ensure him that unanimous support he so richly deserved. His confederates were jealous of him, and even his own officers now began to desert him. Thus abandoned, he was obliged to make submission on the part of Nizam Shah, and to surrender into the hands of the conqueror the city of Ahmednuggur, and all the territories which he had reconquered from the Moguls. As soon as the articles of the treaty were fulfilled Shah Jehan returned to Mandoo, to join his father, in September, 1617. On the Khan Khanan were conferred the governments of Candeish, Berar, and Ahmednuggur. The following particulars are noteworthy.

Tobacco, introduced a few years previously by the Portuguese, was prohibited on the allegation that its use was prejudicial to health. In this proceeding the emperor followed in the footsteps of Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, who had forbidden it throughout his kingdom under the severest penalties. On

* Roe's Journal, published in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i.

the 26th December, 1618, about an hour and twelve minutes before sunrise, there appeared in the horizon a luminous little cloud. It rose later every morning by twenty-four minutes, till on the sixteenth day it was discovered to be a comet with a dark tail. Its course was from the sign Scorpio to Libra. The Indians, with a superstitious feeling then general, believed that it prognosticated the plague which followed, and the war which was afterwards waged by Shah Jehan against his father. At this time there appeared in Candahar a great swarm of rats, which entirely devoured the produce of the earth, and devastated several of the granaries; great numbers were killed, and the remainder vanished as unaccountably as they had appeared. In the latter end of the year a dreadful disorder made its appearance in Cashmere, and proved fatal to great numbers. Its symptoms were a headache and bleeding at the nose; on the second day it proved fatal. There was also a fever, from which very few escaped, which lasted only two or three days. It totally exhausted the patient's strength, left pains in the joints, but did not prove fatal to any one. The emperor, while at Ahmedabad, had an attack of it, from which he suffered severely.

The marvellous tales which had reached Jehanghire of the ocean, whose broad expanse and marvels had never been seen by him, induced him to visit the maritime province of Gujerat, and particularly the city of Ahmedabad, whose wealth and magnificence were celebrated; he was also desirous of enjoying the sport of wild elephant hunting. He was accompanied by his favourite sultana, who, mounted on her elephant, is said to have killed four tigers with a matchlock; this feat so delighted her enamoured spouse, that he presented her with a pair of emerald bracelets of great value. The viceroyalty of that province was added to the government, already conferred on Shah Jehan. In September, 1618, the emperor quitted Gujerat. The only events which mark the next two years are an insurrection in the Punjaub, the capture of Nagrakote, and the visit to Cashmere, the theme of one of the most exquisite of Moore's beautiful poems, *The Feast of Roses*, in which has been drawn the following exquisite portrait of Nour Mahal:—

There's a beauty, for ever unchangingly bright,
Like the long sunny lapse of a summer day's light,
Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender,
Till love falls asleep in its sameness of splendour.
This was not the beauty—oh, nothing like this—
That to young NOUR MAHAL gave such magic of bliss!
But that loveliness, ever in motion, which plays
Like the light upon autumn's soft shadowy days.

Now here and now there, giving warmth as it flies
From the lip to the cheek, from the cheek to the eyes;
Now melting in mist, now breaking in gleams,
Like the glimpses a saint hath of heaven in his dreams.
When pensive, it seemed as if that very grace
That charmed all others was born with her face!
And when angry,—for ev'n in the tranquillest climes
Light breezes will ruffle the blossoms sometimes,—
The short passing anger but seemed to awaken
New beauty, like flowers that are sweetest when shaken.
If tenderness touched, the dark of her eye
At once took a darker, & heav'nlier dye;
From the depths of whose shadow, like holy revealings
From innermost shrines, came the light of her feelings.
Then her mirth—oh, 'twas sportive as ever took wing
From the heart with a burst, like the wild bird in spring;
Illumin'd by a wit that would fascinate sages,
Yet playful as peris' just loosed from their cages;
While her laugh, full of life, without any control
But the sweet of her gracefulness, rang from her soul;
And where it most sparkled no glance could discover,
In lip, cheek, or eyes, for she brightened all over,
Like any fair lake that the sun is upon,
When it breaks into dimples and laughs in the sun.
Such, such were the peerless enchantments that gave
Nour Mahal the proud lord of the East for her slave;
And though bright was his harem,—a living parterre
Of the flowers of this plant,—though treasures were there
For which Solyman's self might have giv'n all the store,
That the navy from Ophir ere winged to his shore—
Yet dim before her were the smiles of them all,
And the light of this harem was young Nour Mahal.

This is the glowing description, clustered with poetical pearls as rich and as rare as any product of the luxuriant East, given by the poet of Ireland, Moore, of the mistress of Jehanghire's affections.

The temporary indulgence and relaxation, upon which he calculated in this charming retreat, was forbidden by a new outbreak in the Deccan, which made him sensible of the ill-effects of being at such a distance from the seat of empire. He resolved to return to Agra. Malik Khan could not tamely brook the humiliation to which he was reduced; and in taking up arms it does not appear that he was stimulated by any act of oppression; he was probably, as Elphinstone observes, tempted by some negligence on the other side, for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Berhampore, whence they urged Jehanghire for immediate succour. Shah Jehan was sent forward to their relief with a powerful army. He refused to undertake this expedition, unless his brother was placed in his custody, probably from the fear that Khosrow would win, in his absence, the confidence of his father, and thus cut off the chance of ascending the throne to which he aspired. From this war the unfortunate prince never returned. It happened very opportunely, according to human reasoning, for Shah Jehan, as at this time his father was reduced to the last extremities, by an attack of asthma—a complaint to which

he was then subject, and with which he was afflicted during the remainder of his life. "Though it brought," says Elphinstone, "the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been given, we ought not, however, too readily believe that a life, not sullied by any other crime, would be stained by one of so deep a dye."*

When Shah Jehan commenced this campaign, he was in his thirtieth year. In its prosecution he justified the confidence reposed in his abilities. In a pitched battle he gained a decisive victory, and forced his able adversary to sue for terms. In consideration of this success, Shah Jehan ordered a stone fort to be built, to which he gave the name, Zufferabad, or the City of Victory. Affairs in the Deccan were now completely settled, and after the rains the conqueror returned with his army to Berhampore.

The very friendly intercourse which had been maintained with the Persian court, and the prompt repudiation a short time previously of the attack made on Candahar by some Persian chief, led Jehanghire to imagine that that province was safe from attack, and consequently but a small force was maintained for its defence. This was a temptation Shah Abbas could not—certainly did not—resist; he unexpectedly marched with a great army against it, and without much trouble became its master. To wipe off this disgrace the conqueror of the Deccan was ordered to Candahar. In reply to those orders he wrote to the emperor, stating that he did not need any reinforcements; but in order to ensure success, it was necessary that he should be invested with the full command of the army, and released from all control. He also requested, that on account of its vicinity to Candahar, the viceroyalty of the Punjaub might be conferred upon him, and the fort of Runtore. These were extraordinary demands, and exposed the prince to the suspicion of aiming at independence; while, on the other hand, they are said to have been merely precautionary, to secure himself from the powerful influence at work to effect his disgrace.

The great court influence of the empress, Nour Mahal, has been already stated. The alliance which Shah Jehan had made with her, by marrying her niece, together with the disgrace in which the eldest son was in with the father, had raised him to the great power and distinction which he had attained, and gave him the hope of being the occupant of the throne, though two elder brothers stood between him and it. The death of the eldest, Khosrow, which seemed to complete his security, led to a chain of

circumstances which nearly effected his ruin, and, if accessory to his brother's death, he must have felt the retributive justice. Nour Mahal's father, who, after her marriage, was appointed the chief minister, had recently died. He had been visited by the royal pair while he was on his sick-bed, the day preceding his death. He was a man of considerable ability and wisdom, and had apparently, during his life, controlled the ambitious spirit of his daughter. The sage counsellor being removed, her influence and authority were unbounded; everything was regulated by her advice. The emperor seemed to have surrendered all power into her keeping; promotion and degradation were the results of her judgment or caprice. The dangerous state of the king's health rendered his life precarious. Were he removed, and a prince of the decided character and determination of Shah Jehan placed upon the throne, she must sink from her pinnacle of power into comparative insignificance. Rather than submit to such an alternative, she determined to use her present influence to prevent the succession of Shah Jehan. In these intrigues she could command the co-operation of her brother, who, though the father-in-law of the prince, was the creature of her will.

She knew there was no time to be lost. Her daughter, by her first husband, she had affianced to Sheriar, the fourth and youngest son of the emperor—a connection of itself, irrespective of the considerations mentioned, sufficient to undermine her attachment for a more distant relative. She resolved to raise her son-in-law to the throne, confident, from his weak capacity, that she could always maintain her influence over him; and she calculated that by a liberal distribution of the public treasure, she would be able to effect that object. From this time forward she lost no opportunity of lowering Shah Jehan in his father's estimation. The extraordinary powers with which he sought to be invested, in all probability were required to protect him from the influences which he was assured were at work to his detriment, and for the more effectual exercise of which, he suspected, he was dispatched to such a distant part of the empire. His demands, she warned the king, clearly proved that the prince only wanted absolute power to dethrone him. These suspicions were so insidiously repeated, that the emperor was persuaded of their truth. Having succeeded so far, she proffered to defray the expense of the war from her private purse if Sheriar were invested with the command. This the empress was enabled to do, for it is highly probable that the large estates of her first

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 368.

husband, after his murder, reverted to her; and recently the emperor had conferred upon her all the wealth of her deceased father. The infatuated Jehanghire complied with all her demands. Shah Jehan was directed to send the greater part of his army to the capital, to accompany Sheriar to Candahar. Orders were also forwarded to the principal officers, commanding their presence in the camp of the latter. The jaghires which he held in Hindostan were also transferred to Sheriar, and Shah Jehan was directed to select for himself equivalents in the Deccan and Gujerat. The youth of her *protégé* and his inexperience did not escape her sagacity or prudence. Her brother, though in her confidence and devoted to her interest, had not capacity. She foresaw how much the success of her after measures would depend upon the *éclat* of this expedition, and she took the necessary precautions that there should be no failure arising from the omission of all that experience could supply. Mohabat Khan, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto inimical to her family, was summoned to court from his government of Cabul, and received with every mark of respect and confidence. Mirza Rustum, for many years governor of Candahar, and who it was supposed would be the best adviser, was appointed *etaleek* to Sheriar, and commander-in-chief of his forces, and was dispatched to Lahore to make the necessary preparations. Jehanghire, who, in consequence of the state of his health, had been to Cashmere, returned on the commencement of these differences, and fixed his court at Lahore, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

The object of the empress, and of the measures she pursued, was to bring matters to a speedy issue. Should Shah Jehan tamely submit, her ends were achieved without further trouble; should he have recourse to arms he would subject himself to the odium of having commenced an unnatural rebellion, and in that attempt she calculated on her ability to crush him. Her vanity as well as her ambition were now interested in the struggle. Shah Jehan, in a communication to his father, after expatiating upon the dutiful tenor of his life, modestly mentioned the services he had rendered, lamented that he should have incurred his majesty's parental regard without the shadow of offence, for the gratification of the ambition of a base woman and her degenerate son-in-law, and begged leave to retire to Surat, "the door of righteousness to Mecca," where he would employ his whole time in praying for his majesty's health and prosperity.* When the bearer of the de-

* Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 59.

spatch returned to Shah Jehan, he assured him that matters were come to a crisis, remonstrances would no longer avail, and abject submission must terminate in utter destruction. It was then decided to act with vigour, and accordingly, without loss of time, the now rebel army marched towards Agra. On intelligence of this movement reaching Lahore Jehanghire led forth his army in person, and arrived within twenty miles of the rebel camp, forty miles to the south of Delhi. The chief command of the imperial troops was conferred on the new favourite Mohabat Khan, and Prince Parveis accompanied him. Shah Jehan retreated, and the usual results followed. The force left to defend the passes in the hills on the Chambal deserted to the enemy; the province of Gujerat expelled its governor; Khan Khanan, hitherto attached to him, abandoned him; he himself was driven across the Nerbuddah, and forced to seek refuge in Berhampore; hence expelled, he retreated to Telignana, and was deserted by the greatest part of his adherents before he had reached Masulipatam, on his way to Bengal, to which he was retiring. He accomplished this long and wearisome march in the early part of the succeeding year, 1624. He defeated in battle the governor of this province, and thus obtained possession of it, and shortly after of Bahar.

When Shah Jehan was driven from Berhampore the imperialists took possession of it, and were there quartered during the rainy season. On learning the success of Shah Jehan in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahabad. Shah Jehan crossed the Ganges to meet them, but here received neither aid nor sympathy. His supplies failed; his communication with the river was intercepted; the new levies deserted; he was defeated; his army was dispersed; and he sought an asylum in the Deccan, the scene of so many of his triumphs. Here he was received by his old adversary Malik Amber, who was then in arms against the Moguls. They jointly laid siege to Berhampore, which, on the approach of Mohabat, they abandoned. Deserted by all, and reduced by ill-health as well as adverse fortunes to the greatest exigency, he sought his father's forgiveness, and expressed his willingness to submit to his commands. Jehanghire wrote himself in reply, assuring him that if he would send his two sons, Dara Shekoo and Aurungzebe, to court, and surrender the two forts which were held in his name (Rohtas, in Bahar, and Asirghar, in the Deccan), he would grant him a full pardon, and restore to him the possession of the Deccan. Shah Jehan complied faithfully with the conditions. How far the emperor would have fulfilled his

part we are without the means of judging, by an event as unpremeditated as it was successful, and which startled the entire empire, and changed considerably the aspect of affairs. This was nothing less than the seizure of the emperor's person by Mohabat Khan, who, after his eminent services in reducing Shah Jehan, incurred either the enmity or suspicions of Nour Mahal, and fell into disgrace. The ostensible charges against him were the appropriation of the plunder, to account for which he was summoned to court. After some hesitation, he at length made his appearance, but being refused admission to the presence, he saw that he had survived his court influence, and was to be the victim of his enemies. The king was at this conjuncture on the banks of the Chenab, and his army had crossed the river in their advance to Cabul. He remained behind, attended merely by his body-guard and personal attendants. Mohabat had come accompanied by five thousand Rajpoots devoted to his interests. Two thousand of these he detached to burn the bridge, at the head of the remainder he surrounded the emperor's quarters, and with two hundred selected for the occasion he penetrated to the emperor's tent. The royal servants were taken by surprise. The monarch, who had long since abandoned the prudent resolution of moderating his libations, was not quite recovered from the effects of the last night's debauch. Startled by the noise, he looked around in the greatest bewilderment. The presence of Mohabat with his armed retainers at length sharpened his perception, and he now fully understood the peril of his situation, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohabat Khan! Traitor! what is this?" The traitor protested that he had been driven to this violent step in order to preserve his own life from the machinations of Asof Khan. He threw himself at his majesty's feet, imploring, if the emperor thought him deserving of death, that he might be executed in his presence. The emperor, sorely enraged at the outrage done to his person, could with great difficulty listen to the salutary suggestions of his Turkish attendant, who, in a language unintelligible to the rest, counselled him to conform to present circumstances, and to leave to God the infliction of adequate punishment. The Rajpoots crowded into the tents, and expelled all the king's attendants. Mohabat suggested the propriety of his showing himself to the troops, to disabuse them of any suspicions that might be entertained by the ill-disposed. The emperor requested permission to be allowed to retire into the harem to change his clothes. This was merely a pretext to be allowed to

consult his empress, who accompanied him Mohabat, divining in all probability the object, refused him that favour, and only allowed him to bring a horse from the imperial stable, his captive having disdainfully refused to mount one presented to him. The emperor having made his appearance, was received by the Rajpoots with respectful obeisances. Mohabat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody and more conspicuously seen, placed him on an elephant whose driver could be depended on.

Mohabat committed a serious blunder in not arresting the empress at the same time with her husband. He very soon, but too late, discovered his error. On returning for that purpose, he found she was beyond the reach of his influence. When she ascertained that the king had been taken off, and that there remained to her no means of joining him, with great presence of mind she changed her attire, put on a disguise of the most ordinary description, and got a litter of equally humble pretensions. The guards, who had been left by Mohabat in custody of the bridge, had orders to permit every one to cross over, but to allow no one to return. Nour Mahal had therefore no difficulty in reaching her brother's (Asof Khan's) intrenchments. Her escape greatly disconcerted Mohabat; he next repaired to the tent of Prince Sheriar, but he had also escaped.

The empress, on her arrival among her adherents, summoned a council of the chiefs, and severely inveighed against them, accusing them of cowardice and treachery, and impressed upon them, that there remained no means of redeeming their character but by crossing the river, attacking the traitor, and rescuing their captive monarch. The course which the energetic empress recommended was communicated by some spies to Mohabat, whose representations so alarmed Jehanghire, that he dispatched a trusty messenger, with his signet as a guarantee of his commission, to dissuade his wife and her brother from hazarding such an attempt, which to him, in the hands of an infuriated enemy, might be fraught with the most serious results. Suspecting that the royal captive acted under coercion, no attention was paid to this remonstrance, and it was resolved to cross the river the following morning. During the intervening night a bold but ineffectual effort was made to rescue the emperor by a few gallant spirits, who, finding the bridge destroyed, plunged on horseback into the stream, six were drowned; of the survivors only six, with their chief, succeeded in gaining the opposite shore. They entered the camp, but being discovered, were forced to retreat, and,

after killing four or five of the enemy, recrossed the river.

The following morning the army of the royalists was put in motion, and an attempt made to cross the river. The heroic queen placed herself at the head of her troops, seated on the howdah of a conspicuous elephant, armed with a bow and two quivers of arrows, and her infant granddaughter seated by her side. The bridge having been burned by the Rajpoots, the army attempted to cross by a ford discovered lower down the river. The narrow shoal was bordered on both sides by deep water full of dangerous pools. In this perilous transit many lost their footing, and were swept away by the rapid stream. Great confusion was created by these mishaps, and the risks commensurately increased. Those who escaped had had their powder wetted, and were oppressed with the weight of their saturated garments and armour, and obliged to fight for a landing with the rebels who occupied the bank. Nour Mahal was one of the first to make good her landing, and was surrounded by her brother and the bravest of her chiefs. However, she was unable to make any impression on the rebels, who had the advantage of the ground, and poured down rockets, balls, and arrows, on the troops in the ford, and drove them, sword in hand, back into the water. The ford was choked with men, horses, and elephants, and numbers in their desperation sought safety or death by plunging into the stream. The fiercest attack was made on the empress, nor did she quail before the host of her enemies. The Rajpoots had surrounded her elephant; her devoted guards fell, bravely fighting to the last; the balls and arrows fell in showers around. Hers appeared a charmed life; her granddaughter was wounded; the driver of the elephant was slain; the elephant, having received a cut across the proboscis, maddened to fury, plunged into the stream, and was swept away by the current; he at length providentially reached the shore, and the empress was rescued by her suite, who discovered her howdah stained with blood, and herself coolly busied in extracting the arrow and binding up the wound of the infant.* The fearless chieftain, who led the attack of the previous night, with his division gained the opposite bank, and, driving all before him, repaired to Sheriar's tent. Here a violent conflict ensued, and the missiles fell in the royal tent, and around the throne on which Jehanghire was seated. Unable to effect any service, the brave Fidai Khan retired towards Rohtas, of which he was governor, where he arrived the following day.

* See Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 379; Gladwin's *History of Hindostan*, p. 81.

Nour Mahal having been thus frustrated in her spirited attempt, now resolved on an extraordinary measure. She proceeded to the camp of Mohabat, placed herself a voluntary captive in his hands, and besought to be allowed to share her husband's durance. She trusted to fortune and her own expedients for deliverance. The reliance which she thus apparently placed in her former *protégé* may have revived some of his confidence and devotion. She was well received, and henceforth Jehanghire was treated with all the apparent deference due to his exalted station. Mohabat, as prime-minister, actually regulated the affairs of state. The empress's brother, sons, and many of his friends, fell shortly after into his power, to some of whom he acted with great cruelty. The entire army acknowledged his command, yet his authority was far from being secure. The king's two sons were at large. The Rajpoots were the only column of the army faithful to Mohabat; the indulgence with which they were necessarily treated, made them not only formidable to himself, but odious to the great bulk of the army, and their unrestrained licentiousness outraged the population, and led to some very serious disturbances. On one occasion a party of them proceeded to one of the emperor's hunting-lodges, where the toils were set, and were refused admittance by the Ahdyans who were on guard. The haughty Rajpoots put these men to the sword. The relatives of the victims appealed to the emperor for redress; in his state of restraint he was obliged to temporise with them. They departed, greatly displeased, and on the next morning arose in great force, and attacked the Rajpoots, and killed very nearly one thousand of them. Amongst these were some of Mohabat's most faithful adherents. Mohabat fled during the tumult to the royal pavilion for safety, and it was only by the interference of the sovereign that the affray was terminated, and order restored. As a sequel to this, five hundred of the Rajpoots were seized in the country, and were carried beyond the Hindoo Koosh, and there sold as slaves. The loss of such a number out of five thousand weakened Mohabat very much. He from this time began to feel that his objects were to be accomplished rather by persuasion than fear. Nour Mahal was quite aware of the difficulties of his situation, and prepared to take advantage of them. She counselled the emperor to resign himself to Mohabat's will, and to impress him with the opinion that he was glad of being released from the influence exercised over him by her and her friends, and even to carry his duplicity so far as to warn him against the strong

feelings of jealousy which she entertained for him, and to caution him against the intrigues which were prosecuted to his disadvantage. These artifices were entirely successful, and Mohabat was assured that he possessed the full confidence of his royal captive. He was thus lulled into false security, and paid little or no attention to the designs of others. In other quarters, guided by her masterly mind, agencies were at work to accomplish the ruin of the traitor and the liberation of the emperor. The Omrahs were incited by her emissaries to resent the outrage offered to their sovereign, and, in his person, to themselves, and stimulated to retrieve their character by delivering him from captivity. One of her confidants had privately raised two thousand men in Cabul, who were on their march. Agents were at work in various quarters, whence some were to straggle into camp, as if in search of employment, and others were to await orders. When the two thousand cavalry from Cabul were within a day's march of Rohtas the emperor ordered all his jaghiredars to muster their troops. When they were drawn up, Jehanghire advanced alone to the review; and having approached the centre of the first line, the troops encircled him, and cut off the Rajpoot guard by which he had been attended. Thus the emperor both lost and regained his liberty on the banks of the same river. Mohabat was now conscious of having been duped; he withdrew with his army, and entered into negotiations for his pardon and safety. He shortly after, on the demand of the emperor, delivered up the empress's brother and other men of high rank who were in his power.

The disastrous events of recent occurrences did not extinguish the ambitious aspirations of this wonderful woman. The restoration of the emperor to liberty revived her designs. To achieve the release of Asaf Khan she was obliged to come to terms with Mohabat, and she now proposed to herself by his instrumentality to accomplish the destruction of Sultan Shah Jehan. This prince, when he had received intelligence of the rebellion of Mohabat, marched immediately, at the head of one thousand cavalry, to the aid of his father. On the march the most powerful and most faithful of his adherents, Rajah Khan Singh, who commanded five hundred of his troops, died, who all on that occasion dispersed. With the remainder he fled through Ajmeer, Nagore, Juddypore, and thence to Jussulmere and Tatta, in Scinde, as a place of safety. Hence, in despair of brighter fortunes, he would have fled for an asylum to the court of Persia, had he not been prevented by the state of his health. Mohabat was commanded

to proceed, and attack him at Tatta, and hastened in that direction, where the unfortunate prince was with a body of only five hundred adherents. The fort was defended with three thousand horse and two thousand infantry. The governor made a sally, and was driven back. Shah Jehan was encouraged by this repulse to make an effort to storm the town, but was unsuccessful. While Mohabat was on his march the progress of events made a change favourable to the future of the unfortunate prince. His brother Parveis, who had been a considerable time in bad health, the result of indulgence, died. Mohabat was again in disgrace; and Nour Mahal had dispatched intelligence to Shah Jehan of his retreat, and advised him to repair to the Deccan, to be ready to defend himself from any attack. Mohabat was endeavouring to escape from a powerful imperial army that was in hot pursuit of him; he entered Hindostan, and in his extremity had resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of his old and recent adversary. Shah Jehan readily accepted his proffered services, and was shortly after joined by him with two thousand cavalry. He was honourably received.

The virulence of the emperor's complaint had so increased, that he was unable to endure the summer heat of Hindostan. He had returned from Cabul to Lahore, and having made the necessary arrangements to enable him to enjoy some relaxation, he retired, not so much as a matter of pleasure as of necessity, to Cashmere. Shortly after his arrival he had a violent attack of his disorder, which it was apprehended would prove fatal. Such was not the case; he escaped for the present, and removed to the warmer climate of Lahore, where his youngest son, Sheriar, was also sojourning for the benefit of his health. On the third day of his journey the emperor had a very severe attack of asthma; he called for a glass of wine, but was not able to swallow it, and was conveyed to his tent, where he shortly after expired, on the 28th of October, 1627, in the sixtieth year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign.

The day-dreams which Nour Mahal had so devotedly cherished were all dissipated on the death of her husband. Her favourite, Sheriar, was absent; her brother declared for his son-in-law, Shah Jehan, to whom, with all his acquiescence in her intrigues, he was secretly attached, and whose pretensions he was now determined to support. He lost no time in summoning him from the Deccan. To afford himself the opportunity of maturing his schemes, he released from prison Dawar, the son of Khosrow, and had

him proclaimed king. Nour Mahal he had placed under temporary restraint. Henceforth, though she survived twenty-four years, she kept aloof from politics, and devoted her widowhood to the memory of her hus-

band. She was granted a liberal allowance—two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. She was buried in a magnificent tomb erected at her own expense, close to that of Jehanghire, at Lahore.

CHAPTER XLI

THE REIGNS OF SHAH JEHAN AND AURUNGZEBE.

SHAH JEHAN was in the thirty-seventh year of his age when he ascended the throne of Delhi, on the 1st of February, 1628. His brother Sheriar, who had been led to expect that the succession would devolve upon him, was in Lahore when his father Jehanghire yielded up his spirit. He had with him his two nephews, who had been intrusted to his care through the machinations of his mother-in-law, who had so disposed of them lest, if at large, they might be an impediment to the development of her intentions. In this emergency he formed a coalition with them, seized the public treasury, and by his largesses brought over the soldiery. Asof Khan, at the head of his army, approached to assert the claims of his son-in-law. Sheriar marched out to meet him, and give him battle; he was defeated, and compelled to fly for shelter to the city. He was betrayed by his followers, and, together with his nephews, executed by orders of Shah Jehan.

This prince, as soon he received intelligence that the throne was vacant, without delay, complied with the summons of Asof Khan. He arrived in Agra, accompanied by Mohabat, and took formal possession of the throne. The festival which solemnized his elevation involved an expenditure of one million six hundred thousand pounds.

The first trouble which disturbed his reign was an incursion of the Uzbecks into Cabul. On his approach they retired to the mountains; but Mohabat Khan, who was in command, was then sent into the Deccan to suppress some serious commotions there. Khan Jehan Lodi, an Affghan of low origin, who had been in great favour during the last reign, and held command under the late Sultan Parveis in the Deccan, had recently entered into terms of amity with the son of that brave old veteran, Malik Amber, now at the head of Nizam Shah's government. This man had refused to accompany Jehan on his setting out to assume the government, and marching to Malwa, laid siege to Mandoo, and obviously was preparing, in the unsettled state of the empire, to

pave the way for his own independence. The suppression of this threatened opposition, and Shah Jehan's secure tenure of the throne, suggested to him a less offensive course. He returned to his obedience, was for the present restored to his command, but shortly afterwards translated to Malwa, and Mohabat Khan placed over the Mogul territories in the Deccan. He was shortly after invited to court, and treated with every mark of distinction. It was whispered to him that these demonstrations were all assumed, and that preparations were being made for his ruin. Rumours, whether true or false, excited his suspicions, and shortly after, about midnight, with kettle-drums beating at the head of two thousand followers, he marched out of Agra, attended by his twelve sons. He was pursued, and overtaken on the banks of the Chambal. After a hard-fought conflict he crossed the river, and escaped through Rohilcund into the thickets of Gundwana, and in these fastnesses he opened a communication with his old ally, the sovereign of Ahmednuggur. The complicated state of affairs in that quarter demanded the emperor's presence. He proceeded thither at the head of a formidable army, which, when he arrived at Berhampore, he separated into three divisions, and dispatched into various parts of the interior. Each division was fifty thousand strong.

The distractions, which had originated in the treatment of the Sultan Shah Jehan by his father, afforded to the three sovereigns in the Deccan an opportunity of recovering those portions of their dominions of which they had been deprived; and the emperor's sway was confined to the eastern half of Candeish and a portion of Berar. The most powerful of these three kingdoms was Ahmednuggur. Its position it owed to the old Abyssinian chief, Malik Amber, who died a short time previously. His death gave an opportunity to the factious, and in the prosecution of their selfish ends the resources of the country were wasted, and a facility afforded to the foreign enemy of prosecuting his designs. Bejapore was left by its late

sovereign, whose career was contemporaneous with that of Malik Amber, in a flourishing condition; and the king of the third kingdom, Golconda, keeping aloof from the contentions of the Mohammedan princes, was extending his dominions by the appropriation of the territories of the neighbouring Indian rajahs. Khan Jehan, who had for some time eluded a conflict, was at length surprised, and his baggage having fallen into the hands of the Moguls, he was driven to seek safety in the hills. He appealed in vain to the sovereign of Bejapore, but with greater success to the King of Ahmednuggur—unfortunately for the latter, for in an engagement which ensued, he was defeated, and obliged to seek the shelter of his forts, and to have recourse to a guerilla warfare. This disastrous defeat extinguished all the hopes of Khan Jehan in this quarter; he fled to the west, where he had some hopes of support, but was overtaken by his pursuers, and with a few faithful adherents put to the sword. His fate did not terminate the war against his ally, Mor-teza Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur. This prince, attributing his misfortunes to his minister, re-called to his counsels Futteh Khan, the son of Malik Amber, who had been disgraced and imprisoned. The new minister, still writhing under the injuries inflicted upon him, turned the opportunity thus presented to the destruction of his sovereign, who, with his attached friends, were soon put to death. The minister then sent an offer of submission and a splendid present to Shah Jehan, and raised to the throne an infant, who avowedly held his dignity in subordination to the emperor.

Adili Shah, the King of Bejapore, who had at first refused to co-operate with Khan Jehan in his opposition to the Moguls, was now sensible of his egregious mistake, and actually sent an army to support the late King of Ahmednuggur. Against him Shah Jehan turned his arms, and the wavering Futteh Khan, forgetful of his late engagements, united his forces with those of Bejapore, but very soon after abandoned the alliance, and joined the imperialists. The King of Bejapore displayed a great amount of intrepidity and skill. The overwhelming force brought to bear against him coerced him to seek shelter within the fortifications of his capital, where he was besieged by Asof Khan. The Mogul commander was artfully diverted by some ingenious artifices, and during this time famine and disease were doing their deadly work among his troops. Through the failure of the periodical rains in 1629, of which there was a recurrence in the following year, a wide-spread famine afflicted

Hindustan. Forage failed, cattle perished, and the people died in thousands. The imperial army was visited by these dire scourges, and Asof Khan was at length obliged to raise the siege, and, in revenge for his disappointment, he cruelly ravaged the fertile districts of that kingdom. Shah Jehan left the scene of action, and returned to Agra, leaving Mohabat Khan in command. This able man displayed his usual ability, and the result was that Futteh Khan was shut up in the fort of Dowlatabad, where he defended himself, with occasional assistance from the King of Bejapore. In a battle their combined forces were put to the rout. Futteh Khan surrendered, and entered into the service of Shah Jehan, and the young monarch, his *protégé*, was sent off a prisoner to Gwalior. The fate of the Deccan was apparently decided; all opposition was crushed, and the most formidable opponents of the emperor not only subdued, but attached to his interests. An opposition, which was not apprehended, now manifested itself. The King of Bejapore, deprived of all external aid, made overtures for an accommodation. These were not favourably received. He was then thrown upon his defence, and such was the effective character of his opposition, that all the efforts of Mohabat Khan were frustrated. He was recalled, and the Deccan was divided into two commands. No better success attended his successors. That portion of Hindostan was as far as ever from being subdued, and Shah Jehan saw the necessity of returning in person to make another effort for its reduction.

The King of Bejapore, during the continuance of this war, maintained his reputation, and the imperialists were frequently subjected to inconveniences and defeats by the spirit and activity of his followers. The issue was that a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which he submitted to pay £200,000 a year to Shah Jehan, and in return he received a portion of Shah Nizam's dominions, which considerably extended his own on the north and east. About this time a tribute was imposed upon the King of Golconda, and the kingdom of Ahmednuggur was extinguished.

During these commotions there appeared upon the stage a man who was destined to play no mean part in the Indian drama, this was Shahjee Bonsla, who, during the *régime* of Malik Amber, had risen into notice. After the fall of Dowlatabad, he retired into the west of the Deccan, and there so strengthened his influence, that he was enabled to place on the throne of Ahmednuggur a pre-

tender, and to get possession of all the districts of that kingdom, from the sea to the capital. Shortly after the compromise of Adili Shah, he submitted, gave up the pretender, and with the concurrence of Shah Jehan, transferred his services to the King of Bejapore. He afterwards figures in the history of Hindostan, and his family were the founders of the kingdom of Maharatta.

While the Moguls were thus engaged in the Deccan, some transactions occurred in other parts of the empire which demand notice: among these the principal was the capture of the Portuguese fort of Hoogly, not far from Calcutta, which was taken in 1631, after a siege, by the governor of Bengal. In the chapters devoted to the mission of Francis Xavier, and to the commercial connection between India and the West, mention is made of the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. A short retrospect of their political progress may be necessary to the illustration of this period of Indian history.

The Portuguese, under the celebrated Vasco da Gama, as has been noticed, made their appearance in May, 1498, at the town of Calicut. In 1505, in an engagement fought at Choule, by Lorenzo, the son of Francisco de Almeyda, against the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt, the Portuguese cannon were first heard on the shores of Maharashtra. Choule then belonged to Admednuggur, and with the king of that country the Portuguese maintained a friendly intercourse for several years. On the 30th December, 1508, they entered the river Dabul, and the viceroy, Francisco de Almeyda, plundered and burnt the town. The first territory of which they possessed themselves was the important island on which now stands the town of Goa, which belonged to the kingdom of Bejapore. The Hindoo pirate Timmogee, a native of Canara, suggested to Alphonso de Albuquerque, an attack on Goa. It was surprised on the 27th of February, 1510, but was soon after recovered; again attacked, and finally conquered by Albuquerque, on the 25th November following. In 1533, the Portuguese landed on the coast, burnt all the town from Chicklee-Tarapore to Bassein, destroyed the fortifications recently erected there, and levied contributions from Tannah to Bombay. Two years afterwards they took Damaun, and obliged Sultan Bahador, of Gujerat, then hard pressed by the emperor Hoomayoon, to cede Bassein in perpetuity, to grant permission to build a fort at Diu, and to invest them with the right of levying duties on the trade with the Red Sea; in return for these privileges they assisted him against the Moguls. Their

operations in Gujerat and in other quarters occupied the Portuguese for several years; but in 1548 they inflicted great havoc on the coast of Bejapore, and laid waste with fire and sword the whole of the towns from Goa to Bancote. They were solicited for their aid to depose Ibrahim Adili Shah, and to place upon his throne his brother Abdullah, who was then residing at Goa, under their protection; but the attempt was abandoned. In 1571 there was a combined attack made upon the Portuguese by the Kings of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur. Ali Adili Shah besieged Goa, and sustained a mortifying repulse. The defence of Choule, which was besieged by Morteza Nizam Shah, and defended by Luis Ferara de Andrada, redounded greatly to the credit of the Portuguese. The Mohammedans, as is generally the case when a native army is defeated, attributed their ill-luck to treachery. Ferishta says the officers of Nizam Shah were corrupted by presents of wine. On the eastern frontier Little Thibet was reduced to submission. An army sent to reduce Srinagur was defeated, and another force, which had been dispatched for the conquest of Cooch Bahar, was compelled, by the severity of the climate, to abandon the country after possession had been taken of it, in 1637. In this year Candahar was recovered from the Persians, through the treachery of Ali Merdan Khan, who had been exasperated by some harsh treatment from his sovereign. He rose into favour with his new master, the emperor, and obtained well-merited admiration at court by the public works which he constructed, and the canal in Delhi, which still bears his name.

The provinces of Bactria, Balk, and Badakshan, were attached to the empire, the emperor in person conducting the operations; Ali Merdan and the Rajah Sayat Singh having previously failed. This conquest was soon disturbed, and the emperor's son, Aurungzebe, was sent to re-establish authority there, while his father marched with a powerful army to his support. These preparations were to no purpose, the Moguls were obliged to retreat; and though the prince with some of the troops escaped, the greater portion of the army perished, either by the inclemency of the weather in the mountains, or fell under the repeated assaults of the mountaineers. To aggravate this repulse, the recently recovered province of Candahar was rescued from their hands in 1648. Three well organized expeditions were forwarded for its re-conquest; the two first under the command of Aurungzebe, and the third under his brother, Dara Sheko. The last

campaign was organized at Lahore, in the winter of 1652, and the army marched in the spring of the following year, Shah Jehan himself following to Cabul. Though the siege was prosecuted with great spirit, the Moguls, after several disappointments, were forced to retreat. On their return they suffered severely from the attacks of both Persians and Affghans, and thus ended the last effort for its recovery,

This attempt was followed by two years of uninterrupted tranquillity, during which Shah Jehan endeavoured to organize the territories recently acquired by him. He united the two governments of the Deccan, and Aurungzebe was appointed viceroy. The most important result of the conquest of the Deccan was the completion of a revenue survey of the Mogul possession in that country, which occupied him nearly twenty years, and was conducted by Todar Mal, a financier, whose name is familiar to oriental readers, and whose regulations in the mint department, during the reign of Akbar, had acquired for him a character of no inconsiderable ability.* According to his scheme the land was assessed in proportion to its fertility, varying from one half to one seventh of the gross produce, according to the expense of culture or the produce. The government share was then commuted for a fixed money equivalent, and in time, when a measurement classification and registry had taken place, the regulated assessment was fixed at one fourth of the whole produce of each field throughout the year, and became the permanent rent of the land.

Aurungzebe fixed his seat of government at Khirkee, a town built by Malik Amber, which, after his own name, he called Aurungabad. The tranquillity which prevailed did not suit the temperament of this young prince. In the year 1655 he readily seized an opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Golconda. Since the late capitulation, Abdullah Kutb Shah had regularly paid his tribute, and manifested every disposition to secure the favour of Shah Jehan, who, on his part, had no wish to molest him. At this conjuncture Mir Joomleh was the prime-minister of the King of Golconda. He had formerly been a diamond merchant, and in that capacity was known and respected for his ability and integrity throughout the Deccan. In his recent elevation he had won the esteem of every Mohammedan prince in Hindostan. His son, Mohammed Amin, was a young man of dissolute habits, but he possessed his father's confidence. Having in-

curred the displeasure of his sovereign, he was punished, and the father resented this treatment. An altercation arose between him and the king, and Joomleh at length sought the protection of the emperor. His appeal was backed with all the influence of Aurungzebe. This led to the cultivation of an intimacy which essentially contributed to Aurungzebe's elevation, and served to light up a conflagration which was never effectually suppressed, and was not extinguished till it had consumed the empire.*

Shah Jehan espoused the cause of Joomleh† as ardently as Aurungzebe could have desired, and addressed a peremptory letter to the King of Golconda, who, exasperated by this interference, imprisoned the son and sequestered the father's property. This conduct Shah Jehan resolved to punish. Aurungzebe was ordered to prepare an army, to insist on the release of Amin, to demand satisfaction for the injury done to Joomleh, and in case of refusal he was directed to invade Golconda. Without any declaration of war, Aurungzebe sent a chosen force on pretence of escorting his eldest son, Mohammed, to Bengal, whither, it was reported, he was proceeding to marry his cousin, the daughter of Sultan Shujah, and followed with the main army. The road from Aurungabad to Bengal wound round by Masulipatam, in order to escape the forests of Gundwana, and approached the city of Hyderabad, the capital of Golconda. Abdullah Shah was so far from suspecting any hostile intentions, that he was actually making preparations for the entertainment of the young prince, and was not sensible of his danger till the enemy was at his gates. He fled to the hill fort of Golconda, six or eight miles from the city. Hyderabad fell into the hands of the Moguls, the citadel was attacked, the place was plundered and half burned, the troops sent by neighbouring states to his aid were intercepted, and the king was reduced to the greatest extremities. Abdullah had, on the prince's arrival, released Amin, and restored the confiscated property. After several attempts to raise the siege by force,

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 409.

† Joomleh was a Persian, born in Ardistan, a village in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. His parents, though of some rank, were extremely poor. He, however, found means to acquire some knowledge of letters, which circumstance procured for him the place of clerk to a diamond merchant, who made frequent visits to Golconda. In that kingdom he quitted his master's service and traded on his own account, and became possessed of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase a place at the court of Cuttub, sovereign of Telingana, and of a great part of Golconda. In that station he behaved so well that he attracted the notice of this prince, who raised him to the head of his forces.—Dow.

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 125.

he was obliged to submit to very stringent terms. He was now compelled to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Mohammed, to pay up all arrears of tribute fixed by Aurungzebe, and one million pounds as his first instalment.

The neighbouring kingdom of Bejapore next engrossed the attention of the emperor. Since the last treaty (1636) peace had been preserved with that country; Mohammed Adili Shah had cultivated the friendship of the emperor, and had entered into close intimacy with his eldest and favourite son, Dara Sheko. This intimacy was the cause of considerable annoyance to Aurungzebe, who was secretly jealous of his brother. At this time (1656) the King of Bejapore died, and the succession devolved on his son, a young man in the nineteenth year of his age. The resources of Bejapore were considerable; the young king had a well-filled treasury, a fertile territory, and a powerful army, which at this time was very much divided, large divisions of them being employed in reducing the refractory zemindars in the Carnatic. Shah Jehan was induced by his younger son to dispute the legitimacy of the young king, and to assert his own right to nominate a successor to his tributary. Aurungzebe met with very little opposition in the reduction of the kingdom: the fort of Kallian was almost immediately reduced; Bidr, though strongly garrisoned, fell into their hands the first day of the attack, owing, it is said, to an accidental explosion of the principal magazine; Kilburga was carried by assault; and Khan Mohammed, the prime-minister and general of Bejapore, was bribed, and consequently traitorously neglected every opportunity of impeding the progress of the Moguls.

The unfortunate king was coerced to sue for peace on the most humiliating terms. This, however, was refused; Aurungzebe had determined on the complete subjugation of the kingdom, and was pressing on with great vigour the siege of the capital, when an event occurred which suddenly compelled him to change his resolve. His father was seriously ill, and his physicians apprehended that the complaint was fatal. Dara Sheko, the eldest and favourite son, was at the seat of government, and was actually invested with the administration of his father's functions. One of his first acts was to recall Joonleh, and all the principal officers serving in the Deccan. This step he was probably induced to take by his partiality towards Bejapore, as well as by his hatred of Aurungzebe, whom he dreaded. His apprehensions were well founded, that prince was inordinately ambitious, and had made himself the favourite

of the Moslems by his zeal in the practice and propagation of his religion. Sheko, on the contrary, inclined to the liberalism of Akbar, and had, by the open profession of his views, offended all the zealots. Aurungzebe, by the advice of Joonleh, decided on accepting the overtures of Ali Adili Shah, from whom he received a large sum of money, and concluded a treaty by which he surrendered the advantages he had gained, and then marched to Agra, to counteract the designs of Sheko.

Shah Jehan had four sons, all of age, and aspiring to the throne. Dara Sheko was in his forty-second year; Shujah was forty, and then viceroy of Bengal; Aurungzebe was thirty-eight; and Morad, the youngest, had long been employed in important commands, and was now governor of Gujerat. Their characters were thus summed up by their father:—"Dara," he said, "had talents for command, the dignity becoming the royal office, but was intolerant of all who had any pretensions to eminence, whence he was 'good to the bad and bad to the good.' Shujah was a mere drunkard, and Morad a glutton and a sensualist; Aurungzebe excelled both in action and counsel, was well fitted to undertake the burthen of public affairs, but full of subtle suspicions, and never likely to find any one whom he could trust."* Each of these princes assembled an army to enforce his pretensions. Aurungzebe had information of the most secret proceedings at court from his favourite sister, Roshunara. His first act was to represent to his brother Morad that he had no ambition to undertake the care of government, and that his determination was at the earliest convenience to devote the remainder of his life to religious seclusion; that his personal safety had forced him to take up arms against their common enemy, Dara, and that he would assist to place him upon the throne. By those wily representations he induced Morad to unite his forces with his own, and in two battles which followed, the royal armies were defeated, Dara became a fugitive, and after another ineffectual effort was betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, and by his orders put to death. Shah Jehan unexpectedly recovered, but though he sent repeated commands to his sons to return to their governments, they, pretending to consider these commands as forgeries of Dara, did not obey. Aurungzebe got possession of the person of his father. He then imprisoned his brother Morad, gained over his army, deposed the emperor, and mounted the throne in the year

* "Letter from Aurungzebe to his son, in the *Dastur al Amal Agahi*."

1658. He shortly after marched against his brother Shujah, defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Arracan. He was there murdered, and thus all competitors being disposed of, Aurungzebe was left in undisputed possession of the empire. Shah Jehan survived his dethronement seven years, and during that period was treated with the greatest respect. His reign was the most prosperous ever known in India, and of all its princes he was the most magnificent. "His retinue," says Elphinstone, "his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact that neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and his prodigality was the construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with his tail spread, represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels, which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief that it cost near six million and a half sterling."

Shah Jehan reigned thirty years with great popularity. He was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

Aurungzebe, on his accession, assumed the name of Alamgur, Lord of the Universe. As soon as all his competitors were removed out of his way, he directed his arms against the Rajah of Bikanir, who had abandoned his interests, deserted him in the Deccan, and still held out against him. He was soon reduced to submission.

Joomleh, who had remained faithful to Aurungzebe, and had rendered him essential services, now became an object of suspicion. His most recent achievement was the restoration of order in the province of Bengal, and on his return to the capital, further employment was provided for him in the conquest of Assam. This commission Joomleh executed with his usual ability and success; he marched along the course of the river Brahmapootra, subdued the small principality of Cooch Bahar, overran the territories of Assam, and took possession of Ghergong, the capital. He sent to the emperor an exulting description of his campaign, and announced his intention of opening a way into China. These anticipations were never realized; the rainy season set in, all the low country was inundated, provisions and forage were injured or

destroyed, and the natives neglected no opportunity of cutting off the detachments, and thus distressed the camp. Sickness broke out amongst the troops, and though Joomleh was reinforced, he was reluctantly compelled to renounce his splendid projects, and it required the exercise of all his ability to retire without disgrace. Though far advanced in years, he shared all the hardships with the humblest soldier. He died on his return, and his son, Mohammed Amin, was raised to the dignities and honours to which his father had attained. "The death of this great man," says Bernier, "as might be expected, produced a great sensation throughout India, and it was now observed by many intelligent persons 'that Aurungzebe was in reality King of Bengal.' Though not insensible to his obligations of gratitude, yet the Mogul was perhaps not sorry to have lost a vicegerent whose power and mental resources had excited so much pain and uneasiness. 'You mourn,' he said to Amin, 'the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends.'"

In the fifth year after his ascent to the throne the emperor was seized with an illness which nearly proved fatal, and led to very serious disturbances. During its continuance he was frequently delirious from the violence of the fever, and his tongue became so palsied that he could scarcely articulate. It was generally believed, at one period, that he was dead. In this state of affairs his newly-established power was shaken to its foundation. It was even rumoured that the Rajah Jaswint Singh, governor of Gujerat, was on his march to release Shah Jehan from prison, and that Mohabat Khan, who had for some time disputed Aurungzebe's authority, and had but recently acknowledged it, leaving his government at Cabul, was hastening by forced marches to Agra, for the liberation of the old king. Etabar Khan, in whose custody he was placed, was equally disposed to throw open the gates of his prison. Amongst the sons of the royal invalid there were also dissensions fomented. Sultan Mausum intrigued with the Omrahs, and the Princess Rochinara had enlisted a powerful party in support of Sultan Akbar, Aurungzebe's third son, then in the eighth year of his age. To secure popularity, the partizans of each proclaimed their object to be the release of Shah Jehan. However, there was scarcely a man of influence in the empire in favour of his restoration, with the exception perhaps of Jaswint Singh and Mohabat Khan, all the rest had basely transferred their allegiance to the royal fratricide and usurper.

The severity of his illness did not destroy the interest which the reigning prince had in public affairs. He gave instructions for the conduct of the government and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Mausum, in the event of his death, to release his grandfather; at the same time he was forwarding urgent despatches to Etabar to keep the strictest watch on his prisoner. On the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of his disorder, he had himself conveyed into the council of the Omrahs, to convince them that he was still living. The same motive induced him to repeat the visit on the seventh, ninth, and tenth day. On the thirteenth day he fell into a swoon, so deep and long, that his attendants believed him dead. The report was rapidly communicated to the citizens. The king, in the interim, being informed of the currency of the rumour, and apprehending in the popular ferment the liberation of his father, he sent for some of the principal noblemen to verify his existence. Having been propped up on his couch, he called for writing materials, and forwarded a letter to Etabar, commanding him to carefully guard his captive; and he sent for the great seal, which having enclosed in a small bag, he had it impressed with a seal, and kept it carefully attached to his arm, to prevent any sinister use being made of that instrument.

The vigour of mind exhibited in this emergency, and the sage precautions which had frustrated all the projects of his enemies, and of the parties at court, had the effect of conciliating the popular feeling, and also held out the assurance of his convalescence. The intrigues which had been practised during his confinement exposed to him the real state of affairs. He now discovered that Shah Mausum, who was intended by him as his successor, had shown more anxiety to forward his own personal objects than for his recovery. His sister, who exercised great influence over Aurungzebe, and had essentially contributed to his success, was entirely devoted to the interests of her young nephew Akbar. This prince was also the favourite with the Moslem people at large, and particularly with the nobility. The mothers of his elder brothers were daughters only of Hindoo rajahs, and were looked down upon with contempt for their contamination with heathen blood. Akbar, the youngest son, was of the pure blood of the house of Tamerlane, and born of the daughter of Shah Nawaz, descended from the ancient kings of Muscat, and of the imperial house of Sefi. The Persian chiefs, many of whom were in the public service, were his supporters, and in consequence of his brothers'

machinations the father's affections were enlisted in his favour, and he resolved to open the way for him to the throne. Of the family of Dara there survived an only daughter. She had, on the destruction of her family, been delivered to the care of her grandfather, and had resided with him and her aunt in Agra. An alliance with this princess would add greatly to Akbar's partizans, and also fortify his right to the throne. On his recovery Aurungzebe wrote a letter full of professions to his father, and concluded with a formal demand of the hand of his niece for his son Akbar. The proposition was rejected with disdain; and the old monarch retorted that the insolence of Aurungzebe was equal to his crimes. The young princess, fearing that force might be substituted for persuasion, concealed a poinard in her bosom, and protested her determination to die by her own hand rather than wed the son of her father's murderer. He was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made about this time for some precious stones for completing some ornamentation of the celebrated peacock's throne. "Let him govern with more justice," said Shah Jehan; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious stones. The hammers are ready which will pulverise them should he importune me for them again."* Aurungzebe treated this answer with great coldness, and replied, "That to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful son. Let Shah Jehan keep the jewels," said he; "nay, more—let him command all those of Aurungzebe. His amusements constitute a portion of the happiness of his son." On this occasion the father sent a portion of the jewels, accompanied by a brief note. "Take this, which I am destined to wear no more. Your fortune has prevailed, but moderation has more power than your fortune over Shah Jehan. Wear them with dignity, and make some amends to your family for their misfortunes by your own renown." Aurungzebe burst into tears: and let it be hoped his grief was sincere. The spoils of his brother Shujah on the same occasion were laid at his feet. All opposition was extinct: the fearful price had been paid; the feelings of humanity prevailed. He ordered these mournful memories from his sight, and then retired in a melancholy mood from the hall of audience.†

His treatment of his father, though kept closely confined, and every precaution adopted for his safe custody, was indulgent and re-

* Dow's *Hindostan*, vol. iii. p. 350; Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 141.

† Dow, vol. iii. p. 350.

spectful, as has been before noticed. He was left in possession of his own suite of apartments, and permitted to enjoy the society of his favourite daughter, and the whole of his female establishment, including the singing and dancing women, cooks, and others. Every reasonable demand was complied with; and as the old man in the decline of life had taken a religious turn, the Moollahs were permitted to visit him, and console him by reading and expounding the Koran for him. He had also the privilege of ordering whatever would serve to contribute to his amusement, and had frequently all kinds of animals, horses of state, game, and tame antelopes, brought to him. He was loaded with presents by his son, consulted as an oracle, and frequently written to in expressions of dutiful submission. These attentions had their mollifying effects; his anger and *hauteur* were at length subdued; he frequently wrote to his son on political matters; sent him Dara's daughter; and, as has been related, forwarded to him some of those precious stones which he had threatened to grind to powder.*

During these transactions, which followed immediately after the recovery of Aurungzebe, Sultan Mausum, who had forfeited by his recent effort to form a party for himself the confidence of his father, was sent into the Deccan, to assume the command of the imperial army, in 1664. On his arrival he succeeded the maharajah, on whom the government devolved during the illness of Shaista, the king's uncle, and to whose eloquence and devotion the exaltation of Aurungzebe was in a great measure due.

To understand the state of affairs in the Deccan on the advent of the prince, the new governor, it will be requisite to go farther back, and give a sketch of the history of Shaista Khan. A short time before the battle of Kigwa, when Aurungzebe quitted the capital to encounter Sultan Shujah, Shaista was sent as governor to Agra, and subsequently nominated to the Deccan, and placed in the chief command of the forces of that province. From this post he was removed, on the death of Joomleh, to the more important command of Bengal. Though succeeding to a man of such abilities and enterprise, he proved himself not unworthy of his position, and, indeed, matured a project of aggrandizement of which his predecessor had no conception.

To the east of the Bay of Bengal is situated, between the eighteenth and twenty-first degree of north latitude, the province—formerly the kingdom—of Arracan, bounded on the north by Chittagong, and separated from it by the river Naaf and the Wailli hills, on the

east by a chain of mountains, which separates it from Ava, on the south by a part of Pegu, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal. Its extreme length from the pass of Kintalec to its northern extremity is about three hundred miles, and its breadth varies from ninety to fifteen miles. "Between the Kuladyne and Sundoway rivers," says Pemberton, "the whole coast consists of a labyrinth of creeks and tide-nullahs, all of which terminate at the foot of the lower ranges, and receive the contributions of numerous small streams." During many years the Portuguese had settlements on the coast, and a great number of Christian slaves and half-caste Portuguese and off-scourings of Europe had thither collected. The refugees from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and the other settlements planted by the Portuguese, sought shelter there; and of all this motley crew none received more cordial welcome than those who set at boldest defiance all divine and human law—those who deserted their monasteries, violated their obligations, and had married three or four wives, or had perpetrated other great crimes. They were Christians merely by name. The lives they led in Arracan were the most detestable, massacring and poisoning without compunction or remorse; and Bernier, our authority, states that their priests, *to confess the truth*, were too often not better than these criminals.*

The sovereign of Arracan gave every encouragement to these bravoos, and assigned to them the possession of the port of Chittagong and some adjacent lands. He used them as a frontier guard, to protect his territories from the aggressions of the Moguls. Thus encouraged, they acted with impunity, and their only pursuits were piracy and plunder. With their light galleys (called *gallias*) they commanded all the creeks along the coast, scoured the open seas, entered the numerous arms and canals of the Ganges, often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country. They frequently in these predatory expeditions surprised and carried away the entire populations of villages, on festival days, or when they had congregated for the purposes of trade or the celebration of marriage. Their captives were reduced to slavery, and the residue of the booty seized on by them, which could not be removed, was destroyed. This is the reason why, Bernier remarks, that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the desolate receptacle of tigers and other wild beasts.* The Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomas, and other places,

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 195.

† Ibid., p. 196.

* Bernier's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 186.

purchased these wretched captives, without scruple, and the horrid and inhuman traffic was carried on at Hoogly in Bengal, and in the vicinity of the island of Galles, near Cape das Palmas. The settlement at Hoogly had been made with the permission and under the protection of Jehanghire, whose liberality has been already remarked. He also anticipated the realization of considerable commercial advantages from this establishment. The new settlers had also engaged to free the Gulf of Bengal from all depredations.

Shah Jehan, more devoted than he to the intolerant dogmas of his creed, and, moreover, enraged by the nefarious traffic which these nominal Christians carried on with the man-stealers of Arracan, and by their having audaciously refused to emancipate their slaves at his command, inflicted on them a weighty and indiscriminate chastisement. He first exacted from them large sums of money, and then besieged and took their town, and commanded that the whole population should be transported to Agra, and there condemned to slavery. The miseries to which they were subjected is unequalled by any modern proceeding. Children, priests, and monks shared the general fate. The females of any personal attractions, whether married or single, were consigned to the seraglio. Little children were subjected to the rite of circumcision, and made pages; the adults were forced to profess Islam, under the threat of being trampled to death beneath the elephant's feet. Some time before the capture of Hoogly, a formal offer was made by the pirates of surrendering the kingdom of Arracan to the viceroy of Goa. The latter thought it inconsistent with the dignity of his sovereign to become so disreputably possessed of it. About this time, the notorious Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, became the King of Sondiva, an advantageous post commanding the mouth of the Ganges. These freebooters were a source of constant annoyance to the Mogul, and he was under the necessity of maintaining a large force to protect the inlets of the province of Bengal, but this he found insufficient. Such was the skill and daring of the pirates that, with four or five galleys, they never hesitated to attack, destroy, or capture fifteen or twenty vessels of the Mogul.

Shaista Khan had resolved on making a well-organized effort to deliver his government from this scourge; but he had another design, that was to punish the sovereign of Arracan, who was in league with the pirates, and whose daughter had been given in marriage to their celebrated and powerful chief, Bastian Consalvo, and who had, moreover, very recently put to death Sultan Shujah

and his family, who, in their adversity, endeavoured to obtain a refuge in that country. Conscious of the difficulty of marching an army into the kingdom of Arracan, owing to the great number of creeks, rivers, and canals which intersect the frontiers, and the naval superiority of the pirates, Shaista, with consummate policy, sought the co-operation of the Dutch, who had a powerful settlement in Batavia. Thither he sent an envoy, with full authority to negotiate with the general commandant for the joint occupation of Arracan. This offer was agreeable to the politic views of the Dutch, who were seeking an opportunity for the further depression of the declining fortunes of the Portuguese. Two ships of war were soon dispatched for the conveyance of the Mogul troops to Chittagong. In the meantime, Shaista opened negotiations with the pirates, and so imposed on them by threats, and assurances that in Bengal they would be allowed as much land as they considered necessary, and receive double their present pay, that they embarked in fifty galleys, and unaccountably passed over to him, with so much precipitation, that they had scarcely time to take their families and valuables on board. Shaista received the infatuated traitors with every demonstration of welcome, gave them large sums of money, and afforded them hospitable accommodation in the town of Dacca. Having, by this liberality gained their confidence, the pirates rendered him effectual services. They assisted at the capture of Sondiva, which had reverted to the King of Arracan, and from that they accompanied the Mogul army to Chittagong. When, at length, the Dutch vessels of war arrived, the pirates were thanked for their kind intentions, and informed that their services were no longer required. "I saw," says Bernier, "these vessels in Bengal, and was in company with the officers, who considered the Indian's thanks a poor compensation for the violation of his engagements. In regard to the Portuguese, Shaista treats them, not perhaps as he ought, but certainly as they deserve. He has drawn them from Chittagong; they and their families are in his power; an occasion for their services no longer exists, he considers it therefore quite unnecessary to fulfil a single promise. He suffers month after month to elapse without giving them any pay; declaring that they are traitors in whom it is folly to confide—wretches who have basely betrayed the prince whose bounty they have experienced."* The defection of the pirates was followed by the reduction of Arracan. Shaista enrolled an army of ten thousand horse and foot at Dacca,

* Bernier, vol. i. p. 203

to the command of which he appointed his son Ameid Khan. They departed on this expedition in the beginning of the fair season, 1666, and in six days crossed the Phenny, which divides Chittagong from Bengal. The King of Arracan made merely a show of opposition, and then fled to his capital, and shut himself up in the fort. A few days after his fleet was defeated, and the capital, and then the kingdom, fell an easy prey to the victors. Ameid found twelve hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon in the fort, and a prodigious quantity of stores. He named the town Islamabad, and annexed the whole province to Bengal.

Though Aurungzebe was out of danger on the fifteenth day of his illness, he was greatly enfeebled, and remained in a very weak condition for nearly two months after; he was then advised by his physicians, and importuned by his favourite sister, who was anxious to visit that enchanting land, to retire to Cashmere, in order to recruit his health in its salubrious climate. While indulging in this rural retreat in the north, some events began to transpire in the Decan, calculated to command his assiduous attention.

Maharashtra, the country of the Mahrattas, is one of the five divisions into which the central portion of India, called the Deccan, is divided. It rises from the Sautpoora Mountains in the north, and extends from Nandode on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpore; its eastern boundary is formed by the bank of that river, until it falls into the Wurda; from the confluence of these rivers it may be traced up the east bank of the Wurda to Manikdroog, and thence westward to Mahoor; from this place a waving line may be extended to Goa; while on the west it is bounded by the sea. The whole tract comprises about a hundred and two thousand square miles. The great feature of the country is the mountain chain called the Siadri, or more commonly the Ghauts, which, at an average distance of thirty or forty miles from the sea, runs along the western part. It ranges from three thousand to five thousand feet, and the chief peculiarity is the contrast between the tracts which it separates. On the west it rises abruptly from the sea, and forms an almost inaccessible barrier; but on the east it supports a table-land one thousand five hundred or two thousand feet high, gradually sloping eastward, far beyond the confines of Mahratta to the Bay of Bengal. The Concan is the tract which lies between the Ghauts and the sea. It is in most parts remarkably rugged and broken, interspersed with huge

mountains and thick jungles, intersected by rivers and rivulets innumerable, forming fit haunts for the wild animals who frequent those recesses.

The Ghauts and the other mountains frequently terminate in large smooth basaltic rocks, which form natural fortresses, so that in a military point of view there is not, it is asserted, a stronger country in the world. The mass of the population, which amount to about six millions, are Hindoos. The Mahrattas have never figured as a nation in Hindostan, and the early Mohammedan historians do not seem to be aware of their existence. The word itself first occurs in Ferishta, in the transactions of the year 1485. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the King of Bejapore substituted the Mahratta language, in his financial papers, for Persian. He remodelled his army, which had been previously composed of foreigners, and enrolled a large number of Mahrattas. They were at first restricted to the lowest and most laborious grades, and chiefly employed on garrison duty. It was very soon discovered that they were peculiarly qualified to act as light cavalry, and soon rose into estimation in the services of the governments of Bejapore and Ahmednuggur, a few of them were also engaged by the King of Golconda. Several rose to the rank of commanders of divisions, and military jaghires, or lands appropriated to the support of a body of troops, were conferred upon them. The Mahratta chiefs could enrol a body of horse on very short notice, and these they retained or discharged, at pleasure. Titles were frequently conferred on those chieftains, chiefly Hindoos—such as rajah, naik, and rao; and though bestowed by their Moslem conquerors, they were received with avidity and gratification, the greater as they were always accompanied with donations of land to sustain their rank.* They were not originally a military tribe, like the Rajpoots, nor do they possess the same grace or dignity of person, being of diminutive stature, and irregular features; and, indeed, they bore rather the character of freebooters than of soldiers. Candish and a part of Bahar have been claimed as the original seat of the race, while some authorities maintain that they are foreigners, and arrived in Central Hindostan from the western parts of Persia about twelve hundred years ago. Neither love of country, nor a community of language and religion, restrained them from turning their arms against one another. The most deadly hereditary feuds were perpetuated amongst them, fomented artfully by the neighbouring states, which prevented

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p. 82.

them from making common cause to assert and maintain their independence and authority, and left them to be merely the mercenary instruments of him who could afford to bid highest for their service.

The following portrait of the Mahrattas is faithfully and ably drawn :—" They are small, sturdy men, well made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajpoots, they have none of their indolence or want of worldly wisdom. A Rajpoot warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the results of any contest in which he is engaged : a Mahratta thinks only of the results, and cares nothing about the means, provided he attains his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person, but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life or even risking his safety for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations. There is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajpoot, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajpoot is the most worthy antagonist, the Mahratta the most formidable enemy, for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them or supply their place with activity, stratagem, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might be fairly ascribed. The mere husbandmen are frugal, sober, and industrious, and though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere." * Chiefs and serfs are all sudras and of the same caste, though some ambitiously claim an infusion of Rajpoot blood.

The founder of the Mahratta state, or at least the first person who raised the country from obscurity, was Sevajee, who claimed to be descended on very apocryphal authority from the Ranahs of Odeypore. The father of Sevajee, named Shahjee Bonsla, Bhosila, or Bosla, was an officer in the service of the last of the Kings of Bejapore. The father of Shahjee was Malojee. He had acquitted himself well in the several offices to which he had been appointed, and though descended of a family of no great consideration, he rose to distinction in the service of Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmednuggur, and was attached to Jadoo Rao, who had the command of ten thousand horse in the army commanded by Malik Amber, whose exploits have been related. It was by the defection of this chief with that large contingent to Shah

Jehan that the defeat of his late commander was effected. When his son Shahjee was about five years old he was a very fine child, and accompanied his father to the celebration of a festival at the house of his chief, Jadoo. Shahjee was, on this occasion, kindly noticed by the host, who good-naturedly called him, and seated him by the side of his daughter Jeejee, then only three years old. The children naturally enjoyed each other's company, and the delighted father, in the height of his joyous glee, exclaimed, " Well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband ?" and turning to the company said in the same strain, " they are a fine pair." To his surprise, and that of the company, Malojee started up and said, " Take notice, friends, Jadoo has this day affianced his daughter to my son." Some assented, Jadoo was mute with astonishment. The next day Jadoo invited him to dine with him, Malojee declined unless he ratified the inadvertent contract of the previous day. This led to a rupture between the chief and his adherent. Malojee was both crafty and persevering, and was now on the high-road to fortune. His riches rapidly accumulated, and the power, which wealth can secure, was soon exercised at the court of the declining kingdom of Ahmednuggur. He was elevated to the command of five thousand, with the title of Malojee Rajah Bonsla, and two jaghires were bestowed on him for the maintenance of his dignity and force, and the forts of Seevneree and Chakun, with their dependent districts, placed in his care. His son was now a suitable match for Jeejee, and the nuptials were solemnized with the consent, and to the satisfaction, of the parents, in 1604. The offspring of this union was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire.

During the continual wars in the Deccan, Shahjee was engaged successively on the side of Ahmednuggur and Bejapore, still retaining his jaghires. He was subsequently employed in the subjugation of the countries to the south, and obtained a much more considerable jaghire in Mysore, including the towns of Sira and Bangalore.

Sevajee was born in May, 1627, and, in the stormy times in which his infancy was cast, owed his safety on many occasions to maternal solicitude. The Mahratta chiefs of consequence invariably retain a number of Brahmins in their service, as secretaries and men of business. To one of these, Dadajee Condoo, in whom he reposed great confidence, Shahjee entrusted the guardianship of his family, and the education of his son, and sent them to reside on his jaghire at Poonah. The Mahrattas look down with

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 456.

contempt on scholastic attainments as unworthy of any but clerks and amanuenses. Sevajee was not an exception. He never learnt to write his name, but he acquired great dexterity in handling his arms, was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear, and, indeed, of all the weapons of the Deccan. As a horseman, amongst his expert countrymen he had no equal. His mind was stored and fired with the marvellous exploits of the mythic heroes of Hindoo tradition. Carefully instructed in the religion of the Hindoos, he entertained a deadly hatred for the creed and followers of the Arab Prophet, and these feelings supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism. When he attained the age of sixteen his character began to develop itself—his associates were selected from the most daring and reckless; and even thus early he conceived the idea of becoming independent, and openly discussed his projects. He and his followers devoted many of their days to excursions in the mountains, and in hunting down the game that frequented their fastnesses. In these pursuits he became intimately acquainted with all the paths and defiles of the highlands, and studied the condition of the adjoining forts and strongholds. By his engaging manners, personal intrepidity and generosity, he endeared himself, not only to his playmates, but to the inhabitants of that wild tract generally. It was whispered about that he had some share in the proceeds of extensive robberies committed about this time in the Concan. Those proceedings on the part of the young chief alarmed his guardian, who, in order to engage his attention in domestic concerns, confided to him much of the management of the jaghire. This position added to his social status; he received and paid visits amongst the respectable people of his neighbourhood, and it gave him greater influence over the dependents of his own house.

The mountain range north of Poonah was inhabited by a people called the Bheels; that to the south, by the Ramusees; the valleys to the east, called the Mawals, were in the possession of the Mahrattas, who were called from that circumstance the Mawalees. With these Sevajee was extremely popular.

The hill forts under all the Mohammedan governments, particularly those of Bejapore, were greatly neglected. The reason assigned for this was, that they were remote and in an unhealthy situation. At this period they were more neglected than usual. There was not one fort on the jaghire owned by his father, and the principal fort in the district was injudiciously entrusted to the care of men of neither note nor ability. Sevajee had

entered into intimate relations with three of the chiefs in the Mawals, who possessed some hereditary rights amongst the hills. These were his first avowed adherents, and with them, by some means not related, he came into the possession of Torna, a hill fort very difficult of access, twenty miles south-west of Poonah, at the source of the Neera River. This event happened in the year 1646. He succeeded in silencing any complaints at court. He prepared to put this fortress in this best state of defence, and to garrison it with a strong force of Mahrattas. While making arrangements for its repair, in digging up some ruins inside the fort, he discovered a large quantity of gold, which had been deposited in remote times. The circumstance was erased from memory probably by the destruction of the keeper in one of the many wars which distracted the country. This lucky circumstance contributed greatly to facilitate his designs; arms and ammunition in abundance were secured, and he was also induced to erect another fortress on the mountain, three miles to the south-east. This he strongly fortified and named Raighur. These energetic measures at length aroused the suspicions of the authorities; his father was communicated with, and from the Carnatic, where he was then engaged in the king's interest, he urgently remonstrated, through Dadajee, and forbade the prosecution of his undertakings. The old guardian, now on the verge of eternity, in his dying moments sent for his ambitious ward, and far from enforcing the cautious advice of his father, with all that uncalculating devotion—characteristic of the Brahmins—to his creed, he conjured him to protect the Brahmins, the kine, and the cultivators, to preserve from violation the Hindoo temples, to prosecute his plans of independence, and to follow the fortune which lay before him. Then, having recommended his family to the young chieftain's care, he expired, leaving a mysterious impression, fixed by the mournful solemnity of the occasion, and harmonizing, perfectly, with the lofty aspirations of his own enthusiasm. These dying injunctions confirmed his designs, and influenced the devotion of the subordinates of the jaghire, and possibly elevated his motives of action. To his father's applications for the payment of the arrears of revenue, after various evasions, he at length replied, "That the expenses of that poor country had so increased, that his father must depend on his more extensive and fertile possessions in the Carnatic." There were two forts in the jaghire commanded by officers devoted to his father's interests; of these it was necessary to get rid; he gained over

the commander of Chakun, and surprised the garrison of Soopa. He obtained, for a large bribe to the Mohammedan killidar, possession of the very important fortress of Kondahneh, and restored to it its ancient name, Singhar, the lion's den; and availing himself of an altercation between the sons of the late governor of Poorandar, a stronger hill fort than any he had yet secured, having been called in as arbitrator, he contrived to make himself master of it, and to retain it. Notwithstanding his treachery and outrageous violation of faith in this transaction, he had the address to reconcile them to their loss, and to induce them to enter into his service, in which they afterwards arrived at some distinction. These proceedings had been conceived and executed without exciting any commotion or attracting further notice than that alluded to; indeed, the sovereign of Bejapore was at this very time engaged in the prosecution of a war in the south, and in the amplification and embellishment of his capital. Having so far strengthened himself, "and like the wily tiger of his own mountain valley, watched and crouched until he had stolen into a situation whence he could at once spring on his prey,"* Sevajee resolved to have recourse to bolder measures, and to defy the power of his sovereign. He had collected and armed a body of Mawalees, and had dispatched some of his Brahmins into the Concan to gain intelligence, and forward his views in that quarter. He shortly after, at the head of three hundred faithful followers, seized on the royal treasures in transit through that district, and conveyed them with all haste to Raighur. This overt act was followed by the surprise and occupation of five of the principal hill forts in the Ghauts. The Mohammedan governor of Concan was then seized, several rich cities plundered, and the proceeds conveyed to the same destination. Sevajee was greatly pleased by these results. He courteously entertained the captive governor, and dismissed him with every mark of respect. The conquered country was soon organized, every means provided for the restitution of the revenues to the temples and endowments to the Brahmins, and the ancient institutions were revived wherever any trace of them survived.

Shahjee was suspected of having suggested these disturbances, and in consequence was placed under arrest; he was confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was closed with masonry, with the exception of a small opening; and he was assured that, if his son did not return to his obedience, it would be

closed, and for ever. This treatment of his father, it is stated, affected Sevajee very forcibly, and he, for a time, entertained the notion of submitting, but was dissuaded from so doing by his wife, who demonstrated to him the dangers of that course. In all his proceedings he cautiously abstained from aggression on the territories or subjects of the Mogul. It is probable that he apprehended, from the beginning, that an occasion might arise, when, unable to resist the opposition of his sovereign, he should have to seek foreign succour, and that this was the cogent reason why he had refrained from provoking the enmity of the emperor. On this occasion he entered into a correspondence with Shah Jehan for his father's liberation. The results were, that the emperor agreed to forgive the former conduct of Shahjee, to receive him into his service, and to place Sevajee in the command of five thousand horse. On what terms these concessions were offered is not on record. Shahjee was released, but retained a prisoner at large for four years afterwards. During this period both parties abstained from hostilities. The probable fate of his father may have restrained Sevajee, whilst the King of Bejapore may have apprehended that any offensive step on his part might induce the surrender of the district, recently occupied, to the Mogul.

In 1653 Shahjee was permitted to return to the Carnatic, owing to the formidable disturbances which then existed in that province, but he was bound by a solemn engagement to refrain from avenging the treachery of Bajee, who, having invited him to a banquet, had sent him a prisoner to Bejapore: whatever promise of forgiveness was extorted from him on this occasion, was not very binding on his conscience, for the first exercise of his freedom was to write to Sevajee, "If you are my son, avenge me," an injunction which was treasured, and faithfully and fearfully executed. His father's release left him again at liberty to pursue the path his ambition had surveyed for him. The district south of Poonah, stretching from the Ghauts to the Upper Kistna, owned the sway of a Hindoo rajah, Chunder Rao, who was too powerful to be openly attacked, and who, though on friendly terms with Sevajee, could never be induced by him to join in any measures adverse to the interest of the King of Bejapore. On the pretence of asking his daughter in marriage, he dispatched assassins to his court, who murdered the unsuspecting prince; his territories were seized on. This crime was followed by the occupation of other forts and possessions. In 1656, he appointed a principal minister named Shamraje Punt, whom

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. iii. p 136.

he honoured with the title of Peishwa. He had hitherto restricted his encroachments to the dominions of the King of Bejapore, but now, emboldened by success, the force at his command, and the distraction with which the empire of the Mogul was torn, he turned his arms in that direction, and persevered in extending his authority, till, as has been mentioned previously, Aurungzebe was sent down in this year, 1655, to assist Joomleh in avenging the injury inflicted upon him by the King of Bejapore, by the imprisonment of his son Amin. On the arrival of Aurungzebe, Sevajee made a profession of his fidelity to the emperor, and was sanctioned in the retention of his late acquisitions, and encouraged to take possession of Dabul and its dependencies on the sea-coast. Aurungzebe was most anxious to have an interview with Sevajee, that he might explain to him how much it would promote their mutual interest to work in harmony. With all his professions of loyalty and obedience, Sevajee cautiously avoided the meeting; and as soon as the imperial army had removed to a distance, and was involved in a war with Golconda, he concluded that a favourable opportunity was presented to himself of further aggrandizement.

In May, 1657, he surprised Jooner, a town in the Mogul territory, and possessed himself of a vast amount of plunder. He made an attempt on Ahmednuggur, which was only partially successful. Of these aggressions he soon repented, on being informed of the rapid progress made by Aurungzebe, and the success which attended his arms. He took the precaution to add considerably to his army, whilst he, at the same time, wrote to the Mogul prince, abjectly begging a condonation of the past, and making fervid professions of fealty for the future. It was the policy of the imperialists to provoke as many enemies as they could against the King of Bejapore. Aurungzebe, therefore, suppressed his resentment, and expressed his forgiveness of past offences; assented to Sevajee's occupying and retaining the Concan; assured him that the hereditary claims which he had to possessions within the Mogul districts should be attended to; and in return stipulated that he should send five hundred cavalry soldiers, and be prepared with the rest of his troops to maintain order and tranquillity in the imperial districts. One part of the arrangement was carried out; the Concan was occupied, and garrisons placed in several fortresses along the coast, where Sevajee afterwards collected vessels for piratical purposes. The illness of Shah Jehan precipitated an accommodation, which was followed by the

departure of Aurungzebe to attend to his more immediate interests in this crisis of his father's illness. The insecurity which the reign of a boy generated in Bejapore, and the distractions created by the jarring of factions there, tempted Sevajee to a renewal of his depredations. An army was organized under the command of Afzul Khan, an officer of some reputation, to oppose his designs. On the approach of this chief, by artful negotiations, an avowal of his apprehensions from a man of such reputation, and humiliating proffers of submission, Sevajee succeeded in deceiving his adversary, and induced him to come unarmed and unattended to an interview, at which he was to receive assurances of forgiveness. Fifteen hundred of the imperial army accompanied their chief to the vicinity of the place of meeting, but in consequence of the feigned timidity of the Mahratta, did not approach his presence. Several thousands of Sevajee's troops lay in ambush in the neighbourhood. Lightly clad in thin muslin, and armed with a sword, a mark of dignity more than a weapon of defence, and attended, as pre-arranged, by one armed attendant, Afzul Khan came in his palanquin to an exposed bungalow prepared for the occasion. The Mogul first made his appearance, and while complaining of the delay, Sevajee was seen descending, apparently unarmed, to meet him. The preparations which he made for this interview, serve to show that the crime he treacherously meditated, he looked upon as a meritorious action. He performed with due care and devotion the customary ritual ablutions, and then laid his head at his mother's feet, and piously besought her blessing. Afzul Khan viewed with feelings of contempt the diminutive figure which he saw abjectly approaching, and making repeated obeisances, which were represented to be the effects of his fears. The Mogul advanced a few paces to give him the ceremonial embrace; at that moment the insidious assassin struck a treacherous weapon, called "tiger's claws"—well known among the Mahrattas, and which he had concealed on the fingers of his left hand—into his bowels. The wounded chief quickly disengaged himself, clapped his hand on his sword, and called out "Treachery, murder!" and, at the same time, made a cut at Sevajee; but the latter had provided for such a result, having concealed under his thin cotton covering a shirt of chain armour, and with a

* This instrument is, by the Indians, called *wagnuck*. It is made of steel to fit on the fore and little finger; it has three crooked blades, which are easily concealed in a half-closed hand.—DUFF, vol. iii. p. 172. This gentleman gives, in his interesting History, a drawing of it.

dagger, which he carried in his right hand, he dispatched his victim. The murder was the work of a few seconds, and the dying man was at his murderer's feet before his attendant could come to his assistance. The latter was faithfully attached to his master, and though offered his life, he refused, and maintained, for some time before he fell, an unequal contest with two such swordsmen as Sevajee and his friend. The imperial army was now attacked by the Mahrattas hitherto concealed, defeated, and put to flight. The victory secured, the captives were treated with great consideration, as was the practice of Sevajee on most occasions. Several of the Mahrattas, who were in the army of Afzul Khan, entered his service, and some of the chiefs who refused to do so, having been hospitably entertained, were dismissed with presents. It is said, "that during his career, though he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, he was never personally guilty of any *useless* treachery."

The *éclat* of this bold and successful achievement, amongst a people who had no moral scruples as to the means employed to attain an end, gave to Sevajee an unbounded influence; and the liberality with which the spoils were distributed to his victorious troops attached them the more firmly to his interests, and led many to his standard. To himself, the immediate fruits of the victory were four thousand horses, several elephants, a number of camels, a considerable treasure, and the whole train of equipment of the army he had annihilated.

The results of such a decisive blow on his further career may be easily conjectured. He soon established his authority over all the country near the Ghauts, took possession of all the forts, and was engaged in the complete subjugation of the fertile district of the Concan.

The destruction of Afzul Khan and his army, the capture of the forts, and above all, the approach of Sevajee to the gates of the capital of Bejapore, created such an alarm, that even, for the time, the voice of faction was hushed. An officer, whose ability was his only recommendation, was appointed to the command of an army double the number of that recently in the field. Simultaneous attacks were to be made from two quarters on Sevajee's possession in the Concan. The Mahratta was not inactive during these preparations. He divided his army into three columns, and these were sent to operate against similar divisions of the enemy. He threw himself, with a large garrison, into the strong fort of Panalla, which had lately

come into his possession, and on the defences of which he too incautiously calculated. After a protracted siege of four months, and when reduced to the greatest straits, cut off from all external communication, he eluded the besiegers, and though hotly pursued, he succeeded in reaching Rangna, a fortress in the Ghauts. The commander of the besieging army was accused of having favoured his escape. The accused indignantly resented the imputation, and withdrew from the service of his embarrassed sovereign.

The King of Bejapore in person took the field (1661) with a force which Sevajee was unable to resist. In this campaign he was stripped of almost all his acquisitions, and the issue might have been disastrous had not the disturbances in the Carnatic assumed so serious an aspect as to necessitate the king's presence there. Seede Johur, who had commanded at the siege of Panalla, and who had recently retired to his jaghire in disgust at the groundless suspicion in which he was held at court, was directed to suppress these disturbances, as the king was then resolved to prosecute the war, in which he was engaged, to a conclusion. Seede Johur displayed no great zeal in the discharge of these duties, and was again suspected of favouring the insurgents, and of having come to an understanding with Sevajee. It then became a question with the king's advisers, on which arena was his presence most required. While in suspense, an offer was made by the chiefs of Waree to reduce Sevajee if they were properly supported. It was then decided that the king should proceed to the Carnatic. Bahlol Khan and Bajee Ghorepooray, the latter of whom, it will be remembered, in violation of the laws of hospitality, betrayed Sevajee's father into the hands of the king, and whose punishment was enjoined on the son, were left to assist the chiefs of Waree in the prosecution of their engagement.

The king had departed for his future scene of action, and Bajec Ghorepooray proceeded to his jaghire to hasten his arrangements. Sevajee, who had early intelligence of every movement in the enemy's camp, thought this a favourable opportunity for avenging his father's injuries, and performing the task imposed upon him. He marched rapidly across the country, surprised the unsuspecting noble, slew him and his family, plundered his residence and left it in flames, and then returned to his quarters with equal expedition.* The state of affairs in the Carnatic, where Seede Johur had joined the insurgents, now demanded the presence of all the king's available forces, and the armies organized for the

* Duff, vol. iii. p. 185.

invasion of the Concan were necessarily called off to that quarter. For two years Sevajee was left unmolested, and during that interval he recovered his dominions, and added considerably to them.

The fame of his son's achievements had reached the father, he was gratified by the filial respect paid to him in the summary punishment inflicted on his enemy, and proud of his abilities, bravery, and aggrandizement. Accompanied by his son, the father paid Sevajee a visit, and was received with such demonstrations of respect and affection as must have delighted him. In the Carnatic, where the king was now engaged, Shahjee's influence was considerable, and his loyalty, in the unsettled state of that province, had restored him to royal favour. His influence was successfully exercised to bring about an accommodation. On his return he was commissioned by Sevajee to present presents to the King of Bejapore; hostilities were suspended, a peace concluded, and the territories secured by the Mahratta extended from Kallian to Goa—a length of about two hundred and fifty miles—and above the Ghauts to about a hundred and sixty. Its breadth from Soopa to Jinjeera was about a hundred miles. His army was proportionably larger than his territories; but the predatory character of his expeditions, the wealth which he accumulated, the constant apprehension of reprisals by his aggrieved neighbours, demanded that he should have an organized army of seven thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, the number of which his force is said to have consisted.*

The departure of the Emperor Aurungzebe to Cashmere, for the benefit of his health, occurred at the period in which Sevajee and the King of Bejapore entered into the treaty referred to; and this it was that allowed the former an opportunity of now directing his ambitious designs against the Mogul. The circumstances which led to this rupture are not made public by any of the historians who have treated of these events. All that is known is, that immediately after the peace with Bejapore, the Mahratta cavalry extended their incursions nearly to the walls of Aurungabad, and Sevajee himself captured the forts in the vicinity of Jooner.

Shaista Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor, and nephew of the celebrated Nour Mahal, was sent into the Deccan to restore order. He marched out of Aurungabad, and repressed the aggressions of the Mahrattas, driving them before him until he approached within twelve miles of Singhar, the hill fort into which Sevajee had retired. Shaista

Khan took possession of Poonah, and actually occupied the house in which his adversary was born. Sevajee had resolved to attempt to surprise the Mogul in his quarters, and his design was favoured by the intimate knowledge he had of the place. By the aid of the Brahmins, on whose fidelity he could rely, he won over to his side a Mahratta who was serving in that garrison. This man, on pretence of celebrating a marriage festival, obtained permission from the authorities to use, in procession, those noisy instruments usually brought into requisition on those occasions; he also got leave for some of his companions, who always carried their arms, to join in the fun. Sevajee, as had been concerted, accompanied by a chosen body, joined the revellers. When the boisterous crowd had concluded their merriment, and quiet was restored, the Mahratta chief, to whom every chamber, recess, and passage of the home of his birth and childhood was familiar, with his followers, provided with a few pickaxes, proceeded to the door of the cook-room, above which there was a window slightly built; through this a passage was opened, not, however, without alarming some of the inmates, who roused Shaista from his slumbers; while making his escape he received a blow which severed one of his fingers, his son and most of the guard at his house were slain. Sevajee and his men retired before any force was assembled. When they had proceeded three or four miles on their way back to Singhar, they lighted torches, brought for the purpose, to bewilder the enemy as to their numbers, and to manifest their defiance and derision. In the glare of these lights, with their figures in bold relief distinctly visible to their mortified foe, they exultingly ascended their mountain acclivities. Of all the exploits of this adventurous chief there is none so well remembered or related with such pride as this. On the following day the Mahratta cavalry defeated and pursued the Mogul. This, Duff observes,* is the first time that the Mogul horse were pursued by the Mahratta. This adventurous attack had alarmed Shaista. He feared that there were traitors in his camp; he suspected the Rajah Jaswint Singh of treachery, and wrote to the king expressing his opinion that he had been bought over by Sevajee. This news had just arrived as the emperor was preparing for his journey to Cashmere. In this emergency he recalled both his generals, and sent his son Sultan Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan. He afterwards appointed Jaswint Singh his second in command, and Shaista was intrusted with the government of Bengal.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 470; Duff, vol. iii. p. 190.

* Vol. iii. p. 197.

In the meantime Sevajee was making extraordinary preparations—rumour said that these were designed against the Portuguese, who had been suspected, as also had been the English colonists, of supplying his enemies with ammunition.

In his expeditions hitherto he had principally relied upon infantry, but the Maharattas were becoming distinguished for those equestrian qualities which of all the Indians they possess in the highest degree. In the service of the King of Bejapore they were esteemed as light cavalry, and in the recent encounter with the Moguls his body of horse had come off victorious. It was in this capacity he had now resolved to employ them, and in a quarter where there was very little apprehension of their appearance.

Surat, the chief town of the British colleetorate of that name, in the presidency of Bombay, is situated on the south of the river Tapti. Though a remote antiquity is claimed for it, the mention of its having been taken and plundered by the Portuguese in 1530 is probably the first authentic notice of it. In 1612 Jehanghire had granted to the English merchants permission to erect a factory there. In 1657 all the possessions of the East India Company were placed under the control of the president and council of Surat. It was the seat of considerable commerce, and held out to Sevajee the prospect of rich booty. It was against this town his preparations were being made. Early in January, 1664, with a body of four thousand horse he set out against this rich and defenceless place, and occupied the streets without opposition. For six days it was surrendered to the mercy of his troops.* Although he was repelled in his attacks on the English and Dutch factories, within whose fortifications several of the native merchants sought and found refuge, the plunder which fell into his hands was enormous, and it was all conveyed in safety to his fort of Raighur, in the Concan. On his return he learned the death of his

father, who was killed at a hunt by a fall from his horse. Shahjee had added considerably to the jaghire originally bestowed upon him, and at his death his conquests on the south comprehended the country near Madras and the principality of Tanjore.* In this year, for the first time, Sevajee assumed the title and state of rajah. In the following year he renewed his attacks—which had been discontinued until the death of his father—on Bejapore, made incursions into its territories, and plundered some of its towns. He fixed these at of government at Raighur, a seaport in the Concan. He had here already equipped a fleet, formidable in those seas, and seized on many vessels belonging to the Mogul, and led in person a destructive foray into his dominions. Aurungzebe was exasperated by these outrages on his authority, together with the assumption of independent rule and regal rank by Sevajee, and the issue of money coined and stamped in his name; but what provoked him most was the outrage of his religious feelings by the capture of some pilgrims on their way to Mecca, and the violation of Surat, which the Mohammedans revere as sacred, being the port from which the pious followers of the Prophet depart for the holy places. To avenge these crimes a powerful army was dispatched, under the united command of two able and distinguished officers—Mirza Rajah Jei Singh, a Rajpoot prince, and Deelee Khan, an Affghan. Sevajee was not as well supplied with information on this occasion as he usually was. Apprehending no immediate attack, he was absent on his maritime expedition when the imperial army crossed Nerbuddah in February, 1665. Nettagee Palkur, who had been left to watch the frontiers, was at a great distance with the larger portion of the cavalry, and it is probable that he was bribed by Jei Singh.† Sevajee, though he, for reasons best known to himself, continued him in the command, never forgave him.

Whether it is to be attributed to strong religious temperament, or to his deep politic dissimulation, Sevajee had recently submitted himself unreservedly to the spiritual direction of an eminent Brahmin, and practised all the austerities prescribed for his observance. He pretended, or fancied, he was the recipient of some celestial communications. It was circulated amongst his followers that he had received a mysterious warning not to contend against the Rajah Jei Singh, as he could not prevail against this Hindoo prince. Certain it is, that his policy was not marked with that decision which had supported him in former

* The sack of Surat is minutely described in the records of the English factory, now in the East India House. In consequence of their heroic defence and generous treatment of the natives who sought their protection, Aurungzebe granted the English company exemption from the duties levied on others trading at Surat. Sir George Oxenden was then governor. (See Duff, vol. iii. p. 198; Thornton's *Gazetteer*, article "Surat.") During the pillage Sevajee respected the habitation of the Rev. Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. "The Franks-padrys are good men," said he, "and shall not be molested." He spared also the house of Delale the Dutch broker, a pagan, because he enjoyed the reputation of being charitable. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped, not through any reverential respect for them, but because those people had resolutely defended them.—BERNIER, vol. i. p. 211.

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 472.

† Duff, on the authority of Catrou, from Manouchi's MS., vol. iii. p. 204.

difficulties. His vacillation was evident to his officers, and though an heroic opposition was given, and with success, by some of his officers to the imperialists, he entered into negotiations with the Hindoo commander, which resulted in his surrendering the greater portion of his conquests, and transferring his services to the Mogul. The springs of human action often defy the keenest and most critical scrutiny, and the most elaborate and probable analysis of motives is at best but a plausible and unsatisfactory conjecture. "He may have looked to some recompence for the temporary sacrifice of his pride, in the advantages he might gain by co-operating with the Moguls against Bejapore."* His reception was cordial and flattering; by the great services he rendered in the succeeding campaign, the greatest confidence was established between him and his co-religionist Jei Singh, and the emperor personally communicated his approval of his conduct, and invited him to court.† In 1666, accompanied by his eldest son, Sambajee, then in the eighth year of his age, he proceeded on this invitation and the assurances of Jei Singh. He was escorted by five hundred chosen horse, and one thousand Mawalees.

The emperor lost the opportunity afforded him of attaching to his interests a man of the courage, resolution, and abilities of the Mahratta. Aurungzebe, on his appearance at court, did not attempt to conceal his contempt for the insignificant figure before him, besides, in all probability he loathed the man whom he believed guilty of sacrilege; he always spoke of him as "the mountain rat." When Sevajee had paid his obeisance, and presented the customary emblems of submission and fealty, instead of being treated with that consideration which he was led to expect, he was received without notice, and ordered to take his place amongst an inferior grade. The sense of his humiliation so preyed on his haughty spirit he could not control his indignation, he retired to the rear of the courtiers, and swooned away. Having recovered, he withdrew without taking leave. He was then placed under surveillance.‡

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 475.

† The original letters of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe to Sevajee were in the possession of the Rajah of Sattara. Copies of them are lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

‡ Bernier says that the cause of Sevajee being so received was that Shaista's wife was then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat. The son of Jei Singh, who had plighted his faith for the security of the Mahratta chief, favoured his escape. Dow gives a version of this transaction at variance with Elphinstone, Duff, and Bernier. After stating that Sevajee, being

From this moment he resolved to effect his escape; this was no easy task, as his house was surrounded with guards. On various pretexts he had his faithful followers dismissed to their homes; this measure he the more easily effected as the emperor thought their absence would place him more at his mercy. The wily Mahratta soon effected his escape. His son and he were conveyed through his sentinels in hampers; a servant occupied his bed, to which he had been previously confined by a pretended illness, and a considerable time elapsed ere his flight was detected. A horse was ready for him, this he mounted, with his son behind him, and escaped to Muttra. His arrival was awaited here by some of his chosen friends in various disguises. He changed his dress for that of a Hindoo mendicant, and laying aside his hair and whiskers, and rubbing his face over with ashes, he pursued his way by the least frequented road to the Deccan. He reached his home after nine months of toil and travel.

During the time of his absence a great reverse had befallen the previously successful Jei Singh. Out-generaled by the tactics of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the

reduced to extremity, was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of his enemy, and was then carried under escort to Delhi, he proceeds:—"Upon his arrival he was ordered into the presence, and ordered by the usher to make the usual obeisance to the emperor; he refused to obey, and looking scornfully upon Aurungzebe, exhibited every mark of complete contempt of his person. The emperor was very much offended at the haughty demeanour of the captive, and ordered him to be instantly carried away from his sight. The principal ladies of the harem, and amongst them the daughter of Aurungzebe, saw from behind a curtain the behaviour of Sevajee. She was struck with the handsomeness of his person, and she admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the subject of much conversation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf, and the princess was very warm in her solicitations at the feet of her father. 'Though I despise pomp,' said Aurungzebe, 'I will have those honours which the refractory presume to refuse.' A message was sent by the princess in the warmth of her zeal, and the rajah, without being consulted, was again introduced. When he entered, and was commanded to pay the usual obeisance, 'I was born a prince,' said he, 'and I know not how to act the part of a slave.' 'But the vanquished,' replied Aurungzebe, 'lose all their rights with their fortune. The sword has made Sevajee my servant, and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given.' The rajah turned his back upon the throne; the emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his command against Sevajee, when that prince spoke thus with a haughty tone of voice: 'Give me your daughter in marriage, and I will honour you as her father; but fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind, which nothing shall extinguish but death.' The emperor ordered him as a madman from his presence, and ordered him into close confinement. He found means to escape after some months, in the disguise of a man who was admitted into his apartments with a basket of flowers."—Dow, vol. iii. p. 368. An interesting romance this, but little more.

siege of the capital of Bejapore, and to retreat with loss and difficulty to Aurungabad. He did not long survive the consequent disgrace of his removal from his command. During his struggle and retreat Jei Singh withdrew, from the lately occupied territories—surrendered by Sevajee—the troops stationed there for its defence. Many of the forts were re-occupied by Sevajee's officers before he returned to the Deccan. Jei Singh's successor was a man of more lax principles than his predecessor, and more amenable to the influences at the Mahratta's command. Through his mediation a peace was concluded between the emperor and Sevajee, and the greater portion of his lately forfeited dominions restored to him. His title of rajah was recognized, and an indemnity for all past transgressions granted. The perils of his past life, and the dangers which he recently escaped, appear to have had no repressive effect upon the elastic temperament of Sevajee. His arrangements with the Mogul were immediately followed by an attack on both Bejapore and Golconda. These kingdoms, enfeebled by intestine contentions and apprehensive of a renewal of hostilities by the emperor, thought it advisable to avert the threatened attack by conceding to his demands, and submitting to payment of an annual tribute (1668). Two years of tranquillity succeeded, during which his dominions were governed and organized with a degree of administrative ability which prove him to be as able a statesman as he was a general. This desirable state of things was interrupted by no fault of his. His flight and escape were painfully felt by the astute emperor. The facility with which he agreed to an accommodation, and the liberality with which he confirmed his conquests to Sevajee, were not so much the result of his wish to restore what he could, at that precise period, well defend, as to throw him off his guard, and bring him within his power. He had given orders to his generals in the Deccan to seize on his person, and forward him to Delhi. Sevajee, having discovered these machinations, proved himself an able master of fence. By the magnitude of his bribes he corrupted these chiefs, and by their means he succeeded in deceiving Aurungzebe. The baseness of the imperial officers was soon suspected, and orders were forwarded from court to make an open attempt to seize "the mountain rat." The successes of the Mahratta called for a great increase in the army of the Deccan, forty thousand men were sent to its aid, under the command of one of the young princes and Mohabat Khan. Twenty thousand of these suffered a total defeat by the Mahrattas. This was the first field action won by them, and

the first instance of their success in a regular engagement with the imperial troops.* The beaten generals were recalled. Operations in another quarter became of more importance, no active proceedings were taken against Sevajee, and the war languished for several years. The enemy that diverted the Moguls from active measures in the Deccan were the ever-troublesome Affghans of the north-eastern frontier. In 1667 they totally defeated, in a great battle, the son of the celebrated Joomleh, Amin, who was then governor of Cabul. The imperial army was cut to pieces, and the children and women were not restored but on the payment of an exorbitant ransom. So elated by this were the victorious clans, they set up a king and coined money in his name. This war was protracted during two years, and was concluded by the concession to the mountaineers of almost all their demands.†

This unsuccessful expedition was followed by a formidable commotion, excited by some Hindoo fanatics, who obtained the reputation of magicians, and were popularly believed to be invulnerable to shot or sword. It was by great inducement the army was led to encounter them. The defeat of the rebels proved the absurdity of their extraordinary pretensions. The naturally bigoted disposition of the emperor, irritated by this and other kindred circumstances, was so inflamed by sectarian hate, that he henceforth subjected his heathen subjects to unjust and impolitic treatment, and imposed on them a capitation tax. He had recourse to very stringent and offensive measures to suppress the trade in spirituous liquors, to shut up all the gambling houses, and to restrain the ostentatious observance of idol worship. He fanatically abolished all taxes not imposed in the spirit of Mohammedan law, and thus, not only inflicted an injustice by the inequalities produced, but actually exempted from the payment of their taxes a large number of the great capitalists of the empire, and produced a great fall in the revenue returns. He then had recourse to sumptuary laws. He issued an edict against music, dancing, and buffoons, and discharged all the singers and musicians attached to the palace; he forbade astrologers, poets, and historians. The regular records of the empire were not only suspended, but so effectually interrupted that the history

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 486.

† "This war is commemorated in the poems of one of the principal actors, Khoosh Khal; he has left several poems, written to excite the national enthusiasm. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of independence and patriotism, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics."—ELPHINSTONE.

of public affairs, from the eleventh year of his reign, is only to be summarily gleaned from letters on business, or from the correspondence of private individuals. Fearing that the homage paid to him bordered on adoration, he regulated the ceremonials, and abstained from appearing at the door of his palace, lest he should be a participator in the idolatry. He followed up these political blunders by issuing a public edict, commanding the governors and persons in authority in all parts of his dominions, "to entertain no more Hindoos, but to confer all the offices immediately under them on Mohammedans only."

The mischievous fruits of these measures quickly developed themselves. In the first years of his reign the loyalty and attachment of the Hindoos were as sincere as that of the Mohammedans, and exhibited neither disaffection nor hesitation, when engaged against their own people and co-religionists. The recent arrangements entirely changed the aspect of affairs: the Hindoos were now estranged from the sovereign. The Rajpoots became disaffected, and every man in the Deccan who was not a Mohammedan sympathized with Sevajee, and looked to him for protection and vengeance. With such combustible materials, it required but a spark to cause a conflagration. This the emperor soon supplied. The Rajah Jaswint Singh, whose fidelity, ability, and valour had been approved in various parts of the empire, since he had forsaken the interests of Dara, and adhered to Aurungzebe, died at this crisis in his command in Cabul, to which he had been dispatched from his government in the Deccan, to conduct the war against the Affghans. A widow and two sons survived this prince. The widow, after the funeral obsequies, set out on her return without having taken the precaution of asking for leave or passports. She was therefore stopped at the ford of Attock on the Indus. Her escort forced their passage. Aurungzebe availed himself of this act of insubordination as a pretext to get the mother and children into his possession. The Rajpoots resolved to frustrate his scheme, and though, when they had reached Delhi, they were surrounded by the imperialists, they ingeniously contrived to send safe home the rana and the young princes. The faithful Rajpoots were attacked by an overwhelming force, and though they fought with their usual bravery, and had gallantly repulsed the enemy, they lost the greater portion of their number. The remainder, with their chief, Durga Das, dispersed, and again assembling at a distant and preconcerted point, retired safely to their own country. The rana and her two

sons had previously reached their destination, Joudpore, and the elder prince, Ajeet Singh, lived to reign for many years over Marwar, and became a formidable enemy to the emperor for the remainder of his life. All the western part of Rajpootana rose in arms. The emperor marched in person against the formidable conspiracy that was organized in that quarter, and to strengthen his army withdrew his forces from the Deccan and Bengal, and also ordered the viceroy of Gujerat to make an inroad from his confines. His sons Mausum and Akbar served in this campaign.

This war was prosecuted with a truculent spirit, which might have been expected from the gloomy and revolting bigotry which had provoked it. All the supplies were intercepted from the fugitives in the highlands, the plains were devastated, the villages were destroyed, the women and children were carried off, and all the severities that ruthless vengeance could inflict were exercised against the tribes. These cruelties alienated for ever the entire of the Rajpoots, who maintained an army of twenty-four thousand horse, and though not strong enough to encounter the enemy in the field, were capable of giving a great deal of annoyance by cutting off convoys, attacking detachments, defending strongholds, and gaining many advantages by surprise and night attacks.

Durga Das, who during these transactions was playing an active and efficient part, entered into private negotiations with the heir-presumptive, who he endeavoured ineffectually to seduce from his allegiance. He was more successful with the younger brother, Akbar, now only twenty-three years of age, the most impetuous and least reflective period of life. Akbar set up his standard, and was proclaimed emperor. Seventy thousand men formed the army ready to support his pretensions, and Tohavvar Khan and Majahid Khan, two very powerful noblemen, Moslems, deserted to him; the father was then left with a body of one thousand men, his army being scattered on various services. In the absence of force Aurungzebe had recourse, and with desired effect, to intrigue. The Mohammedans, to a man, returned to their duty. The Rajpoots were now left to themselves, and obliged to relinquish all hope of being able to compete with the imperialists. Durga Das remained to protect the prince, who, under his escort, with five hundred Rajpoots, sought refuge amongst the Mahrattas, and eluding pursuit by a march through the hills into Gujerat, made his way into the Concan, and arrived there in safety, June, 1681.

The war of extermination, waged by the

Moguls, provoked at length a spirit as ruthless and intolerant as their own. The exasperated Rajpoots retaliated, plundered the mosques, committed the Koran to the flames, and persecuted the religious. An insincere peace, necessitated by the aggravated state of things in the Deccan, was negotiated, which contributed but in a very small degree to the restoration of tranquillity.*

Although the withdrawal of the armies of the Deccan, in 1672, for the prosecution of the war in the north-west against the Affghans, afforded a favourable opportunity to Sevajee for the renewal of hostilities against the Mogul, he was diverted from availing himself of it by the death, at the same time, of the King of Bejapore—an event which presented a more desirable opportunity, of which he did not fail to avail himself. During the years 1673 and 1674 he obtained possession of the maritime part of the Concan, and the adjoining Ghauts; he also seized on all the southern division, except those parts which were held by the Abyssinians, Portuguese, and English; and of the districts above the Ghauts, stretching eastward beyond the upper course of the Kistna. Sevajee was again crowned, 1674, with greater solemnities than on the former occasion. To give a more national character to his rule, he changed, contrary to the Mohammedan custom, the names of all his officers of state, from the Persian to the Sanscrit, and became a more rigid observer than ever of the duties of his religion, and more scrupulously observant of those rites prescribed to caste.

Shortly after this second coronation, the Moguls made an incursion into his dominions, which they had soon cause to regret. Sevajee entered into an alliance with the King of Golconda, and after that set out to recover the jaghire which his father had held and resided on in the Carnatic, and which, up to this time, had continued in the possession of his younger brother, Vincagee. He led to this expedition an army of seventy thousand men, composed of thirty thousand horse and forty thousand foot. His ally engaged to keep the armies of the emperor and of the King of Bejapore in check. Having made this provision for security from attack in his rear, he crossed the Kistna at Karnool, then marched through Cadassa, and passing close to Madras, presented himself at the gates of Gingee, a distance of six hundred miles from his territories. At an interview, to which he invited his brother, having failed to induce him to partition his possessions between them, he soon overran and occupied the entire jaghire. While thus engaged,

Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 503.

news reached him that the Moguls and an army from Bejapore had invaded the territories of his ally. An arrangement was made with his brother, who was to retain the possession of the jaghire by paying half the revenue to him, retaining himself the places which he had wrested from Bejapore. Ere he had reached the seat of war, peace was made with the Moguls, and Sevajee having conquered the districts of Belari and Adoni, returned to Raighur, after an absence of eighteen months, in 1678.

The Regent of Bejapore, who co-operated with the Moguls in their invasion of Golconda, died soon after; and Deelee Khan, probably the ablest of the imperial generals, succeeded in acquiring a complete ascendancy in the councils of that kingdom. Aurungzebe, always jealous of pre-eminence and suspicious of those in authority, sent his son Mausum as viceroy to the Deccan, and retained Deelee Khan as second in command. Deelee renewed the war against Bejapore, and the newly-appointed regent, in his difficulties, sought the alliance and aid of the successful Mahratta. Sevajee, considering that his force was no match for the army which the Mogul could bring into the field, determined on a course of action not less injurious to the enemy, and more safe and advantageous to himself; he utterly devastated the territories of the emperor, and captured several of his strongholds. In the meantime, the enemy were besieging the capital of Bejapore, and had reduced the garrison to such straits, that Sevajee was pressingly urged to hasten to its relief: whilst on his way, the intelligence was conveyed to him, that his son Sambajee had deserted to the enemy, and was well received. He shortly after repented, and became reconciled to his father. Sevajee, by this unexpected incident, was not diverted from his original intention, and Deelee Khan, finding his supplies cut off, was obliged to desist. In acknowledgment of his services, Sevajee was conceded the tract of country which lies between the rivers Toombudra and Kistna, and all the rights which the king had over the jaghire of Shahjee. This arrangement gave him a sovereign's rights over his brother, much to his mortification. The use which Sevajee might have made of this power is matter of conjecture, for unexpectedly and prematurely his career was ended. On the fifth of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age, he was removed from the scene of his labours and the stage of his ambition.

He was succeeded by his weak, cruel, and debauched son, Sambajee, who soon dissipated the treasures accumulated by his

father, and lost the attachment of his faithful, brave, and experienced chiefs. Akbar came to seek his aid. He kindly received him, but gave him no hopes of assistance. Although new taxes were imposed, the irregularity resulting from the relaxation of those fiscal enactments which the father had so judiciously imposed, deranged the revenues of the empire; and, as an inevitable consequence, "the army, whose pay was in arrear, appropriated the plunder taken in their expeditions, and degenerated, from the comparatively well regulated bands of Sevajee, into hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters, which they have ever since remained."*

In 1683 the complicated state of affairs in the Deccan influenced the emperor to visit it. One of his sons he sent to reduce the hill forts in the vicinity of the Chandor range and the Ghauts, and the other into the Concan, with orders to penetrate to the south of Sambajee's country, and to the frontiers of Bejapore. No opposition was given in the Concan, but the climate and the physical character of the country effected that which might have defied a powerful army. The invading force was composed chiefly of horse, and these were rendered useless, and eventually destroyed by the difficulties they were obliged to encounter. There were no supplies of forage and provender, nor roads; while their journey lay through rocks and jungles, all communication with the open sea was interrupted by the enemy's fleet. The toils of the march, the pernicious effects of the climate, the unusual character of the food, preyed heavily on the men; and when the advent of the rainy season compelled the army to betake itself to intrenchments, a virulent epidemic broke out, which cut off many. The contingent dispatched against the forts was also unsuccessful.

In the beginning of the next year, with the united remains of all the armies, the attack was renewed on Bejapore. The Mahrattas hung on their rear, and did incalculable injury. The army of Bejapore was ready to meet them face to face, and, thus hemmed in, the imperialists were conducted beyond the Rima.

The Moguls having been summoned to meet some danger in the south, the Mahrattas availed themselves of the opportunity to make an incursion into the territory in their rear, plundered the city of Baroche, and retired, having ravaged the adjacent district of Gujerat.

The emperor in the meantime turned his arms against the kingdom of Golconda, and after having reduced it to a humiliating state,

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 514.

on the payment of a large sum of money, he granted terms, and then directed his entire strength against the King of Bejapore. He captured the city, took the young king prisoner, and destroyed the monarchy (1686). The hollow peace recently entered into with Golconda was fraudulently broken now, without compunction, as soon as Aurungzebe had leisure for the completion of his designs. After a siege of seven months, bravely maintained, though the troops had deserted, Golconda fell by treachery. During this siege, Mausum incurred the displeasure of his father, and was committed to close confinement for a period of nearly seven years.

The destruction of the monarchies in the Deccan did not conduce to the establishment of a fixed and uniform rule, nor to the restoration of social order. The disbanded soldiers of both Golconda and Bejapore crowded to the standard of Sambajee, or formed themselves into predatory bands, who plundered at discretion, and laid waste the fields by their rapacity. An abhorrence of the conquerors pervaded every class of the community, and "from this motive and the new-born feeling of religious opposition, the subjects of these states were always ready to assist the enemies of the state; so that, in spite of a short gleam of prosperity after the fall of Golconda, Aurungzebe might date from that event a train of vexations and disasters which followed him to his grave."*

These transactions, and the predisposition of the natives of the neighbouring conquered kingdoms, did not incite the King of the Mahrattas to that course of action which it was his interest to pursue. The fact is, that Sambajee had ignobly sunk into a stupid state of mental imbecility, produced by a course of drunkenness and debauchery. Akbar, despairing of any aid in this quarter, retired, and repaired to Persia, where he sojourned till 1706. The Mahratta chiefs did not follow the example of their prince; they individually withstood the encroachments of the Mogul, but, in spite of their resistance, Aurungzebe was gradually attaching their territories, and was maturing arrangements for a combined and well-organized attack on their forts. The intrepidity of one of the Mogul officers placed at the mercy of the emperor the unfortunate Sambajee. This prince had retired, with some chosen convivial companions, to one of his favourite pleasure residences at Sangameswar, within fifty miles of one of the Mogul forts. The Mogul officer of this place surprised the Mahratta, who had sufficient intimation of his approach, but being in a state of beastly intoxication, he replied to the messenger by threatening him with punishment

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

for such insulting intelligence. In the hands of his enemy he was pressed to renounce his religion, but in this extremity he manifested some of the bold spirit of his race, and protested that death was to him preferable to the abnegation of his creed. His tone to the emperor was defiant, and his abuse of the Prophet equally insulting. Aurungzebe could not forgive the blasphemy, as he opined it to be. The unfortunate prince was condemned to death, and his execution was characterized with a barbarity which was foreign to the practice of Aurungzebe. His eyes were destroyed with a hot iron, his tongue cut out, and he was then beheaded. The feeble character of this prince was forgotten in the heartfelt resentment of his people for the atrocities inflicted upon him. His infant son, Saho, under the regency of his uncle, Rajah Ram, was raised to the vacant throne. His capital was shortly after seized by the enemy. He was made captive, and his guardian and a few followers had to fly in disguise to Gingee, in the Carnatic. A system of desultory warfare was ably organized and spiritedly carried on in the territories of the Mahrattas. The imperialists were recruited chiefly from Hindostan. The Mahrattas threw themselves between the Mogul army and that country, and succeeded in intercepting several convoys, defeated more than one detachment, and soon struck terror by the disasters inflicted on the enemy. The young king was, during this time, besieged in his city of Gingee, which held out during a siege of three years. At the expiration of that period, a bold and successful effort was made by the Mahrattas for the relief of their young king. Assembling an army of twenty thousand of their best men, Santajee, Gorpara, and Danajee Jadoo, so rapidly traversed the intervening country, that they surprised the besieging army, and cut off one of its divisions, plundered its camp, and made the commander prisoner, before they could prepare resistance; they then drove in the outposts, destroyed the foragers, and cut off all supplies and intelligence from the camp; the besiegers were soon compelled to blow up their cannon, desert their batteries, and to concentrate their forces on one point, where they threw up intrenchments, and were in turn besieged. This reverse served to stimulate the energies of the Moguls. New forces were embodied, and sent to the support of the imperialists; the consequence was, that Gingee was at length taken, 1698; but Rajah Ram, who had recently assumed the title of regent, had, by the collusion of the commander—his friend—of the enemy, escaped. Rajah Ram made his way back, and

had established his court at Sattara, and now assumed the active control of the whole government. He soon organized and led into the field the largest army ever yet embodied by the Mahrattas. He crossed to the north of the Godavery; levied tributes on such places as submitted, and ravaged the rest as far as Jalna in Berar. The emperor placed himself at the head of his army, and after capturing some strongholds, sat down before Sattara, which he, by a dextrous feint, succeeded in taking. Before it fell, the Rajah Ram died, and his son, Sevajee, succeeded, under the regency of his mother, Tara Bai. This event had little influence on the war. Aurungzebe, for the five following years, had taken all the principal forts from the Mahrattas. The vigour and ability displayed by the emperor, especially when his advanced years are considered, give him a claim on admiration. He was near sixty-five years old when he crossed the Nerbuddah to commence this long war, and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonment at Beermapoora. His zeal and ability did not, however, enable him to repress the increasing disorders of the realm; the Rajpoots and the Jats were in arms, and defeats and reverses seemed to produce no prejudicial effects upon the Mahrattas. As the imperialists' arms dissolved away, the Mahrattas seemed to multiply; the plains of the Deccan were laid waste, and Malwa and Gujerat had felt the pressure of their arms; the pillaged towns, the ravaged fields, and the smoking ruins of the depopulated villages, marked the track of the fierce invaders. Aurungzebe sought a retreat in Ahmednuggur. In this town he died, on the 21st of February, 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and fiftieth of his reign. He thus partitioned his empire among his three sons: the elder, Mausum, he recommends to be recognised as emperor, and he left him the northern and eastern provinces, with Delhi for his capital; to the younger Agra, with the countries to the south and south-west of it, including the Deccan, except the kingdoms of Golconda and Bejapore, which were bequeathed to his youngest son.

The treacherous means by which he had secured the throne embittered his declining years with the deepest remorse, and all his actions show that he acutely feared a similar fate. He was suspicious of all his sons. His strong religious bias made him apprehend a merited retribution, and also impelled him to the adoption of those narrow-minded measures which estranged the great mass of his subjects, and generated those disturbances which clouded the last years of his long and eventful reign.

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM THE DEATH OF AURUNGZEBE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

SHORTLY before the death of the Emperor Aurungzebe, his son, Azim Shah, had joined him, and was appointed to the government of Malwa. On the death of his father he, of the three surviving sons, was the nearest to the grand camp, and, in disregard of the superior claims of the elder, was proclaimed king, and his pretensions were maintained, not only by the army of the Deccan, but also by the army engaged against the Mahrattas under the command of Zoolfekar Khan.*

Prince Mausum, under the provisions of his father's will, as well as by the right of seniority, was proclaimed at Cabul, with the title of Bahador Shah. The claims of these rivals were decided in a battle fought to the south of Agra, in which Azim and two of his sons, who had attained their majority, were slain, and his younger, yet in infancy, was taken prisoner. The new emperor treated the defeated adherents of his brother with great clemency. His accession to the throne was hailed with satisfaction by the great body of his subjects, who were disgusted with the arrogance of Azim, and glad to be released from the austere sectarianism, and the expensive wars of the late emperor.

The Rajahs of Marwar and Jeypore, having received some cause of offence, withdrew conjointly from the imperial camp, and entered into a league to resist the Mogul authority. Bahador Shah felt the importance of crushing this confederacy before it was matured, and as soon as affairs were arranged in the Deccan, he proceeded to Rajasthan. On his march intelligence reached him that Sirhind had fallen into the hands of the Sikhs, and that the unsettled state of the Punjaub demanded his presence. To conciliate the rajahs previous to his advance was his first concern. In this he succeeded.

The Sikhs, whose successes diverted the emperor's course to the north, were originally a religious sect, founded by Nanik, towards the close of the fifteenth century. Nanik was a deist, and the leading tenet of his creed was universal toleration; he had no other object in view than the reconciliation of the faiths of the Mohammedans and Hindoos.† His principles are contained in the *Adi-Granth*,‡ a work written by him, and highly

venerated by his disciples: "the great eminence which he obtained, and the success with which he combated the opposition with which he met, afforded ample reason to conclude that he was a man of more than common genius."* He was succeeded by his son Arjunmal, who, through the envious hostility of the Mohammedans, was persecuted, and is said by some to have died from the severities imposed upon him in his confinement, but according to others he was put to death in the most cruel manner. The Sikhs, who had till then been a quiet and inoffensive sect, looked upon his death as an atrocious murder, and, under the command of his son Har Govind, rose up in arms and fearfully avenged him, and the fiercest hatred was perpetuated between both parties. Govind is stated to have worn two swords in his girdle, and on being interrogated about this singular practice, he replied, "The one is to revenge the death of my father; the other to destroy the miracles of Mohammed." To subserve the aims of his lofty ambition, his efforts were directed to destroy those distinctions of caste which deprive the great mass of the Hindoos of those ennobling stimulants without which man must always be a degraded animal, and the absence of which was the security of the Moslems, who formed but a comparatively small section of the population. He threw open to all the lowest as well as the highest the prospect of distinction, power, and glory. The lowly Sudra, the scavenger, might aspire to the same rank as the highest caste Brahmin. He changed the name of his followers from Sikh to Singh, or lion, a title previously exclusively confined to the noble Rajpoots, the first military class of Hindoos; and thus he succeeded in making every man look upon himself as inferior to no other. Every man was a sworn soldier from the time of his initiation, was bound to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow, and neither to clip or remove the hair on any part of his body.

book was compiled from the writings of Nanik, Anyad, Amera, Das, and Ram Das, by Arjunmal, the son of Nanik. It was enlarged and improved by his own additions and commentaries; some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose number is, however, reduced to twelve and a half by the Sikh authors—the last contributor, being a woman, is admitted to rank in the list as a fraction only by these ungallant writers!—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 212, note.

* *Ibid.*, p. 208.

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 416.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 206.

‡ *Granth* means book, but in the same way as Bible is applied to the volume which contains the Old and New Testaments, it is emphatically applied to this book. The

The dietary observances, imposed on Hindoo and Moslem, he abolished, with an exception—the slaughter of cows; the customary forms of worship were forbidden; new forms of salutation, and new ceremonies on all memorable occasions were substituted for the old. The habits, manners, and feelings were reformed, and new moral and physical aspects produced, which became singularities, and constituted a distinct national character. Elphinstone describes the Sikhs as tall and thin, dark for a northern people, active horsemen, and good matchlock-men. Their valour has been recently tried, and also their fidelity. They have ceased to be fanatics, and have become soldiers.*

When Bahador Shah had his attention drawn to them they were commanded by an enterprising chief, named Badoo, who, to the ardour of a zealot, united a most sanguinary temperament and daring counsels. His path proclaimed his ruthless character. The blood of the mullahs crimsoned the smouldering ruins of temples. The young and the old, the feeble and the vigorous, were indiscriminately slaughtered, and their carcasses thrown to satiate the vulture appetites of birds and beasts. Sirhind, as has been said, was the chief arena of these atrocities, but the route of the fanatics, from the Sutlej and Jumna eastward to Seharunpore, was to be traced by similar outrages. Bahador compelled them to seek safety in the tract of country on the upper course of the Sutlej, between Loodiana and the mountains, which it appears was then their settlement. They were pursued to their haunts; Badoo was compelled at length to seek refuge in one of the mountain forts. Here he was besieged, and all supplies being cut off, was reduced to great extremities. The last faint hope left to the besieged was the desperate chance of cutting their way through the enemy. From this and its consequences they did not shrink; they made a determined sally. Several fell in the encounter; the fort was captured. A person who distinguished himself, and was obviously directing the movements of the besieged, and cheering them on to the conflict, and appeared to be the chief, was made prisoner, and carried off in triumph, but on closer examination he was discovered to be a Hindoo convert, who thus attracted attention to facilitate the escape of Badoo. Bahador, after achieving this success, retired to Lahore, where he died (1712), in the fifth year of his reign, and seventy-first of his age.

Jehandur Shah, not without opposition from his younger brothers, ascended the throne. He had made an alliance which was

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 564.

offensive to his subjects, and more especially to the nobility; he aggravated his error by bestowing places of the greatest emoluments on the relatives of his wife, who had been a dancing girl. His want of popularity emboldened his ambitious vizier to arrogate to himself much consequence and power, and to treat with haughty indifference his royal master. This prince, to ensure his own safety, according to many Indian precedents, put to death all the princes of the blood within his reach. Among those who were fortunate enough to escape was his nephew, Ferokshere, who was fortunately in Bengal when Bahador Shah died. He sought the protection of Syed Hosein Ali, the governor of Bahar, and was hospitably received. This chief and his brother, Syed Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, warmly espoused the interests of this young prince. An army was soon enrolled, and in a decisive engagement, in which the imperial forces amounted to seventy thousand men, Jehandur and his vizier were defeated. The unfortunate emperor was then delivered by his faithless minister into the hands of the conqueror. The vizier received the recompence he merited: he was strangled before he left the imperial tent, and Jehandur shared the same fate, February 4, 1713.

Ferokshere, whose preservation and success were due to the fidelity and abilities of the two Syeds, was not forgetful of what he owed to them. Abdullah was made vizier, and Hosein, Ameer al Omra* (chief of chiefs). These brothers, as the name Syed denotes, were descendants of the Prophet. This harmony was of short duration, and the emperor soon began to devise means of ruining his benefactors. Hosein was first sent to chastise the Rajah of Marwar, Ajeet Singh, whose escape from Delhi has been previously recorded. The latter was spirited on by the Mogul to an obstinate resistance. Fully apprehensive of the dangers which might be created by his prolonged absence, Hosein offered advantageous terms, and at the same time honourable to himself as to his opponent, who readily accepted them. He then returned to court. Here he soon discovered the insincerity of the king's professions, and that for him and his brother there was no security but in arms. The Syeds assembled their troops about their palaces, and refused to attend the court. They shortly after possessed themselves of the gates of the citadel, in which was the emperor's palace, and then proposed terms of reconciliation. Mir Jumlah, a mean intriguing, but far from able favourite, and detested by the Syeds, was sent from the court as governor to Bahar—Abdullah

* Omrah, chiefs, is the plural of ameer or emir, chief.

was confirmed in his office as vizier; Hosein was appointed to the important government of the Deccan, and proceeded without delay to that distant province. On his departure he threatened the king that, should any hostile proceedings be taken against his brother's authority, he should present himself in Delhi within fifteen weeks of the intelligence reaching him. Daood Khan was nominated to a command in Hosein's army. This man was renowned throughout India for his reckless courage, he was also an enemy to the Syeds, to whom he attributed the death of his friend, the late vizier. He was privately instructed to hasten to Candeish, to carry with him all the troops he could collect, and form an alliance secretly with the Mahratta chiefs, and, on the first opportunity, to compass the destruction of Hosein. The spirit of these instructions he observed, and in a short time set Hosein at open defiance, and met him in the field to decide their quarrel. The victory inclined to Daood. Hosein's troops, disconcerted and thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the charge, fled in every direction, the person of Hosein was in imminent danger from an attack led by Daood, when a ball through the head of the latter deprived him of victory and life. Hosein concealed his cognizance of the part the emperor had in this matter (1716).

During the interval which elapsed from the lately repressed movements of the Sikhs up to the present time, they had been recovering from their disaster, and maturing their strength for a renewal of the war with the Mohammedans. Badoo had emerged from his mountain fastnesses, and having succeeded in defeating one of the imperial armies, he pillaged the country, with his usual effect. His progress was soon checked. He suffered repeated defeats from a new force that was sent against him, and eventually, with his chiefs and a great number of his followers, was made prisoner. Seven hundred and forty, with their chief, were forwarded to Delhi. Seated on camels they were paraded through the streets. In derision of their hirsute appearance, they were covered with black sheepskins, with the woolly side out; and having been subjected to the jeers and taunts of the multitude, were beheaded on seven successive days. They maintained their proud bearing to the last, and refused to barter their opinions for their lives. The fate reserved for the chief is too excruciating to be described. The reported atrocities of the late mutiny are no exaggerations of it. Those Sikhs who were still at large were hunted like wolves, and their strength so much reduced that it is only

recently they recovered from the blows then inflicted.

When Hosein was at liberty, by the defeat of Daood, to turn his arms against the Mahrattas, internal dissensions raged amongst them; yet parties of them still continued to ravage the Mogul territory, and some of them seized on several of the villages, converted them into forts, and under their shelter plundered the adjoining districts, and had actually intercepted the communication by the great road from Hindostan and the Deccan to Surat. The state of affairs at Delhi demanded Hosein's presence there. He therefore conceded the most favourable terms to the Rajah Saho. By these all the territories possessed by Sevajee, together with those recently acquired, were secured to him; the forts taken from him restored, and a fourth of the revenues of all the Deccan; and further payment of one tenth on the remaining revenue. In return Saho was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to supply fifteen thousand horse, to preserve the peace of the country, and to make good any loss occasioned by depredations, by whomsoever made.* Ferokshere indignantly refused to ratify these stipulations (1717).

Abdullah secretly urged his brother to hasten with his forces to Delhi, as his situation was becoming daily more precarious. On his arrival Hosein marched into the city, seized on the vacillating monarch, and privately put him to death.

The Syeds placed on the vacant throne a young prince of the blood, to whom they gave the title of Rafi-u-Dirjat. He died, in three months after, of consumption; and was succeeded by another youth, Rafi-u-Doula, who filled the throne for a shorter period still, and died in May, 1719.

The object which the Syeds proposed to themselves in the elevation of these princes, was to virtually retain in their own hands the sovereign authority, and to use these nominal emperors merely as instruments. They had been both educated in the recesses of the seraglio, had shared the feelings and sympathies of its inmates, and were disqualified to discharge the duties of the crown. The next selection was of a prince of a more robust constitution, and though educated like his predecessors, he had the good fortune of having for his mother a woman of no ordinary ability, and he inherited her better qualities.

Roushen Akhteo was placed on the throne (1719), and assumed the title of Mohammed Shah. The untimely deaths of the two last sovereigns subjected the Syeds to very grave suspicions, in no small degree corroborated

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 445.

by the well-known murder of Ferokshere; in consequence they had become odious, and their destruction was speculated on by the people. The brothers had not the prescience to foresee the coming storm, certainly they did not provide for it; they insanely quarrelled, and many of their adherents withdrew from them, and their weakness began to be felt at home and abroad. The Hindoo governor of Allahabad rebelled. Hosein proceeded against him, and he obliged him to return to his allegiance. In lieu of this government Oude was substituted. There were revolts also in Kosoor and the Punjaub, and a religious war in Cashmere, attended by the loss of several thousand lives, and the sacrifice of a considerable share of property. The aspect of affairs in the Deccan was the most serious of all: an enterprising Turk, with the imposing title of Nizam-ool-Moolk (regulator of the state), established an independent sovereignty. He and his descendants have occupied a distinguished and prominent place among the princes of India in its subsequent history. The successes which attended the arms of this prince, in his successive wars with the Syeds, was viewed with pleasure by Mohammed Shah, who was anxious to be relieved from their restraint. He defeated the imperialists, with the loss of their general, Alam Ali, the nephew of the Syeds, at the battle of Ballapore, in Berar, June, 1720. The emperor, guided by the advice of his mother, prudently refrained from giving any grounds of dissatisfaction or suspicion to the Syeds, and cautiously awaited the opportunity to assert with safety his independence. Privately a party was formed, with the concurrence of the emperor, for his liberation, the chief agents in which were Mohammed Amin Khan and Sadat Khan, originally a merchant of Khorassan, who had risen to a high military post, and was the progenitor of the royal family of Oude. The result of this was, that Hosein was assassinated in his tent, on his march to the Deccan, and the emperor assumed the government. Abdullah, who assembled a formidable army to avenge his brother's fall, was defeated, the same year, in a battle fought between Delhi and Agra, and fell himself into the hands of his enemies. His life was spared, probably in reverence for his presumed descent from the Prophet Mohammed.

The success of the emperor did not secure the peace of the country nor the stability of the throne. The inherent evils of the Mogul government were every day becoming more manifest, and furnishing daily fresh evidence of the rapid decline of that incongruous monarchy. Ajit Singh, who had been re-

moved from his government of Gujerat, took up arms and marched on Delhi, nor was his advance stopped until his demands were conceded and secured to him, in 1721.

In the commencement of the year 1722 Asof Jah* was summoned to court to fill the office of vizier. Although a man of great abilities and promptitude, he was not able to command the confidence of his sovereign, nor the respect of his courtiers. Brought up in the austere observances of the court of Aurungzebe, his manners and dress were the sources of amusement and jest to the dissolute associates of the indolent and effeminate emperor. To remove him from attendance at the seat of government, when his presence had become odious, he was dispatched to chastise the refractory governor of Gujerat. In this mission he was eminently successful; and having reduced the province, he retained the government of it, and returned to Delhi.

Shortly after this Rajah Jei Singh was appointed governor of Agra, to avenge the murder of the deputy-governor of that province by the Jats.

The vizier did not long endure the disagreeabilities of his situation; he threw up his office, and returned to the Deccan. The emperor privately spirited on the governor of Hyderabad to make an attempt to dispossess him; his compliance eventuated in his destruction. He was defeated and slain in 1724.

During these later years the Mahrattas were perseveringly extending their territories, and wisely consolidating their power; the management of their affairs was in very able hands. Saho, the king of the Mahrattas, though placed upon the throne by the Moguls, had incurred their displeasure, and they lent the aid of their arms to his rival Samba, whom they supported from 1713 to 1716. The depressed fortunes of Saho owed their recovery to the consummate ability of his minister, Balajee Wiswanat. He rose from the condition of an accountant to the office of peishwa, the second next to the throne. This able minister obtained the ratification of a treaty from Mohammed Shah in 1720, by which, in addition to other advantages, he had the authority of Saho recognised, and his ascendancy over his rival Samba established; and before his death, which happened in this year, "he had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign placed above the assaults of enemies either foreign or domestic."†

* *Asof Jah* is a title commonly given to viziers; it signifies in place and rank as Asof, who they say was Solomon's vizier.—FRASER'S *Life of Nadir Shah*, p. 64, note. Second edition.

† Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 596. Thornton, vol. i. p. 71.

This great man was succeeded by his son, Bajee Rao, a greater man still, and inferior in ability to none of his countrymen except Sevajee. Apprehending some danger by retaining at home the numerous corps of horse, so useful in war, and conscious that the establishment of a military command would insure an efficient internal government, he induced his sovereign to prepare for the invasion of the northern province. He had sagely concluded, from a consideration of the then state of the Mogul empire, that it was rotten to the core. "Let us strike," said he, "the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." And on another occasion he enthusiastically exclaimed to the rajah, "You shall plant your standard on the Himalaya." Shortly after operations were energetically commenced. He ravaged Malwa, and wrung from the Moguls a grant of the chout and *sirdesmuki*. At the close of the rainy season of 1727 he made an incursion into the territories of Asof, and marched on Boorhanpore. His course was diverted to Gujerat by the approach of Asof, now openly supported by Samba. He devastated that district with fire and sword. Samba was soon after reduced to submission (1730). He left Samba's son, still an infant, under the guardianship of his mother, on condition of the payment of half the produce through the peishwa to the government. Peelajee Geikwar, the ancestor of the present royal family of Gujerat, was left to administer his territories for the infant prince.

It may be well to mention here that, it was about this period most of the great families of the Mahrattas had their origin. When Bajee Rao marched into Malwa, the chief appointments were conferred on Udajee Porar, Malhar Rao Holkar, and Ranajee Scindiah. The first mentioned possessed a territory on the borders of Gujerat and Malwa, about Dhar, but never rose to such power as his colleagues or their descendants. Holkar was a shepherd on the Nira, south of Poonah; and Scindiah, though of a respectable family near Sattara, was in the humble position of a menial servant to the peishwa. None of them was, as was previously, usually, the case in the Mahratta army, the captain of his own followers, but held commissions from, and acting under the orders of, the peishwa.

After a long protracted contest, the peishwa and Asof Khan, convinced that it would subserve their mutual interests, entered into a compromise. In 1732 Bajee Rao entered Malwa in person, and prosecuted the war with such signal success, that, in the second year after, 1734, it was surrendered to him with the tacit consent of the emperor, from whom the territory was, nominally, held. These

concessions did not satiate his ambition; he prosecuted his appropriations with increased vigour, and at length insisted on the grant of a jaghire comprising the province of Malwa, and all the country south of the Chambul, together with the sacred cities of Muttra, Allahabad, and Benares. These demands were deemed too exorbitant even by the feeble emperor, and, in all probability, led to the reconciliation between him and Asof Jah, who now began to apprehend that he had more to fear from his weakness than he had formerly from his enmity. During the negotiations which led to this understanding, Bajee Rao was not inactive, he was engaged in ravaging the country beyond the Jumna; and though he received a severe check from Sadat Khan, the governor of Oude, he adroitly managed to escape the observation of the imperial army, and suddenly quitting the neighbourhood of the Jumna, and passing fourteen miles to the right of the Moguls, by extraordinary forced marches he suddenly and unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Delhi. This rapid and alarming approach to the capital, on his own evidence, appears to have been suggested by the fame which Sadat Khan had acquired by his recent victory over him. Nothing was talked of at Delhi but the hero who had, his panegyrists asserted, driven the Mahrattas back to the Deccan. "I was resolved," says Bajee Rao, "to tell the emperor the truth, to prove to him that I was still in Hindostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital."*

The Mahratta on this occasion acted with great moderation. On reflection, he abandoned his intention of surrendering Delhi to the pillage of his soldiers, and withdrew to a distance to deprive them of the opportunity. On his retrograde march he was ill-advisedly attacked by a body of eight thousand imperialists, whom he repelled with the loss of six hundred men. The vizier, who had been reinforced by Sadat Khan, was on his march to the relief of the capital, and Bajee Rao thought it prudent to fall back on the Deccan, where the state of public affairs demanded his presence (1737). After his retreat, Asof Jah was invested with full powers, and the governments of Malwa and Gujerat were conferred on his son. To such a low ebb was the empire, by this time, reduced, that, with the absolute powers entrusted to him, and the prestige of his name, he could press into his service not more than thirty-four thousand men. He resolved to march against the peishwa, who was at the head of eighty thousand. The imperialists were reinforced by several contingents, and were not,

* Duff's, *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 532.

numerically, inferior to their foes. Though advantageously posted, and under the protection of the strong fort of Bopal, his communications with his reserve were intercepted by the harassing attacks of the Mahrattas, and his losses were severe. To such extremities were the Moguls reduced, that Asof Jah engaged to cede the whole of the Malwa and the sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddah and the Chambul, to obtain a confirmation of it from the emperor, and a payment of fifty lacs of rupees to defray Bajee Rao's expenses * (1738). Asof Jah then proceeded unmolested to Delhi, and the peishwa took possession of the territories conceded to him; but before the treaty, he had entered into, could possibly have received the confirmation of the emperor, one of those unexpected visitations which, in the declining state of a distracted and effete government, cap the climax of misrule and disorder, in its overwhelming consequences absorbed all other considerations:—this was the invasion of Nadir Shah, otherwise called Thamas Khoolee Kahn, one of the most savage of the ruthless oriental conquerors.

Nadir Shah, like the founders of Rome, was originally a shepherd, he collected around him a band of freebooters, and appeared as the deliverer of his country. This occurred at the critical time when the Sophis were supplanted on the throne of Persia by the Affghans. The last prince of that dynasty was obliged to seek an asylum amongst the tribe of Kajar, on the confines of the Caspian; and the first gleam of good fortune that fell on his exile, was the adherence of this rising adventurer. As an advocate of the royal cause, he was enabled, without exciting jealousy or suspicion, to enrol an army and prepare the way for the realization of his own dreams of ambition. The ability which he displayed in his new position, the success which crowned his arms, the apparent loyalty of his proceedings and aims, appealed to the national and religious feelings of the Persians, and from a state of abject inactivity he imperceptibly, but successfully, infused into all a spirit of self-reliance, a confidence in their resources, and a passion for military glory and the re-assertion of the supremacy of Persia. The Affghans were fearlessly encountered and signally defeated, in 1729. The consequences were that Ispahan, the capital, was recovered, and the usurpers chased into Affghanistan; Ashref, who had been placed by them upon the throne, was murdered by a Belochee chief near Candahar. He then turned his arms against the Turks, who, during the wane of the power of

the Sophis, had acquired large possessions in the western provinces of Persia. He had already recovered Tabreez, when he was called off by a rising in Candahar. After a siege of ten months, he took possession of Herat, and reduced the province; the Abdallees, who predominated there, and whose form of belief he embraced, were ever after the most devoted of his followers. He had now established his influence, and had attached the army, as well as the Abdallees, to his interests; he therefore determined to affect no longer to rule in his master's name. With his victorious army he marched to the plain of Moghan, and there convened an assembly of the leading men of Persia, both civil and military, to the number of one hundred thousand, and by their unanimous suffrages was proclaimed the sovereign of the kingdom (1736).

Soon after his elevation he led an army of eighty thousand men into Candahar, from which he expelled the Kiljees (1738); during this campaign he settled the greater part of the surrounding country, and his son, Reza Culi Mirza, who had marched against the Uzbecks, conquered the province of Balk, and defeated the King of Bokhara in person in an engagement on the Oxus. While Nadir Shah was thus occupied, several of the chiefs, in the decline of their fortunes, sought refuge in Hindostan, whose surrender he repeatedly demanded without any satisfactory result. This was conduct he was not disposed to tolerate; he therefore resolved to march on Ghizni and Cabul. Fraser states that he was encouraged to this invasion by letters from Nizam-ool-Moolk and Sadat Khan.* An ambassador whom he had sent to Delhi was attacked and killed, together with his escort, by the inhabitants of Jellalabad; the hesitation which he may have previously felt, was put to flight by this outrage. Furious with rage, he burst into Lahore at the head of a formidable army. Jellalabad suffered all the punishment he could inflict.† Almost unmolested he passed through the mountain district between Cabul and Peshawur, and met with nothing like opposition till he arrived on the banks of the Jumna, at a place called Kornal, within one hundred miles of Delhi, where he found himself in the face of an army led by the emperor Mohammed Shah in person, attended by the Nizam, Sadat Khan, and the principal nobility. An attempt to intercept Sadat Khan, who had arrived from his viceroyalty of Oude about the same time as Nadir Shah, brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. Their

* P. 129. This statement is not at all probable.

† Gleig's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 263.

* Euff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 612.

close order and perfect discipline secured the victory to the Persians; Sadat Khan was taken prisoner, a vizier was mortally wounded, and thousands of the imperialists fell in the fight. The defeat was so complete that the Moguls had neither the courage nor the means to sustain further opposition. Through the treachery of Sadat Khan, whose fidelity seems to have been shaken by the frustration of his designs on the office of vizier by the superior influence of the nizam, the latter, as well as the unfortunate Mohammed, was brought into the enemy's hands, and the conqueror marched on Delhi. Nadir Shah's object seems to have been the acquisition of portable wealth, not of immovable territories; from the commencement of this invasion he professed that he was animated with pure zeal for Islam, and friendship for the emperor; that he could never have imagined the wretches (the Mahrattas) of the Deccan should impose a tribute on the dominions of the king of Mussulmen. He assured the emperor that the object of his approach was, that when the infidels moved towards Hindostan, he would be able to send his victorious army to drive them into the abyss of hell; he reminded him that history is full of instances of the friendship that had subsisted between the princes of his nation and the sovereigns of Delhi. He added a solemn oath that, excepting friendship and a concern for religion, he had no other views; and he concluded the letter here quoted with this assurance, "I always was and will be a friend to your illustrious house." The greatest order was preserved for two days after the capital had been possessed by the Persians, and commands of the most peremptory character were issued, to "spare no punishments, such as cutting off ears and noses, and bamboozing to death whoever molested the Indians, for which reason neither high nor low durst injure any of the natives."* On the night of the second a report was spread that Nadir Shah was taken prisoner and poisoned. The Delhians rose *en masse*, made an attack on the detached troops of the Persians, and cut off several of them. The following morning Nadir Shah appeared in the streets, on horseback, to disabuse the people of their false impression, and to quell the mob, who were perpetrating the excesses, by the mildest means possible: while thus engaged, a musket was designedly discharged at him, and killed one of the officers who stood next to him.† His passion being thus excited, permission was given to the soldiers to kill and plunder without re-

straint. One wide-spread scene of butchery and pillage was presented by the capital. Both sexes were indiscriminately put to the sword; the city was fired in various quarters, and for the space of twelve hours suffered all the miseries an infuriated and avaricious soldiery could, in the vengeance of the worst passions, inflict. A little before sunset Nadir Shah forbade further destruction—such was the discipline of his army, that within a quarter of an hour all outrages had ceased, and not a Persian was to be seen in the street. The number who fell victims, on this occasion, is variously stated at 150,000, 120,000, 30,000, down to 8000; the number must have been enormous, as twenty thousand Persians were engaged in the massacre. The imperial treasures, including the celebrated peacock throne, and the entire effects of several of the nobility, fell into the hands of the plunderers.

Nadir Shah, during his stay of fifty-eight* days, exercised all the rights of a sovereign, and imposed heavy contributions upon all ranks and classes. The amount of the booty in the hands of the conquerors is calculated at thirty-two millions of our money. He reinstated Mohammed on the throne, and addressed firmans to several of the rajahs, and among the rest to Bajee Rao, informing them of this act, and that he considered Mohammed as a brother, whose commands they all should obey, and did they not, he would return with his army and inflict punishment upon them.†

During these transactions, Sadat Khan died of a cancer in the back. This circumstance contributed to the further aggrandizement of his old rival the nizam, whose son was elevated to the distinction of Amecr-ool-Omra, and one of his dependents to the post of vizier. The nizam, however, was obliged to absent himself from court, to check the presumption of his son Nazir Jung, who had asserted his independence; Nazir was overthrown and order restored.

During the Persian campaign and temporary occupation, the Mahrattas, though not immediately involved, abstained from the prosecution of their designs on the empire; nor did Bajee Rao press for the ratification of the treaty so lately completed with Asof Jah. He wisely concluded that all intestine claims should be suspended, while the general safety was threatened by so terrible an antagonist as Nadir Shah. "Our domestic quarrels," he writes, "are now insignificant, there is but one enemy in Hindostan."‡

* Craig says thirty-seven. *History of India*, vol. i. p. 266.

† Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 550.

‡ Duff, vol. i. p. 547.

* Fraser, translation of a letter from Nadir Shah to Mohammed Shah, p. 138.

† Idem, p. 173.

"Hindoos and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deccan must assemble." That storm having passed away, he renewed his demands, and insisted on the formal ratification of the agreement with Asof Jah. He selected the Deccan as the theatre on which he would enforce his claim. He was not attended with his usual success. He was defeated, and involved in difficulties from which he was never afterwards extricated; he, on this occasion, describes himself as overwhelmed with debts and disappointments, and thankful if he could meet death.* He was shortly rescued from his troubles in accordance with his wish. Returning to Hindostan, for what object is not told, he expired on the Nerbuddah, April 28th, 1740, and was succeeded by Belajee Rao, as peishwa. This was not effected without strong opposition from some powerful and inveterate enemies of his father, but he baffled their intrigues by the aid of his uncle, Chimnajee, who commanded a portion of the late Bajee Rao's troops. Belajee, though not possessing the abilities of his father, was not his inferior in address, and was his superior as a financier. He soon accomplished the liquidation of all monetary claims upon him, which arose principally from Bajee's embarrassments. When this was arranged, he directed his attention to the recovery of some lands in Hindostan, which had been encroached upon by his enemy and rival, Ragoojee. He crossed the Nerbuddah, but was recalled from a campaign, which he was prosecuting with singular success, by an invasion of Malwa by Damajee Geikwar from Gujerat, another enemy of his house. This expedition was made as a diversion in favour of Ragoojee, and on the approach of Belajee, the invaders speedily retired. Being now in possession of that province, and having an effective and well-appointed force at his command, and no work to do, he thought it a favourable opportunity to exact from the emperor a confirmation of the grant of that province, extorted from Asof Jah by Bajee Rao, his claims to which had remained in suspense during the Persian invasion. The occasion was favourable to the accomplishment of his requirement. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, apprehensive of the attacks of Ragoojee, and alarmed for the safety of his government, readily secured the aid of Belajee on his own terms; the grant of Malwa was confirmed, and the peishwa fulfilled his part of the agreement, by immediately marching by Allahabad and Bahar, and met the Ragoojee, approaching from the southwest, in time to save Murshidabad, the capital

* Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i. p. 547; Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 634.

of the province, from attack. Ragoojee retired at his approach, but was pursued and defeated with the loss of all his baggage. Belajee was now earnestly devoted to the promotion of the emperor's interests, having recently received the payment of an assignment, granted to him by the emperor, on the revenues of Bengal. Having swept his enemies from that quarter, he returned to Malwa and thence to Sattara.

His arrival could not have been more opportune; Ragoojee, with the co-operation of his friend Damajee Geikwar, was on full march to his capital. This confederacy must have been formidable to him, judging by the enormous price which he paid to ensure its dissolution. He conceded to Ragoojee the tribute claimed by him from Bengal, Bahar, Allahabad, and Oude. This negotiation, however, was advantageous to the peishwa; the attention of his most formidable enemy was diverted from his territories to the east, where he soon found occupation enough for himself and his troops. On the side of the Deccan no annoyance was given to the Mahrattas by the Moguls. Asof Khan, after suppressing the revolt of his son, had enough of work to do in the regulation of the affairs of the subordinate government of Arcot, till his death, in 1748, at the advanced age of a hundred and four. The contentions amongst his sons, which succeeded that event, will be noticed in treating of the French and English in India.

Saho Rajah did not long survive this veteran chief. Having no children of his own, he adopted, as is the custom of the Hindoos, the Rajah of Calapore as his successor. This was an arrangement diametrically opposed to the ambitious schemes of the peishwa. Saho had become so imbecile, that, unable to act independently, he had yielded completely to the control of his wife, Sawatree Bae, who detested the peishwa, and was not only a supporter of the Rajah of Calapore's pretensions, but also closely related to him. The peishwa, to counteract these powerful influences, had recourse to a deep-laid and crafty scheme. The widow of Rajah Ram, the old rival claimant of the crown, was still living, and had for a long time spiritedly maintained the pretensions of her son, Sevajee the second, in opposition to Saho; to her Bajee had recourse, and though the old lady was far advanced in years and still retained her animosity against him and his family, her ambition was still sufficiently alive to make her embrace any measure which promised to restore her influence. Information was secretly conveyed to Saho, that a posthumous son of Sevajee was living. The

king communicated his supposed discovery to the peishwa, and suggested the prudence of instituting a strict inquiry into the matter, and, in order to sift it well, to subject Tara Bae to an examination. The evidence of Tara Bae corroborated the story; but the whole was treated as a fiction by the queen and the partizans of the Rajah of Calapore. The queen knew the extent of her power over the king, and had very little apprehension of being circumvented in this matter, as the ceremony of adoption was one which should be performed publicly. She had a man to deal with too cunning of fence for her *finesse*. The peishwa maintained that the rajah had signed an instrument transferring to him all the powers of the government, provided he maintained the royal dignity and title in the house of Sevajee, through the grandson of Tara Bae. On the death of Saho, acting on this authority, he proclaimed the grandson under the title of Ram Rajah. A council of the great chiefs confirmed this proceeding, and favours were liberally bestowed amongst them to insure their adherence. With several others, Ragoojee Bosla, Scindiah, and Holkar, were recipients of those favours to a large amount.

Sawatri Bae, the wife of Saho, was artfully induced, by an appeal to her pride, to immolate herself on the funeral pile of her husband; thus was removed out of Belajee's way an ambitious, intriguing, and dangerous enemy. The peishwa was not enabled to effect this revolution without opposition. Attempts were made at insurrection, and a quarrel provoked between him and his cousin Sedasheo Bhao. A reconciliation was at length effected. One of his first steps, when freed from the apprehended dangers of opposition, was to transfer the seat of government to Poonah, but he left the nominal king, Ram Rajah, at Sattara, in perfect freedom, under the control of Tara Bae; splendid provision was made for his maintenance.

The intrigues at court which preceded and followed the late king's death, had restrained the peishwa from availing himself of the favourable opportunities which, at this crisis, presented of extending his conquests in the Deccan, left completely exposed by the withdrawal of the armies of that province to prosecute the war in the Carnatic. The eldest son of the late Asof Jah, Gazeeood-Deen, had opened negotiations with him for his support against his younger brother Salabat Jung, who was in possession of the family inheritance. The peishwa agreed to support his pretensions; he marched into the nizam's territories, and was in the neighbourhood of Salabat's army when intelligence,

from home, reached him, of such an alarming character that he was obliged to hasten back to encounter the powerful confederacy which threatened the frustration of all his schemes of ambition.

No sooner had Belajee departed on this expedition than the old intriguante, Tara Bae, who had never ceased to entertain the bitterest enmity for him, began to plot his downfall. She first appealed to the young king, and used every persuasion to incite him to vindicate his independence, and get rid of his servant, who, she said, had actually become his master. Finding him impervious to her arguments and incentives, she began to dissimulate, in order to disarm him of his suspicions. She then applied, through her emissaries, to Damajee Geikwar, and suggested to him an immediate march to Sattara. He eagerly listened to her suggestions, led an army into the field, and avowed his intentions of rescuing the rajah and the Mahrattas from the rule of the Brahmins. On Damajee's approach, she seized on the person of the young rajah, reproached him with his pusillanimity, expressed her regret for having rescued him from ignominious obscurity, and ended by branding him as an impostor, and undertook the management of the kingdom.

The adherents of the peishwa, who were ignorant of the negotiations entered into by Tara Bae with Damajee and the march of his army, treated these proceedings as the aberrations of a mad old woman, but when the armed battalions of her ally made their appearance to enforce her authority, they appeared far more serious, and they fled precipitately from the threatened city to the village of Arla, on the banks of the Kistna, where they set up their standard. Although their forces soon reached to twenty thousand fighting men, they were defeated by an inferior number of the army of Gujerat. The character lost, in this discomfiture, was retrieved before the arrival of the peishwa, by an attack on the invaders, which succeeded in forcing them to retire to Jore Khora. In thirteen days Belajee had concluded a march of four hundred miles, and was now at hand. However, the issue was not committed to the sword. Damajee was artfully inveigled, his relatives captured, his camp treacherously stormed, and himself immersed in a dungeon in Poonah.

The defeat of her accomplice did not disarm Tara Bae. She refused to surrender the fort and the rajah, and induced every man in the garrison to bind himself by the most solemn oaths to stand by her to the last. A great majority of the Mahrattas recognising her as the rightful regent, Belajee prudently concluded that it would be politic to abstain

from driving her to extremities. It is more than probable that her escape was in no small degree attributable to the invasion of the territories of the Mahrattas by Salabat Jung, whose system of warfare was conducted on their own model. Since the days of Aurungzebe, a more formidable army was not seen in that quarter. It was accompanied by a French subsidiary force of five hundred men, and of five thousand disciplined and well-appointed sepoys, under the command of M. Bussy, the most distinguished French officer, who has commanded in the far East, and to whose superior skill the Moguls are stated to have entrusted the management of the war. Belajee was no match for this able officer; defeat followed defeat; the enemy were within twenty miles of Poonah; and to aggravate this troubled state of matters, the invaders were in communication with his other enemies, Tara Bae and the Rajah of Calapore. There seemed no hope of escaping the fury of this storm but by abject submission. To a happy combination of fortuitous circumstances, he owed his almost miraculous escape. With his superior abilities, Bussy was dependant on the resources of Prince Salabat, whose finances were now in a state of derangement; the troops were in arrear, and murmuring for their pay; the dissatisfaction became general, and the army was nearly ungovernable. At the same time Ragoojee Bosla, who had previously got possession of Cuttack, and a concession, by the peishwa, of the tribute of Bengal, availing himself of the opportunity of the war raging in Maharashtra, burst into the Deccan, captured Gawailghoor and Noornala, made himself master of Manikdroog, and the districts dependant on these forts, laid the whole country between the Payn Goonga and the Godavery under contribution, expelled the Moguls and substituted his own subjects. To repel this scourge from his door was an object of far deeper concern to Salabat Jung than the redress of others' wrongs, or the acquisition of foreign territories. An armistice was, unhesitatingly, concluded, and Salabat hastened back to his possessions (1752).

The Deccan was fated to become the busy scene of most important operations, in which the Mahrattas played no indifferent part. In order to be able to comprehend their transactions in that quarter, it is necessary to go back some years and notice events which, though secondary to these more exciting which have been recorded, are important in themselves and in their results.

On the departure of Asof Khan, in 1741, to his government of the Deccan, his eldest son, Gazee-ood-Deen, who was married to

the daughter of the vizier, succeeded him in his post at court. On the death of his father, though solicitous to return to his government, permission was not granted; and it is asserted that bribes were liberally bestowed by his brothers, amongst the favourites, to ensure his detention.

It was during this period that the Rohillas had grown into power, and excited the vizier's especial jealousy, as they threatened to overrun and appropriate his possessions in Oude.

The Rohillas were an Affghan colony, which obtained possession of an extensive and fertile district of the peninsula, lying between the rivers Ganges and Goggra, bordering on Oude, Gurwal, and Kumaon, and lying between the twenty-eighth and thirtieth degree of north latitude, and the seventy-eighth and the eightieth east longitude.* The Ganges and its tributaries, as also the Ramgunga, after traversing the country through its whole extent, before it pours its tributary waters into the sacred river, irrigate its plains. This tract is intersected by numerous canals and reservoirs, and springs are found a foot beneath the surface. With such natural and artificial advantages, it was, under the rule of its native sovereigns, in a high state of cultivation; though, when it was ceded to the British, in 1801, by the Nabob of Oude, it was neglected and desolate, in consequence of his tyranny and exactions. Being the scene of many of the incidents of the recent mutiny and revolt, it has become better known to the English reader. It may be pertinent to state that within this district are situated the following towns: Bareilly, Bissouly, Budaon, Mooradabad, Owlah, Pillibut, Rampore, Sambul, and Jehanpore. The various remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, mosques, colleges, and mausoleums are evidences that, in former times, it was in a very flourishing condition, and of great political importance. In the decline of the Mogul power, subjected to the vicissitudes of the various armed commotions which distracted the empire, it shared the general deterioration, and in the more recent times was overrun by the restless and warlike adventurers of the tribe of Roh or Rohillas. The founders of this state were two brothers, Shah Alum and Hosein Khan, who, about the year 1673, settled in this district, and were engaged in the performance of duties of great importance by Aurungzebe. Their descendants inherited the ability, ambition, and, it may be added, good fortune of their predecessors; they extended their dominions, cultivated their lands to a

* Its exact limits are from lat. 27° 15'—29° 51'; and from long. 78° 3'—80° 30'.—THORNTON'S *Gazetteer*,

high state of perfection, and liberally encouraged all those enterprises calculated to develop the resources of the country, and ruled with moderation and prudence.

About the year 1726, two of the Rohilla chiefs, Bisharoot Khan and Daood Khan, set out as military adventurers to find employment for their arms. They entered the service of Madhoo Sah, the zemindar of Serowly, who lived by his depredations on the surrounding districts. Amongst the most daring of his banditti, these were very soon distinguished by their daring exploits. In the sack of one of the neighbouring towns, Daood Khan captured a youth of the Jat tribe, whom he converted to Mohammedanism, named Ali Mohammed, and adopted as his heir, nor was he unworthy of this distinction. As a volunteer, Ali soon joined his martial brethren, and by his feats of courage and tact, was speedily placed in command of a troop of Affghans, who were engaged in the service of the vizier, and thus employed he acquitted himself with such satisfaction that he was introduced to the notice of the emperor, who bestowed on him a jaghire, and entrusted to his command several districts. During the confusion attendant on the invasion of Nadir Shah, he so adroitly availed himself of the opportunity presented, that he established an independent state of sovereignty in Rohileund. A power rising into such great importance, necessarily soon arrested the attention of the court of Delhi. By the vizier, Gazee-ood-Deen, whose province of Oude was continuous with the newly-created kingdom, the danger must have been felt. He resolved to crush it before it should have acquired further extension. He thought the matter of such great moment, that he sent an army against Ali Mohammed, and publicly proclaimed that the object of the war was, not merely to enforce the payment of arrears of revenue, but to remove him altogether from his office. The latter did not quiescently await the explosion; he prepared for his defence. He met the imperialists in open conflict, he put them to flight, and amongst the slain was the chief who was named as his successor. The daring rebel was not only continued in his command, but greater powers were conferred upon him. Elated by his success, he carried his pretensions so far as to threaten the invasion and appropriation of some of the territories of Oude. The emperor was induced by Gazee-ood-Deen to take the field in person against him. After an unsuccessful resistance in the open country, Ali was obliged to seek the shelter of one of his strong forts. Reduced to extremities, on the intercession of the vizier, he received a full

pardon, but the conditions were entirely in favour of the vizier, to whom, apprehensive of his proximity, it was apparently of the greatest importance to have him removed to a distance. Ali agreed to accept the government of Sirhind, a small and barren spot to the north-west of Delhi, in exchange for his own fertile province. In removing thither he merely yielded to the exigency of the occasion, and was resolved, as the issue serves to prove, to abide a favourable opportunity of effecting his restoration. Thus was the foundation laid of a power destined at no distant period to give an emperor to India, and to dispute its sovereignty with the armies of Great Britain.

At the time of these transactions another portion of the Affghans was engaged in forming a more important combination within their ancestral territories. The consequences resulting from the death of Nadir Shah, who died in 1747, were not less serious to the empire of Delhi than those which followed his invasion of that country.

Nadir Shah, eight years after evacuating India, was assassinated in his tent, at Meshed, in Khorassan. His fate was provoked by the cruelty of his proceedings. On some vague suspicions he had put out the eyes of his eldest son, and such was the intensity of his remorse, that he reproached every one who sought his mercy with having neglected to intercede for him when in danger. His conduct became so savage and capricious that he may be pronounced an enemy to his species.* "His cruelties were equalled by his extortions, and both were accompanied by threats and expressions of hatred against his subjects. These oppressions led to revolts, which drew on fresh enormities, whole cities were depopulated, and towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin; eyes were torn out, tortures inflicted, and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments. During the two last years of his life his rage was increased by his bodily sickness, until it partook of frenzy, and until his subjects were compelled to lay plots for ridding themselves of a tyrant whose existence was incompatible with their own. In his distrust of his countrymen he had thrown himself, without reserve, on the Affghans, and took a pleasure in mortifying his old soldiers, by a marked preference for their former enemies and his own. On the day before his death, while labouring under some presentiment of evil, he leaped on his horse in the midst of his camp, and was on the point of flying from his own army to take refuge in a fortress, when his mind was some-

* Elphinstone's *India*, vol. ii. p. 652.

what calmed. After this act of madness he sent for the Affghan chiefs, appealed to their fidelity for the preservation of his life, and concluded by instructing them to disperse his Persian guards, and to seize on his principal nobles." These orders were not so secretly communicated as to escape the knowledge of the intended victims of his bloodthirsty caprice, and during the night which intervened between the instructions and the hour named, he was assassinated by some of the chiefs of his own tribe, and thus perished—"the beast, the terror, and the execration of his country." *

At the hour appointed by Nadir Shah, the Affghans, under the command of Ahmed Khan Abdalee made, as arranged, an assault on the Persians. Their immediate withdrawal to their own country shows that, though frustrated in the attempt, they had strength enough to secure their retreat to their own country, where their chief proclaimed himself king of Affghanistan, and effectively sustained his position.

Ahmed Shah Abdalee was the son of an Affghan chief, who was made prisoner at Herat, and was subsequently in the family of Nadir Shah, and by the aid of his superior abilities, rose from this humiliating grade to a high rank and reputation in the army. On the fall of his master he placed himself at the head of his countrymen, and his authority was acknowledged by many of the chiefs of his nation. On his journey homeward he fortunately fell in with a convoy of treasure, which, without scruple, he appropriated to his own purposes. In a short space of time he annexed Candahar and Cabul, and Lahore was treacherously delivered to him. These encroachments produced great terror and alarm at Delhi. The vizier, accompanied by Prince Ahmed, was sent to oppose him. An action was fought not far from the town of Sirhind, in which both sides suffered severely. The vizier was killed with a cannon-ball, and his disheartened followers took to flight, and the Affghans were thrown into great confusion by the explosion of a powder magazine, by which many lives were lost. The victory was claimed by neither. The Affghans retreated, and the imperialists did not molest by too close pursuit. Prince Ahmed returned to Delhi, but before he reached the end of his journey his father Mohammed Shah expired, in 1747, after a reign of twenty-nine years, and in the forty-ninth of his age.

The empire, which had been for some time in a state of decline, gave in this reign evidences of its approaching fall. Every day

* Père Bazin, *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. iv. This Jesuit was his physician in the later years of his life, and gives the best account of this prince.

was disclosing its growing weakness. In 1738 Bengal had declared its independence, and was soon after invaded by a powerful army of Mahrattas; the Rohillas founded an independent state within eighty miles of the capital; and some of the best provinces on the east were wrested from it.

Ahmed Shah succeeded to the throne of Delhi vacated by the death of his father. The retreat, from Persia, of the Affghans to the Punjaub, and the energetic character of their young king, were the sources of much anxiety to the Moguls. Instead of fulfilling the high expectations which the capacity he displayed in the late campaign generated, the emperor ingloriously surrendered himself to the indulgence of low debauchery, and sacrificed his independence for the purpose of conciliating such allies as he thought could secure him from aggression. The office of vizier was proffered to Asof Jah, and declined on account of his great age. The old chief died very shortly after this offer had been made to him. On the rumoured approach of the Affghans, Nazir Jung, who, though the second son, had seized on the Deccan in violation of his elder brother's rights, was commanded to hasten to the assistance of the empire with all the forces which he could assemble. While these troops were on their way the court learned that there was no immediate danger to be apprehended from the Affghans, as their king was engaged in the western part of his dominions. Before Nazir Jung had yet reached the banks of the Nerbuddah he was ordered back to his province, fortunately for him, as his nephew, Muzzuffer Jung, during his absence, aided by Chunda Sahib and a body of French troops, had risen in rebellion against his authority. Safder Jung, the son of Sadat Khan, a man who had no qualification for that very important office, was viceroy of Oude; his ambition was unbounded, and to this fault in a minister was joined a greater still, the absence of all discretion.

During the confusion created by the invasion of Ahmed Abdalee, Ali Mohammed managed to escape from Sirhind, and having been well received in Rohilcund, re-established his authority though with difficulty. The first effort of the new vizier's government was directed to suppress the attempt, and this seemed the more easy of accomplishment as the Rohilla chief had recently expired, and left his authority, not yet well established, in the hands of a minor. To execute his designs he selected an Affghan of some distinction, Kaim Jung, the chief of the Bangasti tribe, and Nabob of Ferokabad. Risking an engagement under unfavourable circumstances, Kaim Jung sustained a defeat, and was left amongst

the slain. It would appear from the sequel that the vizier was animated by feelings of the purest selfishness in setting Affghan against Affghan, for the misfortune of his ally he turned to his own account. As soon as he learned the death of Kaim Jung he marched a force into his territories, and dispossessed the widow of the greater part of them. His treacherous conduct met with its well-merited retribution; the brother of Kaim having made terms with the Rohillas, raised an army with which he encountered the vizier, and totally routed his army. The victors in their turn became the aggressors, they invaded his territories, and with occasional reverses succeeded in penetrating to Allahabad, and defied his power, and that of the emperor. Safder Jung was driven from place to place, and eventually was obliged to seek refuge in Delhi. In this difficulty, with all his resources exhausted, he was left no hope but the humiliating one of seeking the aid of the Mahrattas. He induced, by presents and promises, Holkar, Scindiah, and the Jat prince, Sooraj Mal, to support his cause. They eagerly entered into the arrangements; Rohilcund was invaded by an overwhelming force; the Rohillas were defeated in a pitched battle, their country was laid waste, and the population were driven to the lower branches of the Himalaya for protection. Having thus accomplished his purpose by the aid of his auxiliaries, he found that it was not in his power to induce or force them to withdraw from the conquered country, he was obliged to consign to the Mahrattas, in lieu of subsidies, the greater part of it. By the ravages of these plunderers it was reduced to the state in which it was a half century afterwards found by the English.

The arms of the Mahrattas had achieved these successful results in Rohilcund, triumphing over all opposition; but in their absence, their capital in the Deccan, as has been noticed, was threatened by the advance of Salabat Khan. The peishwa, Belajee Rao, sent the most pressing letters to hasten to the Deccan. Holkar immediately marched southward, and had crossed the Ganges, when despatches from the vizier informed him that peace had been concluded in that province. Holkar wrote to the peishwa, assuring him of his readiness to submit to his orders, but in consequence of this intelligence would await further instructions.

The successes achieved in Rohilcund were overbalanced by the advantages which the Rajpoots of Ajmeer had gained by taking forcible possession of some fertile districts to which they had no legitimate claim. An attempt to expel them was ended in the de-

feat of the Moguls, and their expulsion with disgrace from the province. Contemporaneously with these events was the appearance in Hindostan of Ahmed Abdalee, who had recruited his army in Cabul, and having crossed the Indus, was subjugating Lahore. Mir Munnoo, the vizier's eldest son, had offered considerable resistance to the invaders, but after the loss of the bravest of his officers and several of his men, he was at length forced to submit, and to accept the government of Mooltan and Lahore under the conqueror. The vizier, in this emergency, was summoned to Delhi. On his arrival he found that these provinces had been, without consulting him, and at the instigation of a new favourite, conceded to the Affghans by the emperor, and thus the integrity of the empire was sacrificed. Had it not been for this precipitate arrangement, the vizier professed that with the aid of the Mahrattas he would have been able to expel the invaders.

Safder Khan was seriously disappointed in finding that his return did not restore his authority, and that the new favourite still continued to direct the king. He however suppressed his wounded feelings, and having invited the unsuspecting eunuch to an entertainment, had him put to death. The king was greatly offended by this undue stretch of authority, and devised means of revenging the outrage.

Allusion has been to the results which followed in his family the death of Asof Jah; how his second son Nasir Jung seized upon the Deccan. Gazee-ood-deen, the eldest, remained at the court of Delhi, and as soon as an opportunity presented itself of prosecuting his legitimate claims, he secured the support of the peishwa, and set off for the Deccan, accompanied by Holkar and Scindiah. After his arrival at Aurungabad he was attacked with a fit of illness which proved fatal. On his death his disorderly bands instantly dispersed. He left a son, a mere youth, of singular audacity, and of considerable ability, as reckless of consequences as he was regardless of principles, who, through the influence of the vizier, had been raised to the title of Gazee-ood-deen, enjoyed by his father, and appointed commander-in-chief. It was this young man who was made the instrument of accomplishing the designs of the sovereign.

The vizier saw clearly that his ruin was intended, and applied for permission to return to his government of Oude. This favour was denied. But seeing that his safety depended on his withdrawal from the power of his enemies, with a large body of armed retainers he resolved to force his way home. The emperor made preparations to intercept his

march, upon which the late vizier sought the aid of one of the rajahs of the Jats, whose friendship in days past he had secured. Thus strengthened he decided on aggressive measures to set up a rival to the throne, and marching on Delhi he shut up, in the castle, the emperor and his new favourite. After a siege of six months, on the reported approach of the Mahrattas under Malhar Rao, he consented to make terms, and was secured in the possession of Oude and Allahabad.

Gazee-ood-Deen did not wish that the Mahrattas should retire without having rendered some services. He therefore marched against the Jat rajah, Sooraj Mal, the partizan of the late vizier. The latter retired within his forts, but the former pursued him into his retreat, and sought from the emperor a train of artillery for his reduction. This request was refused through the influence of the vizier Intizam-ood-Dowlah, his uncle, who owed his elevation entirely to his influence. In this step the vizier was influenced by his knowledge of the unprincipled character of his ambitious nephew, and his advice was supported by the strong political remonstrances of Sooraj Mal. An envoy was sent by Gazee-ood-Deen to press his suit, who, finding all his entreaties fruitless, seduced several of the artillery from their duty, and began to plunder the environs of the city. The emperor took the field, but was unexpectedly attacked, and no preparations had been made for defence. A few rockets were thrown into the camp, the army, in the greatest alarm fled, precipitately, in every direction, leaving to the enemy all the baggage and camp equipments. The victorious troops hastened on to the capital, and Gazee-ood-Deen obtained the office of vizier, to the exclusion of Intizam-ood-Dowlah. He next deposed the unfortunate prince, deprived him and his mother of their eyesight, cast them into prison, and raised a grandson of Jehandar Shah to the throne, by the title of Alumgeer II., in the end of May, 1754. Safder Jung soon after died, and was succeeded by his son, Soojah-ood-Dowlah.*

The condition of the empire was at this crisis most pitiable. The long continuance of intestine broils, and the gradual assumption of independence by several chiefs, had reduced it to the verge of disorganization. Those viceroys, who had not asserted their independence, considered themselves entitled to regulate their provinces as they pleased. Mooltan and Lahore were, formally, separated from the empire, the Mahrattas were in actual possession of a large portion of it, the Deccan had, to all intents and purposes, become an

independent state, and the Europeans were fast rising into power.

After the appointment of Gazee-ood-Deen to the office of vizier, a longer period of tranquillity ensued than might have been expected under the administration of a man of his restless ambition. His internal government was as arbitrary as ever, and produced a military revolt, which very nearly led to his murder. He was seized by the infuriated soldiery, and, ignominiously, dragged through the streets, without his slippers or turban. In the midst of the danger he did not lose his presence of mind nor abate his arrogant tone; he reviled his assailants, and threatened that they should answer with their heads for their insolent audacity. When rescued from these indignities by the interposition of the officers, he commanded the instant massacre of the whole body of mutineers, and gave up their tents, horses, and property to plunder. Not a vestige of the corps was suffered to survive.

This dangerous revolt occurred as he was on his way to Lahore, on the pretence of celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Mir Manoo, the governor of the Punjaub, to whom he had been affianced previously to the death of his father. His present journey was influenced by other motives than those avowed. Without the slightest provocation he seized on the town, made the widow and regent prisoner in her bed, seized on all her treasures, and had them conveyed to Delhi. The injured princess broke into invectives against her faithless son-in-law, and prophesied the ruin of India, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, as the certain consequences of the vengeance of her sovereign, Ahmed Shah, whose arms had twice before been felt in the peninsula. Her forebodings were soon verified: Ahmed Shah Abdalee was enraged at this outrage on his authority, and speedily led an army across the Indus, and as he proceeded he expelled the inefficient garrisons lately placed in the forts of Lahore, and expeditiously arrived before the gates of Delhi.

In the interval, Gazee-ood-Deen had contrived to conciliate his mother-in-law, and to procure her intercession. He then presented himself to Ahmed Shah, and received pardon. But Delhi was subjected to the most cruel exactions; neither age nor sex was respected, and all were indiscriminately involved in one common ruin. The victor was not content with the plunder of the capital. The Doab was laid under heavy contributions, and the country of the Jats was pillaged to the walls of Agra. By this time the summer was far advanced, and a pestilence broke out amongst his troops, who were incapable of enduring the Indian heat; he was thus obliged to abandon the

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 79.

siege of Agra, and to be content with the money he had levied, and to quit Hindostan. During his stay in Delhi, he had married one of the princesses, and had contracted another to his son, Timoor Shah. The unfortunate emperor having entreated Ahmed not to commit him to the mercy of Gazee-ood-Deen, he entrusted the care of his person to Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, a Rohillah chief of ability and character. These events occurred in 1757.

No sooner had the Rohillas vacated the kingdom, than the vizier set Ahmed's power at defiance. He first of all secured the attachment and support of Ahmed Khan Bangash, the chief of Ferokabad, whose father had lost his life in a struggle with the Rohillas, whom he nominated to the office of commander-in-chief, of which he deprived Najeeb-ood-Dowlah; in addition he called in the aid of the Mahrattas, now in the zenith of their power.

Although Belajee had entered into terms of peace, as has been related, with Salabat Jung, 1752, this did not hinder him from establishing similar relations at a subsequent period with his elder brother and antagonist, Gazee-ood-Deen. This combination proved so powerful, that in all probability, though supported by Bussy, Salabat Jung could not have made head against the storm, had he not been rescued by the premature death of his adversary. After this occurrence, Belajee's attention was called off to the south, where he became involved in the disputes between the French and English, as will be hereafter recorded.*

Belajee's brother, Ragoba,† had distinguished himself in the subjugation of the province of Gujerat, 1755, and was sent in the following year into Malwa. It was to this chief that the vizier had now recourse, and supported by him, he advanced on Delhi, and laid siege to the fortified palace, which resisted his assaults for over a month. The Najeeb secured a safe passage to his own country—adjacent Seharunpore, to the north of Delhi, and divided by the Ganges from Rohilkund—by the payment of a large sum to Holkar; the emperor had already taken the precaution of sending his son, afterwards Shah Alum, to a place of safety, and then threw open his gates and received Gazee-ood-Deen as his vizier.

Ragoba continued for some time in the neighbourhood of the capital, till he was called away to an important and easy conquest. Although a splendid one, to it is fairly attributable the first check which the

progress of the Mahrattas encountered, and from it dates their decline. Before Ahmed Shah Abdalee quitted India, 1757, he left his son Timoor in the government of the Punjaub, and appointed, as his minister and counsellor, Jehan Khan. The latter intended to avail himself of the experience and wisdom of Adina Khan Beg, a man of a turbulent and an artful character, who had been deputy to Mir Manoo. Adina Beg was pressingly invited to Lahore, the seat of government of the viceroyalty of the Punjaub, but his suspicious temperament apprehended some sinister purpose in this solicitude, and he not only declined the invitation, but also withdrew to the mountains, and was denounced as a rebel. The attempts made to arrest him he successfully resisted with the aid of the Sikhs. The presence of the Mahrattas at Delhi led him into negotiations with them. His advances in this quarter were warmly embraced by Ragoba, who marched to his assistance, and shortly after his arrival, encountered and defeated the Abdallee governor of Sirhind, overran the country, and entered Lahore as conqueror in the month of May, 1758. The government of the conquered province was confided to Adina Beg, and on his death, shortly after, a Mahratta was appointed to fill the vacancy. Previously to this Ragoba had departed for the Deccan, leaving the Punjaub in apparent security, and the influence of the Mahrattas respected and feared throughout the peninsula. Datajee Scindiah had gone in pursuit of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, who, unable to offer resistance, left his territories a prey to the invaders, and took up a strong position at Sakertel, a defensible post on the Ganges, and successfully maintained himself there during the rainy season. He also engaged in the task of organizing a confederacy of the neighbouring princes to repel the common danger. Soojah-ood-Dowlah, although he detested the Rohillas, was induced, by the magnitude of the danger, to sacrifice his enmities, and to unite with the Najeeb, as his only chance of resisting the Mahrattas, who now, publicly, avowed that nothing, less than the complete conquest of Hindostan, would satisfy them. When Datajee Scindiah was informed of this alliance, he sent Govind Rao, with a sufficient force, to lay waste the territories of the Rohillas. This order was executed with the greatest severity, and the whole of the chiefs were compelled to seek refuge in the recesses of the Kumaon hills.

Thirteen hundred villages were plundered and destroyed in little more than a month. The wretched condition to which the inhabitants were reduced, having been conveyed to Soojah-ood-Dowlah, he marched to their relief; and

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 669.

† Ragoba is the familiar name of Ragonath, or Rugo-nalto.

having encountered the enemy, routed them with great slaughter, and drove them in great confusion across the river Jumna, in which many of them lost their lives. This was a severe defeat to Gazee-ood-Deen, but a more alarming danger was now approaching, and threatened his complete discomfiture. This was the fact that Ahmed Shah was in full march to support the Rohillas; and still further to aggravate his difficulties, it was discovered that Alumgeer was in correspondence with the enemy, and was laying schemes in co-operation with them for his destruction. Gazee-ood-Deen had recourse to very vigorous measures; he seized on the person of the unfortunate sovereign, and had him murdered; he extended a like fate to his uncle Intizam-ood-Dowlah, and he raised to the throne a son of Kaum Bukhsh, the youngest son of Aurungzebe, by the title of Shah Jehan. Shah Alum the son of the late nominal sovereign, having applied in vain for assistance to the Mahrattas, became a tool in the hands of Soojah-ood-Dowlah, and the nominal head of a confederacy against Mir Jaffier and the English, in the well-known warfare in Bengal,* the particulars of which will be hereafter supplied. After the murder of Alumgeer II., Gazee-ood-deen sought the protection of Sooraj Mal, the rajah of the Jats, who generously, but imprudently, received him into one of his forts. In this asylum he waited the issue of the coming contest between the Mahrattas and the Abdallees. The force which the Mahrattas had left in Lahore, was attacked and defeated by the Affghans before Datajee and Scindiah had timely intelligence of their approach. They had inflicted such cruelties on the natives of the country recently overran and occupied by them, that they were execrated, and intelligence was purposely intercepted. The Mahrattas, though unaided, had at this time an army composed of thirty thousand horse in the field; but, unfortunately for them, it was divided into two bodies, which were at some distance from each other. Immediately after the affair in Lahore, Ahmed Shah led his victorious troops across the Jumna. The Mahrattas, who were negotiating with the rajah of the Jats for his assistance, retreated along the west bank of that river, without making an effort for the junction of their forces.

Ahmed Shah, having left a portion of his troops to engage the attention of the Mahrattas in the front, assisted by the local knowledge and intrepidity of Najeed-ood-Dowlah, unexpectedly crossed the Jumna, near Delhi, and attacked the division commanded by Datajee Scindiah in the flank. Not prepared

Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.

for this vigorous attack, the Mahrattas were, signally, defeated. One-third of their number did not escape from the field of battle, and Datajee was among the slain. Holkar, informed of this disaster, hastened towards Agra, and the country south of the Chambul. He was diverted from his direct route by the temptation of intercepting a large convoy of supplies intended for the Abdallees. In this attempt he was successful; he took or destroyed a greater portion of it, and then retired to Secunder, east of the Jumna, and south of the Chambul. He, while felicitating himself on his success and safety, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, which had performed a most extraordinary march, and was defeated with great slaughter.

Ragoba, at the time of these reverses, was encamped on the banks of the Manjera, having concluded a treaty by which a large portion of the Deccan was conceded to him. More honour than emolument was gained by this success. The Mahrattas, who had returned from previous expeditions loaded with spoil, were embarrassed at the end of this campaign, in Bengal, by a debt of one million. The glory of the conquest did not reconcile the Mahrattas to the financial difficulty. Their disappointment was aggravated by contrast. The Peishwa's cousin Sedasheo Rao Bhao, best known in India as the Bhao, had remained at home as minister and commander-in-chief in the Deccan, he had recently obtained possession of Ahmednuggur, and was completing negotiations with Salabat Jung, by which he secured territorial and pecuniary advantages of great value, and so embarrassed the Mogul government by his impositions, that the Deccan never recovered from them. Elated by his success, he indulged in some invidious comments on the ill-success of the peishwa, and his own extraordinary good fortune. On one of these occasions, spurred on by his pride and jealousy, Ragoba retorted on his relative, and concluded by saying that "he had better undertake the next expedition, when he would find the difference between that and serving in the Deccan." Blinded by his successes, Sedasheo took him at his word. His force was a respectable one, composed of the Deccan army, amounting to about twenty thousand horse and ten thousand men, artillery and disciplined infantry, commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who had distinguished himself in the war against Salabat Jung. The equipment of this army was more splendid in appearance than that of any Mahratta force that ever entered on a campaign. The following description of it is given by Grant Duff, furnished to him by a highly respectable old Brahmin, employed in

the judicial department at Sattara, who was two days in the camp:—"The equipage, which in the former expensive campaign had been brought back from Hindostan by Rugonalto Rao, was employed as part of the decoration. The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a great distance. Immense parti-coloured walls of canvas enclosed each suite of tents belonging to the principal officers. Vast numbers of elephants, flags of every description, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to be collected from every quarter in the Bhao's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers; and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the magnificent Moguls in the zenith of their glory."*

The power of the Mahrattas was now at its culmination. The Indus and the range of the Himalayas formed the northern boundary of their empire, and to the south it extended nearly to the Indian Ocean. All the territories within those distant limits that were not subject to their direct rule paid them tribute; and the peishwa, who had adjusted his differences with Tara Baee, and consigned the rajah to a minister, but one in name only, governed with uncontrolled authority.

Sedasheo Bhao was accompanied by Wiswas Rao, the son and heir of the peishwa, and all the great Brahmin and Mahratta chiefs without exception. Many of the Rajpoot chiefs sent bodies of horse; and crowds of Pindarries, and irregulars of all descriptions, hastened to swell the increasing host; and Sooraj Mal, at the suggestion of Holkar, reinforced them with thirty thousand men.

Sooraj Mal, whose caution for a long time prevented his taking a part against the Affghans, advised the Bhao to disencumber himself of the unwieldy impediments to an active prosecution of the war, and to leave behind him his infantry, artillery, and heavy baggage, in the Jat country, under protection of his strong forts, and to rely on his cavalry, and to confine himself to the Mahratta practice of harassing the enemy, and protract the conflict till the Abdallees, who had already been several months in the peninsula, would be coerced to withdraw to their native homes. This Fabian counsel, though supported and enforced by the matured experience of Holkar, was rejected. The pride of the commander-

in-chief, inflated by the success of his late campaign, irritated by the defeats of the two armies, and having an aversion to Holkar, which extended to his friend the Jat rajah, led him to place too much confidence in his own perceptions. He also had great reliance on Ibrahim Khan, and attached undue importance to his regular infantry and the train of artillery. He led his army towards Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of the Abdallees and their partizans, who had occupied it when it was abandoned by Gazceood-Deen. The Mahrattas obtained easy possession. Contrary to the remonstrances of many of the principal chiefs, Sedasheo seized on the gold and silver ornaments of the hall of audience, destroyed the throne, plundered the palaces, shrines, and tombs, which had been spared by the Persians and Affghans, and was inclined to proclaim Wiswas Rao Emperor of India, and to make Soojah-ood-Dowlah his vizier. Though the remonstrances against this latter act did not induce him to abandon the idea, it prevailed upon him to postpone the proclamation till the enemy should have been driven across the Indus. Sooraj Mal, displeased by these extreme measures, withdrew to his own dominions. His defection the Mahratta treated with apparent indifference. The Rajpoot princes followed his example.

Ahmed Shah was encamped on the Ganges at Anoopshere, on the borders of Oude. Though in this situation he passed the rainy season, he was not led thither by that purpose. He awaited the assistance of the Rohillas, and wanted, by means of Najeeb, to secure the co-operation of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. This prince was too conscientious to declare war against the Mohammedans; he was also restrained both by his interests and the rankling remembrance of the hostility which existed between his father, Safder Jung, and Ahmed Shah. The influence of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah brought about a reconciliation; and he gave his adhesion to the Abdallees, and was made the medium of public negotiation, which continued to be carried on for several months between the belligerents.

Sedasheo had Mirza, the son of the absent Shah Alum, proclaimed emperor, and Soojah-ood-Dowlah as his vizier, and then set out for Kunjpoora, a strongly fortified town on the Jumna, about sixty miles above Delhi, which he took by storm almost under the eyes of Ahmed Shah, who hastened to its assistance, and on his arrival had the mortification to learn its fate, and that the garrison, all Rohillas, had perished by the sword. Enraged at the result, the emperor resolved to pass the river.

* Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 140.

On the 17th October, 1760, Ahmed set out from his camp, and marching all night encamped next day at the ford of Baugpoot, about twenty miles from Delhi; not being able to find a footing, several horsemen who attempted to cross lost their lives. On the third day a ford was discovered, but very narrow, and of such depth on each side as to drown those who should lose their footing. With the aid of this, and by swimming, the whole army passed over in two days, but several lives were sacrificed in the execution of this bold undertaking. The Mahrattas who had stormed Kunjpoora, in order to command the passage of the river and to attack the Abdallees, confounded by this daring and successful feat, retired from their position and fell back on Paniput, having previously sustained an attack with the loss of two thousand on their side, and of half that number of the enemy. Here they pitched their camp, and enclosed both it and the town with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and threw up a formidable rampart, on which was planted the cannon. Ahmed Shah encamped at a distance of a few miles, and fortified his intrenchments at night with felled trees.

The army of Ahmed Shah was made up of forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, thirty-eight thousand foot, and seventy pieces of cannon. The irregulars not mustered were very numerous.

The Mahrattas amounted to fifty-five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, including Ibrahim Khan's sepoys. There were also two hundred pieces of cannon, besides Pindarries and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been over two hundred thousand.*

The inequality of the forces forbade an engagement on the part of the Affghans, and during this period of suspense the affairs of the Mahrattas were becoming daily more embarrassed. Govind Rao Bondela, who, with ten thousand men, was ordered to hang on the rear of the enemy in order to intercept all supplies, rendered effective service, and produced a great scarcity of provisions, and consequently an exorbitant price was offered for them in the camp, until he was surprised, his men put to the sword, and his head brought to Ahmed Shah. This misfortune did not come alone; two thousand horse, who were sent to Delhi to convey some treasures to the camp, having lost their way, fell in with the enemy, were dispersed, and put to the sword. Every day, during the three months they continued in this situation, the armies were drawn up in line and the cannon placed,

followed by a distant cannonade and frequent skirmishes between the cavalry. During this interval the armies had some spirited though partial engagements. The Mahrattas were the aggressors. Three of these actions deserve notice. On the 29th of November, about fifteen thousand made an attack on the left of the Affghan camp, where the vizier was posted. His men were broken, and two thousand of them fell. The whole camp being roused and led to his assistance, the assailants, with the loss of one thousand, had to seek the protection of their intrenchments. Holkar commanded on this occasion. The second action was on the twenty-third of the following month, when the vizier was proceeding, to perform his devotions, to a mosque in the neighbourhood, and was attacked by a large body of Mahrattas with so much vigour that the strong guard, which accompanied him, was broken, and only fifty horsemen remained to defend him. With these he bravely maintained his ground, till a reinforcement, led by some of the most distinguished chiefs, advanced to the rescue. The Mahrattas fought with their accustomed bravery, and were on the point of victory when their leader was shot at the close of the day with a musket-ball. His friends, in the greatest affliction, retired to their intrenchments, bearing with them the corpse of their chief, but not until three thousand of the enemy had covered the field with their lifeless bodies. The third encounter was similar in its provocation and results.

Ahmed Shah fully sustained his reputation. He did everything that an able general, skilful and confident in his abilities, could achieve in his circumstances. The highest discipline was maintained, and his orders were obeyed, says the historian, like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them. Thus were the two armies employed from morning to nine or ten at night. The Indian chiefs, harassed by these delays, at length became impatient, and besought the shah to come to a decisive engagement; his constant reply was "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me; military operations must not be precipitated. You will see how I will manage this affair, and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a conclusion." During the whole of the time spent before the Mahrattas, he had a small red tent, nearly a mile in advance of his camp, to which he proceeded every morning at sunrise to offer up his prayers. Having performed this duty, he mounted his horse, and accompanied by his son, Timoor Shah, and a small guard, visited every post, and

* *Asiatic Researches*; Grant Duff.

reconnoitred the enemy. Everything was submitted to his personal inspection; he remained all day in his saddle, and before he retired for the night he had ridden fifty or sixty miles. At night a body of five thousand horse was placed within a convenient distance of the enemy's camp, as a corps of observation. They remained there till dawn under arms, others were sent round the whole encampment, and Ahmed used to say to the Hindostanee chiefs, "Do you sleep, I will take care that no harm befalls you."* The persevering resolution to resist those importunities which urged an immediate engagement, was shown in the sequel to have been the best policy, and that he was acquainted both with men's minds and the science of war. The embarrassments in which he was involved displayed to him the severe straits to which his more helpless antagonist was reduced, and that a short delay would deliver him into his hands. In these extremities, the Mahratta commander saw the impossibility of avoiding any longer a general engagement, as all the attempts which he had made, through Soojah-ood-Dowlah, had been unavailing; the repeated reply of Ahmed to these proposals being, "I am only an auxiliary, and have no views of my own. I claim the entire management of the war, but leave to the Indian princes the negotiations." Several of the latter were disposed to an accommodation; it was energetically opposed by a few, who were of opinion that they would be exposed to utter destruction if the Affghans withdrew leaving the Mahratta power in its integrity.

The camp of the Mahrattas was strictly watched to prevent the approach of any convoys, and both provisions for man and beast had failed. One night about twenty thousand of the camp followers had gone out to seek some supplies; they were attacked by the enemy, and cut to pieces. This sad news quickly circulated, and the chiefs and soldiers in a body surrounded their commander, and vociferously demanded to be led to battle, as death itself was preferable to their misery. He approved of their resolve, and with his usual composure distributed the usual pan and betel at the breaking up of the assembly, and orders were issued to prepare for the attack the next morning before daybreak. All the grain in store was then prepared to supply a full meal that night. An hour before daybreak on the 7th of January the troops were in motion, with their artillery stationed in the van. They were all prepared for the worst, and their countenances exhibited the fixity of hopeless despair rather

than steady resolution; the ends of their turbans were loose, and, just before the final order for marching was issued, Sedasheo dispatched the following laconic note to Casi Rao, Pundit, a native of the Deccan, acquainted with the Mahratta language, and who had some friends in the Mahratta army, and was then in the service of Soojah-ood-Dowlah. "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for speaking or writing."

This note reached its destination about three in the morning. It was forwarded to Ahmed Shah, and accompanied with the startling intelligence that his enemy was advancing to the charge. He instantly mounted his steed, which stood caparisoned at the door of his tent, and in the dress he then had on rode in front of his camp, and as he proceeded he ordered the troops under arms. He then commanded Casi Rao to his presence, who confirmed the authenticity of the information previously communicated, and assured him that the Mahrattas had quitted their lines, and would attack his army as soon as it was light. At the moment this conversation had ended some of the Abdallees passed by with their horses loaded with plunder from the enemy's camp, and reported that its late occupants had taken flight. A sudden peal of artillery in front revealed the true state of affairs. Upon hearing this discharge the shah, who was in his saddle smoking a Persian killian, handed it to his servant, and with great calmness remarked that Casi Rao's information was true. He then sent for the grand vizier, Shah Wullee Khan, and Shah Pussund Khan. The latter he ordered to lead his division to the left of Najeeb-ood-Dowlah, and form the extreme of the line in that direction, and the vizier he directed to take post in the centre, and Berkhordan Khan, with some other chiefs, he placed on the right. The whole were divided into nine divisions in line, with the Persian musketeers and artillery drawn up in advance. Their faces were to the westward. The Mahratta force was drawn up in eight divisions, with their artillery, as has been said, also in front, with their faces to the east. Ibrahim Khan, with his mercenaries, was posted on the extreme left; Scindiah on the right; Sedasheo, with Wiswas Rao and Jaswint Rao Powar, were opposite the grand vizier. The great *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of the nation, was displayed in the front. The dispersion of the night mists disclosed the colours of the advancing columns, as they marched slowly and regularly to the encounter. Ahmed took his stand at his little

* Casi Rao; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 110; Grant Du^r, vol. ii. p. 14.

red tent, which, by the approximation of the armies, was now in the rear of his. As the armies were closing Ibrahim Khan rode up to Sedashco, and, having saluted him, thus addressed him:—"You have been long displeased with me for insisting on the regular payment of my men; this day I will convince you that we have not been paid so long without meriting it:" he then seized a colour, and, commanding the artillery and musketry of his division to cease firing, at the head of his battalions, with fixed bayonets, he advanced fearlessly to the charge, while the battle-cry of the Mahrattas, "Hur, Hurree! Hur, Hurree!" rang in the ears of the Mohammedans. This tremendous charge was directed against the centre, where the troops of the vizier—ten thousand of whom were cavalry—were posted. These were Rohillas. They received the charge with undaunted resolution, and maintained the conflict hand to hand. Their undisciplined courage added to their loss; near eight thousand were killed or wounded; and such was the carnage, that after this exploit few remained with their chiefs. The flanks of the mercenaries during this conflict were defended with equal intrepidity by two battalions which Ibrahim had ordered on that service, and though repeated efforts were directed against them, they repeatedly repulsed the Affghan columns. They broke through and laid open the right of the grand vizier, who was now attacked by Sedashco and Wiswas Rao, with the flower of the army. A fierce contest was here maintained, the combatants confusedly mingled together, and involved in a cloud of dust, could not be distinguished from each other but by the iteration of their respective war-cries: the Mohammedan Allah! and Deen! and the Mahratta Hurree! Mahdeo! which rent the air. The vizier leaped from his horse to inspirit the few faltering survivors; the bravest of his men followed his example. To some who endeavoured to seek safety in flight he cried, "Our country is far off, my friends; whither do ye fly?" Attai Khan, his brave nephew, fell by his side; his men were forced to give way; he still maintained his ground with three or four hundred horsemen, the broken remnant of his force. Such was the vigour and desperation of the attack, which lasted for three hours, that six out of ten of Ibrahim's battalions were almost destroyed, and the brave chief received several spear wounds and one musket ball. Soojahood-Dowlah, to whom the vizier sent for assistance, with the assurance that if he did not hasten to his support he should perish, though commanding the next division, was prevented from doing so, as he alleged "that the enemy

being so near, and likely to charge him, the worst consequences might follow to the whole army if he made any movement at that time which might enable the enemy to pass through the line." The left wing of the Mohammedans remained still unbroken. The action was maintained till noon, and then the victory inclined to the Mahrattas. At this hour the shah learned the critical state of affairs in the centre and on the right, and the perilous position of his brave vizier. In this emergency he displayed his great military capabilities, and made the necessary disposition of his forces to remedy the evils which threatened. From his reserve he sent ten thousand to the support of the vizier, and four thousand to cover the right flank; the former column was instructed to charge in close order, at full gallop, and sword in hand; at the same time he gave directions to the two divisions on the remote left to attack the enemy's flank as often as the vizier should charge them in front. These directions were faithfully executed. At once the vizier was in a position to become the assailant, though his onsets were repeatedly repelled. In the meantime Ahmed dispatched five hundred of his personal guards to his own camp, with orders to drive out of their tents all the armed people, and fifteen hundred to intercept the fugitives from the battle, and to put to the sword every man who refused to return to the charge. By this precaution the return of eight thousand men was enforced. The battle was stationary for near an hour, and maintained on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Though the slight frames of the Mahrattas rendered them an unequal match for the more muscularly developed Affghans, they fought valiantly on this terrible day; and none of their chiefs subjected himself to animadversion, except Holkar, whose courage no one could question, but whose fidelity to the cause of his nation several have impugned. All agreed that he did not do his duty to his prince in this critical affair. Between two and three o'clock Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded, and dismounted from his horse. Sedashco had him placed upon his elephant, while he himself mounted his famous Arab charger, and encouraged his troops; sustaining the fight near half an hour longer at their head, and shunning no danger, in the confusion of the fight he disappeared, and was seen no more. All at once, for no perceptible cause that has been related, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army turned their backs and fled with the greatest precipitation. The field of battle was covered with the slain. They were pursued with the greatest fury in

every direction for a space of fifteen or twenty miles; no quarter was given, and thousands were mercilessly slaughtered. The men, women, and children, who had indiscriminately fled to the shelter of Paniput, on the following day were led prisoners to the Affghan: the men were butchered, the women and children doomed to slavery. The heads of the fallen were reared in ghastly and revolting piles to commemorate the victory. A spectator of the carnage states, "There were five hundred thousand souls in the Mahratta camp, of whom the greater part were killed or taken prisoners, and of those who escaped from the field and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the zemindars." The Affghans accounted for their cruelty by saying "that when they were leaving their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives desired that whenever they should defeat the unbelievers they would kill a few of them on their account, that they might also possess a merit in the sight of God."

The plunder found in the camp was enormous. A common soldier, with ten camels laden with valuable effects was not an exceptional sight; horses were brought away in flocks, like sheep, and great numbers of elephants were also taken. The inferior officers and privates were left to continue the plunder and pursuit at discretion.

Ahmed Shah, to his everlasting infamy, made no effort to check these enormities; he rather sanctioned them by his acts as well as connivance. He instituted a rigid search for Jancojee Scindiah, who, he had heard, was concealed by one of the Affghans. To save him from being discovered he was put to death. He compelled Soojah-ood-Dowlah to surrender the gallant Ibrahim Khan, and meanly descended to reproach a warrior whose deeds should have won respect, and his misfortunes sympathy. He then confined him; death saved him from further indignity; in a week he died of his wounds. Wiswas Rao's body was found, and Ahmed Shah, having demanded it from Soojah-ood-Dowlah, who had ransomed it for the sum of two thousand rupees, ordered that it should be taken care of, and exhibited it to all the army before his tent. The Affghans exclaimed, "This is the body of the king of the unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to take back to Cabul;" this demand the shah conceded; but Soojah-ood-Dowlah afterwards prevailed on him to permit it to be burned. Over

twenty miles from the scene of battle a decapitated trunk was found, and a few days after the supposed head, which were identified, by several private marks, as the remains of Sedasheo.

The chiefs of the Mahrattas nearly all perished. The survivors, beside those who had been left with a force at Delhi, were Holkar, accused of treachery; Mahajee Scindiah, who afterwards founded a great state; and Nana Farnavis, whose services were for a long time the principal support of the peishwa. Sooraj Mal hospitably entertained the fugitives who reached his territory, and to this day the memory of that kindness is cherished, and the Jats are revered by the Mahrattas.

The following letter, which reached the peishwa when crossing the Nerbuddah, communicated the news of the defeat: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." From these words the fate of Sedasheo, Wiswas Rao, the officers and soldiers, was understood. The consternation when the disastrous intelligence reached home was universal, every family had a loss to mourn. The peishwa never recovered the shock. By very slow marches he retraced his steps to Poonah. His faculties began to fail; his physical powers rapidly decayed; he expired in the end of June, in the temple of Parbuttee, which he had erected in the environs of the city of Poonah.

The wreck of the once magnificent army retired beyond the Nerbuddah, and the acquisitions in Hindostan proper were evacuated. The power of the peishwa never recovered this blow. Ahmed Shah, had he been inclined to reap the advantages of his victory, was frustrated by the dissensions in his camp, and the mutinous demands for arrears and the immediate return to Cabul. He received forty lacs of rupees in compensation for his services. No sooner had the native Mohammedan princes been released from the formidable danger which threatened their independence, than the coalition, lately so successful, was dissolved. The Mogul empire, after this period, ceased to exist as an independent power. The title of emperor was only a name. In the history of the British empire in India we must seek the subsequent history of the kingdom of Delhi, as well as that of the other nations of the great eastern peninsula.

CHAPTER XLIII.

REVIEW OF THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIOD.

THE character of this period of Indian history has been very variously estimated at different periods, and by diverse schools of European politicians. Some modern authors have panegyricized it in terms which had they not been blinded by the motives which impelled them thus to write, could hardly fail to discover their own errors of statement and extravagance. The disposition to laud the Mohammedan rulers of India, and to give exaggerated descriptions of whatever was favourable in the condition of the country during that period, proceeded in a large degree from personal, commercial, or political hostility to the East India Company. That once mighty corporation has been dissolved since the commencement of this History, and the descriptions given in these pages of the constitution and government of that body belongs already to the past. No motive could remain—if such had existed—for vindicating the company's character or administration but the love of justice and truth. Thus uninfluenced, the historian cannot fail to compare, favourably to the company, India under its *régime*, and the genius and spirit of its government, with India under the dominion of its Mohammedan conquerors, and with the government they administered. The commercial jealousy of the East India Company made many enemies among British merchants, and its valuable privileges created among that class extensive envy, as well as conflicting interests. To this cause chiefly the dissolution of the company in the session of the British parliament, which closed in August, 1858, may be attributed, after a long-sustained opposition to its monopoly, both of trade and power, by numerous sections of English mercantile men. The grievances inflicted upon traders and residents in India by the jealousy which the company felt towards independent British settlers, especially if connected with the press, created intense animosities in England against many of its superior officers personally, and against the continuance of its power. These animosities grew in England with the facilities of communication with the East, the knowledge of the resources and value of British India, the enterprise of modern commerce, and the freedom of modern opinion; every personal injustice which the company visited upon intrusive settlers or travellers, and which, without its authority, was inflicted by its officers, was related in the English newspapers, and spread upon the

pages of the cheap press, ever multiplying its issues, and extending its influence, until a public sentiment, adverse to the justice of the company, grew up among the middle classes. The ultra-liberal sections of English politicians eagerly decried the policy of the company, and reviled with an indignant spirit of nationality the sway of a corporation over an empire where the British nation, represented by its sovereign, alone should reign. All these circumstances procured a favourable audience for any lecturer or orator who had anything to say against the company. Associations were formed to employ such men; eloquent speakers were paid to lecture against the company; India stock was purchased in the name of certain of these popular lecturers, by which they were entitled to attend the meetings of proprietors, and inveigh against the directors, their management at home, and what was called their tyranny, speculation, and aggressive policy abroad. Efforts, occasionally successful, to place some of these advocates of "free trade and free government in India," in the House of Commons, were made. The members of the Peace Society considered the company too warlike, and opposed it on that ground. The Quakers, with whom "the peace principle" is a religious tenet, joined those who, in this "agitation, entertained it as a policy." The Manchester school, hating war on grounds of political economy, and on the utilitarian principle of maintaining commercial intercourse with nations, however those nations might inflict personal injury on individual British subjects, or insult on British dignity, naturally associated themselves with the other sections of English citizens just named, and charged the company with the wars and misgovernment of India, even when the Board of Control had, in spite of the company, carried out the policy for which it was censured. As many of the leaders of these classes of the English people which opposed the company were wealthy, and took an active part in local or imperial politics, and were men of intelligence and virtue, they exercised an influence, upon public opinion at large, formidable to the company, and were unintentionally the means of creating a numerous class of needy adventurers, who to obtain places or employment, which there was no hope of gaining at the India-house, libelled unscrupulously the government and character of the company; nor were individual members of the "committee" at Leadenhall

street, or the council and presidential governments of India, spared in this venal and truthless warfare. It was under such circumstances that contrasts between Mohammedan and British India were drawn in favour of the former. The European press in India, for the most part illiberally treated by the local governments and great officers of the company, and therefore hostile, furnished in its columns ample materials for the opponents of the company to work with. Editors and writers, and proprietors of Indian newspapers, who returned to England, circulated accounts highly prejudicial to the company—generally true as it regarded the treatment they personally experienced, generally false or perverted as to the principles and procedure of the company in the civil or military transactions of the times. To meet these injured or interested opponents, confute the calumnies of hirelings, the mistakes, and erroneous, imperfect, or exaggerated information of those who employed them, the company made no adequate exertion. Now and then some *employé* at Leadenhall Street wrote a leader for the London daily press; or a civil or military officer, fresh from the neighbourhood where some misdeed of the company's was represented as having taken place, wrote a pamphlet contradicting the falsehood. Books were occasionally published on the great historical events passing in the East, such as the Sikh or Affghan war, by actors on the great stage; and in these an *exposé* was made of the calumnies circulated against the company; but the writers of these works were generally too ignorant of the state of society at home—especially political and commercial society—to comprehend the animus with which the attacks upon the company proceeded from different quarters. Thus a bad character of the company gradually spread among all ranks in England, but especially among the classes who resided in the great commercial cities of England, and possessed the elective franchise. Among these pamphlets, written *ad populum*, were circulated, showing what good rulers the great Moguls were, how well Saracen and Affghan governed, how stupendous their public works, and how much they cared for their people. The changes were rung upon the phrase paternal government, as applied to those despotic Mohammedan rulers, by men who professed to teach at other times that people needed not paternal sovereigns, that they were able to walk alone, or must learn to do so; and that for princes to treat citizens as children, to be petted or chastised at their will or pleasure, was a usurpation of government, which belonged to the people, whose will and law constitutional princes should

feel themselves honoured in faithfully administering.

On the continent of Europe, and in the United States, the grand military triumphs of the company excited an intense envy, but more especially in France and Russia than anywhere else. The press of those countries culled articles from that of India and of England, written under the circumstances and from the causes just named, and perverted those materials, working out from them attacks upon the justice, integrity, and humanity of the company, and of the English government and people at large. These were reproduced in the English press, and very frequently consisted of ingenious and specious contrasts between the grandeur, dignity, glory, greatness, and comfort of Mohammedan India, and the tyranny, meanness, excessive taxation, and general wretchedness exhibited in the condition of British India. In this way false ideas of both Mohammedan and British India were propagated in Europe. The British people were unjust to themselves, and to their countrymen, men whose part in life was played in their most magnificent possession; while a truthless homage was paid to the character, government, and civilization, of as ruthless and tyrannous a race as ever stained the earth with blood, or bound its inhabitants in the chains of despotic government. The perusal of the chapters of this History immediately preceding the present, can hardly fail to remove much of this popular and unjust prejudice in favour of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, although in writing them the author has scrupulously adhered to the obligation of an historian—"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

Indeed there is a considerable difficulty in unravelling the skein of Mohammedan history in the East, so entirely faithless are the Mohammedan chroniclers themselves. It was justly said by Elphinstone concerning the history of Akbar, written by a Mohammedan writer, now commonly quoted, Abul Fazel, "An uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akbar disappear, and it is from other authors we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted."

It has been very much the fashion to rely upon all early writings which treat of Mohammedan history; this strange indiscriminate confidence, where the utmost caution and the soundest criticism were necessary, has contributed also to a more favourable judgment upon the Mohammedans in India,

and in Asia generally, than comports with an enlightened opinion. Dr. Sprenger correctly says: "There has been a time when every Arabic, Persian, or Turkish work, containing the history of Mohammed and his successors, or any part of the history of the East, was considered as a source of information, the authority of which was above all doubt and question." There is a tendency to commit the fault censured by Dr. Sprenger, not only by the writers of Mohammedan history, but by those also who relate the history of other nations. The eagerness to obtain the narratives of contemporary authors, induces a forgetfulness of the facts that all contemporary history is not equally trustworthy, and that the kinds of testimony given concerning contemporaneous events are, however reliable, of different relative value. "Our scholars have written Greek history as if every contemporary record were of equal value; and they have drawn their conclusions from the sneers of the satirist as unhesitatingly as from the gravest statesmen. To the historian satires and libels are invaluable aids; they may sometimes throw a new light on a period, and they will always illustrate its manners and views. Thus every classical scholar who has read Thucydides and Aristophanes, hand in hand, taking each comedy in its order, as he reached the corresponding year of the Peloponnesian war, will know how vivid the interest is which the comedy will throw on the sober history. . . . But satire and comedy are to illustrate, not to prove; and if we use them as evidence they must mislead. Mr. Grote's chapter on the Sophists is a memorable illustration of this. For ages men have accepted satire as proof, and of course it has prejudiced their views. The *Punch* of our day will be an invaluable aid to the future historian, as representing the present time in its lighter traits and feelings; but alas for historic truth if he forgets what *Punch* is, and treats it as many a scholar has treated Aristophanes."*

In judging of the character of Mohammedan princes in India, of their governments, and the condition of the people under them, it seems to have been very much forgotten by modern historians that the writers of such accounts as are handed down to us were influenced by fanaticism, policy, and interest, to place all matters in a light favourable to their party, as of course they regarded all subjects from a Mohammedan point of view. Where conquerors write accounts of their own deeds and motives, which the vanquished dare not controvert, or know not how to do so, it is absurd to rely upon such relations. "To

this class belongs Mohammedan history: even at its best we have only the records of Islam, not of the nationalities which Islam crushed. Thus the great blank in the history of Mohammedan India is the absence of any Hindoo account of the struggle; we have only the annals of the invader. Not one voice from the millions which were conquered has dared to tell us of his countrymen's struggles or despair. Even when a Hindoo has written he only writes as a Mohammedan."* "From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the hopes, fears, yearnings, and efforts of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes except according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Mohammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him."†

When the accounts given to us by Mohammedan writers are subjected to just principles of historical criticism, the laudations bestowed by so many modern writers on the continent of Europe, in America, in England, and even in India, upon the Mohammedan rulers and their works, will vanish as empty declamation, or praise invidiously bestowed. From the earliest advent of the Arab armies on the western confines of India—during the latter part of the seventh century—to the time when the glory of the Mohammedan rule faded with the reign of the treacherous and unfilial Aurungzebe, or perished utterly when the late sanguinary and crownless King of Delhi was sent a convict from the palace whose marbles he stained with the blood of English women and children, the Mohammedans have been rapacious, perfidious, bigoted, sanguinary, cruel, and vindictive. Their history is a story of fanaticism, lust, and slaughter; and their traces in India will soon sink from view, except as the memory of their misdeeds shall continue, or the Christian philosopher shall point out the purposes for which an all-wise Providence overruled their career.

When the Arab armies penetrated to Cabul, and pushed their conquering way down to Mooltan, penetrating into Scinde, and along the banks of the Indus, their valour and military capacity were proved to be far superior to those of the natives. At times a chivalrous patriotism was shown by the Hindoo people, especially when the Rajpoots came into conflict with the impetuous intruders, but gene-

* *Calcutta Review*.

† Sir H. Elliot's *Biographical Index*, Introduction, p. xviii.

* *Calcutta Review*.

rally this quality was confined to those to whom defeat was the loss of honour and riches, territory and power. The Arab conquests were, on the whole, easily effected—a few of the invaders sometimes making fugitives a native host. In the struggles between the Rajpoots and the intruders, by which the latter were eventually driven out of Scinde, a most unequal contest was maintained, the Arab cavalry bravely encountering all odds, charging ten times their number, and achieving prodigies of valour. They were greatly gallant during the conflicts which issued in their expulsion, as well as in those which made them conquerors of Scinde.

The various hordes which subsequently, under chiefs of mixed Turkish and Mogul descent, swept fiercely over the northern provinces of India, were scarcely less brave, and showed even more address in war than the armies of the caliphs. When eventually the founders of the Mohammedan empire in India laid the basis of a dominion which, for long after, was the wonder of the world, the same military capacity and heroism which characterized their predecessors was displayed. It was not until after the European period had commenced, and especially during the sway of the British, that the lofty courage and adaptation for military enterprise of the Mohammedan conquerors of India abated. Then, however, such qualities rapidly disappeared, until a “handful” of British soldiers could chase ten times their number of Mussulman troops or fanatics from the field.

A few of the Mohammedan princes of India governed well; their fiscal regulations were wise; their concessions to the vanquished were politic; clemency shone brightly where generally a ruthless vengeance had reigned; and public works, ornamental and useful, were carried on in the great cities and rural districts. Notwithstanding all the care with which it is necessary to approach the narratives of partial Mohammedan and hypocritical Hindoo writers, it is to be credited that several of the great Mohammedan princes were not only men of genius, but of justice and of mercy. At the close of the tenth century Sebektegin, who ascended the throne of Afghanistan from the condition of a slave to the former ruler, and whose name is favourably identified with the Mohammedan history of the period, was one of those chiefs who knew how to conduct war, and employ the advantages of peace. “A story is told of Sebektegin, while yet a private soldier, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was bringing off his prize in triumph, he observed

the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given to him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power.” * By narratives such as this the illustrious deeds of the Mohammedan princes are obscured, and rendered less credible. The great objects pursued by most of them were renown, plunder, and fanaticism. The glory of conquest had as great a charm for the Mohammedan victors of India as for a modern Frenchman; and Napoleon the Great did not more indiscriminately seize the objects of art, or quarter his troops upon the people of unoffending provinces of Europe, than did the greatest heroes of the various Mohammedan dynasties seize upon the palaces and treasures of the vanquished.

When Mahmood, the successor of Sebektegin, made his first incursions as far as the Jumna, he stormed cities and razed fortresses, putting their garrisons promiscuously to the sword, and marking his whole route by rapine, returned to Ghizni laden with the riches and spoils of extreme northern India. He had been as zealous for religion as avaricious of gold, or vainglorious of conquest, for he struck down idols, and defaced, desecrated, or destroyed all the temples in the line of his marches. The career and conduct of this man will furnish the reader with a fair estimate of the character of even the best of the victorious leaders of the hordes of Mohammedan cavalry which poured down like a living torrent upon north-western India during the eleventh and succeeding century.

“Mahmood, if not the greatest sovereign the world ever saw—as maintained by most Mohammedan writers—was assuredly the most famous of his age. Uniting in his person many brilliant and estimable qualities, he possessed but few of the failings so peculiar to the time in which he lived. To the character of a great general he added that of a liberal encourager of literature and the arts; and although he was not wanting in religious zeal, and lost no opportunity of humbling the power of Hindoo authority, he cannot be charged with any acts of cruelty against his heathen adversaries; and it is said that he never took the life of a Hindoo save in battle, or during the storming of a fortress. This, it must be remembered, is the character of a

* Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 526.

prince who lived in an age when imprisonment and murder were ordinary steps in a royal career. Perhaps his great failing, and one which grew with his years, was that of avarice. His Indian conquests helped to fill his treasury to an extent unknown in any previous or future reign. It is reported that upon his hearing of the great wealth of some contemporary monarch, who had managed to amass a considerable treasure, more especially in precious stones, he expressed it to be a source of pious consolation to him that he was possessed of yet superior treasures.*

As among the earlier sovereigns, so among the later, the passion for aggrandizement, and the indulgence of an unprincipled ambition, which disdained no means, however unworthy, and abhorred no instruments, however cruel and sanguinary, which might be employed for its gratification, in most instances were cherished. The picture given by Sir Thomas Roe, who was dispatched by King James I. at the beginning of 1615 as *Ambassador to the Great Mogul, or King of India*, portrays how vicious and tyrannical was the court of one of the best specimens of the more modern Mohammedan emperors. When Sir Thomas reached Berhampore he found the emperor's third son, Sultan Parveiz, the chief person in authority, and presented himself, that, as the ambassador of England, he might pay his respects. Among the presents which he brought was a case of European wine, which the prince opened immediately after the state audience terminated, and continued to drink until he became too much intoxicated even to speak to the representative of King James.

As the son, so the father, whom Sir Thomas describes as addicted to intoxication, to the serious injury of his health and capacity for business. This was the great Jehanghire. The family of the emperor lived, among one another and with the emperor himself, in a state of continual feud. Sir Thomas found that the eldest prince, and heir-apparent to the throne, was a prisoner, having been guilty of rebellion; and every member of the family was in some manner committed to an intrigue as to the succession. Sir Thomas, admitting the talent for governing and for the home direction of military affairs possessed by this great padishaw of India, complains of his petulance, puerility, meanness, cruelty, and bigotry,—“flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none.” As one of the objects of the British minister was to form a commercial treaty, his accomplishment of that object brought out the character of Mohammedan princes and a Mohammedan court.

* Elphinstone, vol. i

It was only by bribery the most open that he could obtain the necessary signatures and formalities to give validity to the agreements actually made by the padishaw. The Portuguese were rivals, and their bribes appear to have been more skilfully dispersed—the venial court caring nothing for its dignity, truth, and honour, but anxious only to stimulate the rivalry of the two European powers, so as to secure the largest possible amount of bribes. Sir Thomas at one time despaired of success, because of the “rubies, ballaces, emeralds, and jewels, which so much contented the king and his great men, that we were for a time nearly eclipsed.” The Prince Khurram, afterwards known as Shah Jehan, and holding so distinguished a place in Mohammedan Indian history, was among those towards whom the process of bribery was as necessary as to those who bore no royal blood in their veins. By dint of presents Sir Thomas succeeded at last. The following description of one of his interviews will show the folly, meanness, falsehood, and treachery which characterized the Mohammedan imperial court at a time when it was at the acme of its glory and renown, and tend to remove, if anything can, the allegations made in Western Europe and America of the justice of Mohammedan rule, and the glories of its civilization:—“The thirteenth at night I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with mee the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the king, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old broaker, but my interpreter was kept out, Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more than he was willing to heare. When I came to the king, he appointed mee a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of Englande, and of the present I gave the day before, to some of which I answered, but at last I said, my interpreter was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted means to satisfie his maiestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chan's desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the king I desired to speake to him; he answered willingly, whereat Asaph Chan's sonne-in-law pulled him away by force, and that faction hedged the king so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the king, whereat the king called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter, and I on the other; I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now

had been here two months, whereof more than one was passed in sickness, the other in compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my master had employed me, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace between their maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure trade and residence for my countrey men. He answered, that was already granted. I replied, it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thread, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentic confirmation, then it had by ordinary firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him. I answered, the league was yet new, and very weake; that many curiosities were to be found in our country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send, and the merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged. He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned; whether I meant jewels and rich stones. I answered, no; that we did not think them fit presents to send backe which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us, but that we sought to finde such things for his maiestie as were rare here and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in brasse, copper, or stones, rich embroyderies, stufes of gold and silver. He said it was very well, but that hee desired an English horse. I answered, it was impossible by sea and by land: the Turke would not suffer passage. He replied, that hee thought it not impossible by sea; I told him the dangers of stormes and varietties of weather would proove it. He answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live, and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a voyage, but that for his maiestie's satisfaction I would write to advise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions which I had conceived for the confirmation of the league, and for the securitie of our nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such termes, which I forbore to complaine of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word Asaph Chan offered to pull my interpreter, but I held him, suffering him

only to winke, and make unprofitable signes. The king hereat grew suddenly in to choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my interpreter to an answer, that with what was passed I would not trouble his maiestie, but would seeke justice of his sonne, the prince, of whose favour I doubted not."*

The foregoing quotation shows the Mogul in his relation to the ambassadors of other states and the princes whom they represented; the following picture of his relation to his own people is drawn with equal fidelity and graphic effect:—"The king hath no man but eunuchs that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the *jaruco*, looking into a plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returns thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within the raile attended the men of ranke; from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At afternoone he returns to the durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the *guzelcan*, a faire court, wherein in the midst is a throne erected of free stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these, without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the state, government, disposition of war or peace, but at one of these two last places, where it is publickely propounded and resolved, and so registered, which, if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings; but the common base people knew as much as the counsell, and the newes every day is the king's new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sickness or drinke prevent it; which must be knowne, for as all his subjects are slave, so is he in a kind of reciprocall bondage; for he is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie; two days no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene

* These statements are confirmed by the chaplain of Sir Thomas, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, observed by Edward Terry, then Chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul. Reprinted from the edition of 1655. London, 1777.

by some to satisfy others. On Tuesday at the jaruco he sits in judgment, never refusing the poorest man's complaint, where he hears with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses.*"

An able reviewer has justly estimated the testimony of the witness, and the character and civilization of the courts of the Moguls at that particular period, and since then until the most recent period of their tyranny, in the following paragraph:—"Sir Thomas's account is amusing and valuable, as the evidence of an honest and intelligible witness, relative to the habits, forms, customs of the court and camp at that period, when the Mogul empire was nearly at the zenith of its prosperity and splendour. It shows how little it differed, save in wealth and power, from the native courts of more modern date. He dwells continually on the same exhibitions of display and meanness, childishness and intrigue, cruelty and weakness, rigid formalities and gross ignorance, which constitute the record of more recent travellers who have visited the durbars of the descendants of Jehanghire, or of the independent successors of his powerful viceroys."

The atrocious cruelties practised upon their people by the Great Moguls have their counterpart in those perpetrated by the more modern Mohammedan princes. The inexorable severity ever characteristic of Mohammedan rule was displayed to Sir Thomas on various occasions. A few of these instances depict the spirit of Mohammedan government in a light at once so true and so striking, that one may believe it impossible to peruse the like, and yet compare the government of the Moguls with that of the East India Company. "This day a gentle-woman of Normall's was taken in the king's house in some action with an eunuch: another capon that loved her killed him; the poore woman was set up to the armpits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the sunne's violence; if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsell yielded in pearls, jewels, and ready money, sixteen hundred thousand rupies."

While on his journey he made the following entries in his journal:—"I remooved foure course to *Ramsor*, where the king had left the bodies of an hundred naked men slaine in the fields for robbery. . . . I overtooke in the way a camell laden with three hundred men's heads, sent from Candahar by the

governor, in present to the king, that were out in rebellion." In an earlier entry in his journal he records that "a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul with their accusation: without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chiefe of them to be torne in pieces by dogges, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house, where twelve dogges tore the chiefe of them in pieces, and thirteenth of his fellowes, having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody, and stinking, to the view of all men, and the annoyance of the neighbourhood."

Shah Jehan, the mighty successor of this monarch, was frequently, while yet bearing the name of Sultan Khurram, as well as subsequently, brought into diplomatic contact with Sir Thomas Roe, and his descriptions of his character and administration present features of tyranny and cruelty characteristic of the race. In the narrative given in a previous chapter in this History of the reign of these princes, the events of chief importance have been brought out in consecutive order, and such notice taken of their character as was necessary to a proper appreciation of the incidents recorded. The sketches given by Sir Thomas Roe afford an insight as to the spirit and genius of the men and their government as both appeared at the time to an acute English observer, and afford valuable assistance in tracing the comparative claims of Mogul and British rule. Sir Thomas says of Shah Jehan—"The prince sate in the same magnificence, order, and greatneese, that I mentioned of the king; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver, his armes, sword, buckler, bowe, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men, but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all; yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokenesse and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering suitors, or not hearing. If I can judge any thing, he has left

his heart among his father's women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahall, in the English coach,* the day before visited him, and took leave; she gave him a cloack all imbroydered with pearles, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse."

When the Rev. Mr. Terry, who had been sent out from England, arrived in India, he proceeded to join Sir Thomas, and brought with him a considerable convoy of necessaries for the ambassador, and presents to the padishaw. At Berhampore both Mr. Terry and his treasures were stopped by Shah Jehan, the future Great Mogul, who simply acted as a common robber, appropriating to himself whatever he desired, however necessary to the chaplain or the ambassador; in fact, whatever was not designated as a present for the emperor, his father, he made more or less a spoil for himself. Even the royal gifts were not sent on until the complaints of the ambassador to the padishaw led to the transmission of commands from the latter. When the treasures arrived at the camp of the emperor, the latter, no more honest than his son, seized the packages, opened and examined them, and would have retained them, had not the boldness and firmness of the ambassador either awed or shamed him. The great padishaw was then as despicable in his flattery and poor artifices of conciliation as he had previously been in his curiosity and cupidity.

With Aurungzebe the glory of the Moguls may be said to have departed. He was the last of the *Great Moguls*; and whatever the splendour of his career, it was equalled by his guilt: to his sire and king, treacherous, unfilial, and disloyal; to his brothers, deceitful and unnatural, ambitious, tyrannical, and unscrupulous, his name and life are stains upon the reputation of Mohammedan India.

The rise, progress, and decline of the Mahrattas, related on their appropriate pages in this History, further exemplify the sanguinary, tyrannical, and unprincipled character of Indian chiefs, heathen and Mohammedan; for the struggles of those times, whether Moslem or Hindoo bore the sword in triumph, reveal the blood-thirsty, rapacious, and perfidious character of all Indian courts and peoples. The stratagems, excesses of cruelty, and breaches of faith, practised by the Mohammedan emperors towards the Mahratta chiefs, and the wild lawlessness and violence of the latter, form a strange chapter in Indian and in human history.

It has been sometimes argued against the

* An English carriage which was presented by Sir Thomas to the emperor, and which, he relates, cost one hundred and fifty pounds.

wisdom and humanity of the East India Company's administration that frequent famines have prevailed, from the like of which the people of India were exempt during the Mohammedan rule. This is simply false as to the period of Mohammedan sway. One of the few redeeming features of the character and conduct of Aurungzebe was his solicitude to mitigate the horrors of a famine which broke out during his reign, from which, nevertheless, multitudes perished. The same causes which operated in producing these terrible visitations during the sway of the East India Company also existed during that of the various Mohammedan dynasties. Notwithstanding the devotion of their subjects, especially when a sense of religious obligation existed, Mohammedan princes, whether petty rajahs, or seated on the throne of empire, have been often heartlessly indifferent to the welfare of the people, whom they professed to be bound by the most sacred ties of religion and political duty to protect and cherish. To the Hindoos they were generally fiercely intolerant. Aurungzebe especially illustrates this fact. His father was often forbearing, his grandfather indifferent, on religious matters, but Aurungzebe himself, with less religion than either, was a persecutor. The fiercest robber of the Mahrattas was in many things more to be commended than Aurungzebe. The code of military honour that prevailed among that rude and low caste people was much higher than what was practised or acknowledged at the court and camp of the emperor. The people of all classes groaned beneath the sway of the most glorious of the Moguls. Raj Singh of Odeypore described the true condition of the people when he addressed the emperor in these terms:—"Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate; the soldiers are murmuring; the merchants complaining; the Mohammedans discontented; the Hindoos destitute; and multitudes of people, wretched, even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day from destitution. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting tribute from a people thus miserably reduced?"* This state of things was not so very different from what existed under others, even the most magnificent of the Moguls, as to require much variety in describing the condition of their subjects; yet it suits the purpose of certain parties and classes in England to degrade their country by lowering British rule and British rulers in

* Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*.

India to the level of Mohammedan princes and the despotism which they exercised.

The architectural taste and zeal displayed by some of the Mohammedan princes are justly entitled to praise. It should, however, be understood that an intense fanaticism led them to lavish upon gorgeous mosques the wealth plundered from heathen temples. The injunctions of the Koran caused a vast expenditure upon tombs; hence the resting-place of the dead is peculiarly dear to the Mohammedan, and is exhibited in this age as well as by the remains of past centuries. Whether in the care bestowed upon the turbaned tombs of Smyrna and Stamboul, or in the costly tombs reared for their deceased relatives by modern princes, the Mohammedans prove their veneration for their beloved dead. In the crisis of his ruin, the heir of the fallen house of Oude built in 1858 a beautiful tomb at Paris, in the picturesque burial-ground of Père-la-Chaise, for his mother.

The pride of power, as well as religious and filial piety, originated many of the great structures of Mohammedan India. The palatial glories of Ghizni, Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, had their origin in the towering ambition and love of despotic splendour characteristic of Mohammedan kings and conquerors.

The means for executing the vast and brilliant works which were accomplished in the Mohammedan ages of India, were found in the oppressive taxation or plunder of the people. Frequently the costly glories of the rajahs caused such extensive suffering among even the Mohammedan people, that sedition and bloodshed ensued; or, in spite of the dazzling results, the gorgeous rulers were cursed in the midst of the glittering cities they created or decorated with a taste so ornate and peculiar. It was in the countries of India subject to Mohammedan power, with rare exceptions, as it is in Turkey to-day, where the extravagance of the court is maintained amidst the decay of the empire, humiliation of the government, and imminent perils of the state. The following quotation from the Constantinople correspondent of a London journal presents, in the state of the sultan's court and government, a striking illustration of the way in which mighty festivals and enterprises of grandeur in Mohammedan India, were proofs of weakness, of the presence of elements of social and political decline, and of the inherent viciousness and self-destroying tendency of that especial form of political despotism which the Mohammedan religion creates. The communication was made from Constantinople in August, 1858.

“ ‘The sultan's expenditure has increased,

is increasing, and ought to be cut down.' Such is the universal cry which resounds through the whole empire. The minister, who is at the end of his wits and financial legerdemains, whispers it with a sigh; the *employé*, who gets paid in paper, murmurs it cautiously; the army, which is months—not to say years—in arrear, raises it loudly; the people, who see the sweat of their brows squandered, utter it indignantly; and even the usurer, who makes a fortune by this recklessness, afraid of the consequences, has begun to join in it clamorously. Never was the *vox populi* more clearly heard, and never was it more justly raised. Before it all mincing and delicacy would be out of place. It is high time to speak out plainly, and expose the cancer which is consuming the vital forces of this empire. There is no secret about it, for it has become table-talk, and the evil has reached such a point, that, unless some remedy be found for it, the most serious consequences must follow.

“No sovereign in Europe has a larger civil list than the Sultan of Turkey. According to the last arrangement, made about two years ago, it amounts to £1,200,000 sterling in round numbers, which surpasses by far that of any other sovereign, if we compare it with the whole revenue of the empire, which is between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000 sterling. However formidable this proportion must appear to European minds, it might pass without comment in a country which might have the cheapest administration of any if it were strictly adhered to. But this civil list represents only the nominal expenditure of the palace. In reality, the latter knows no bounds except the impossibility of finding money. As the revenues come in the civil list lays its hand on them, under the title of ‘advances,’ which are never repaid; and, if this resource fails, loans are contracted, for which the government becomes answerable. The consequences of this system, which has been going on for the last five years, are of course felt. A considerable part of the revenues has been anticipated; both the military and naval departments are in arrear; in the army alone a sum of well-nigh a million of money is owing; the officials have been paid for the last two months in treasury bonds, which had to be discounted at seven per cent. loss against paper money, which was itself at a discount of sixty to seventy per cent. against coin. At the beginning of this year two millions' worth of these treasury bonds had to be issued to pay the most urgent debts of the civil list, and in spite of all this the obligations of this department are estimated at more than twice that amount.

articles of the first necessity required for the palace are left unpaid-for for months; and most of the jewels have taken a pilgrimage to one or other wearer, and are hawked about by the brokers. All these miseries, instead of producing a lucid interval, seem only to heighten the folly of extravagance. While one set of jewels is pawned, another, richer, is bought on credit from adventurous individuals. Two nuptials were celebrated this year, for which the bill will not fall far short of from £700,000 to £800,000 sterling, and two others are under consideration which will not cost much less.

“ Besides, and far above all this, stands the building mania. If the thing were not patent it would be incredible, but at this moment no less than eight palaces and five kiosks and other smaller buildings are in process of construction. Among the first is the new palace of Tcheragan, on the spot where the old wooden building stood, and for which the estimate amounts to £2,500,000; a palace near it for guests of distinction; two palaces for the newly-married daughters at Sali Bazaar; another for the eldest sultana at Arnaut Koi, for which several large pieces of ground had to be bought at an extravagant price; one at Arnaut Koi for the two daughters of the late Fethi Ahmed Pasha; one at Kandili for the sister of the sultan; and one which is to grace or disgrace the shores of Therapia. Of the five kiosks one is at the old seraglio, on the spot where the old one was burnt down; another on the top of the hill of Tcheragan; another at the Sweet Waters of Asia; and a music-hall and theatre, which are almost finished, at the new palace of Dolma Bakshi. These buildings, if they are now completed, will cost at least from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000 sterling. You will naturally ask, How could this evil attain such a point without some one trying to stop it? The answer to it is simple. There is not sufficient union and moral courage in the leading men to do anything effectual. Nay, more than one man is responsible for having encouraged this recklessness to promote his own private interests.

“ In 1845 the civil list was fixed by the sultan himself at about £500,000 sterling, and, in spite of this smaller revenue, the civil list was more than once enabled to make advances to the other departments. It is difficult enough to follow the changes which take place in the character of our most intimate friends; it is almost impossible to follow the changes in the mind of an absolute sovereign so removed from contact with the world as the sultan is. It may have been the habit of uncontrolled power, or bad

counsels, or false ideas suggested by flatterers; at any rate, a great change has taken place. In the continual rivalry between the competitors for power he had full liberty to follow a growing disposition for extravagance. Anxious to secure their places, those in office took good care not to jeopardize their position by an untimely resistance, while those out of power thought of coming in by showing the necessary pliancy. Thus a disposition, which, perhaps, might have been stopped in the beginning, was developed until it has led to such appalling results. This could go on as long as there was a possibility of meeting the demands; but the thing has lately assumed such proportions, that the ministry, despairing of being able to do so, decided on making an attempt to check it.

“ The first step took place some weeks ago, when a memorandum, signed by all the ministers, was given in, to ask for a reduction of the pay of divers functionaries, and for the abolition of certain other posts which were unnecessary. This was a measure affecting only indirectly the expenditure of the palace. It had become the habit to send away palace officials, and order a place to be given to them in some government office. The councils attached to the different departments were by this means augmented to an enormous extent, without gaining thereby in efficiency. Each of these councils ought to have six members and a secretary, and most of them have now from twenty to thirty, and every one of them is paid at the rate of £2000 to £3000 a year. It was represented that a great saving could be effected by the suppression of such a number of useless officials, and that consequently more money could be made available for the purposes of government. The representation was graciously received, and an answer promised. A few days after the minister of finance was called in, and informed that his majesty had a running account with his French *fournisseur*, who had furnished the new palace, and was now finishing the theatre. His account was one hundred and fifty thousand purses, or about £500,000, of which one-third was to be paid now, and it was hoped the faithful minister would provide the necessary sum. The next day a loan of sixty million piastres was hawked about Galata, and part of the sum found.”

This account so strikingly exhibits the character of the sovereigns, courts, and people in Mohammedan India during the waning splendour of their power, that it is scarcely possible for the philosopher and the politician to avoid seeing that like causes produced the effects so strikingly displayed

at Constantinople now, and formerly in the great Moslem capitals of India.

Whatever may have been the magnificence of the Mohammedan courts in India, the people seldom caught the infection. Few buildings of magnitude or taste, except mosques and tombs, and occasionally tanks, were erected anywhere by the citizens or zemindars. In this respect also the western Mohammedan nations exemplify the condition of India from the advent of the first hordes of Saracen robbers to the fall of the last of the Moguls. Occasionally the architectural enterprise of particular princes would spread as an infection among the people, and buildings for private enjoyment would spring up, resembling in their degree those erected by the monarch, but no lasting impressions of taste and skill remained as the result. When Mahmood of Ghizni expended in that place in a manner so gorgeous the vast plunder he brought thither from India proper, his people emulated his splendour and architectural ambition, but the effort was fitful, and the community soon collapsed into the coarse apathy and sensual sloth from which Mohammedan peoples are seldom aroused but by the voice of fanaticism, and the lust of carnage, which their fanaticism so deeply fosters.

The condition of the kingdom of Oude, previous to its annexation under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, was, with all its tyranny, corruption, and anarchy, a correct representation of the tendencies of Mohammedan government, and bore a family resemblance to the Mohammedan states throughout India, ancient and modern. Sir W. H. Sleeman, who had opportunities of becoming well acquainted with Oude, its court, land tenures, talookdars, soldiery, and people, represents rapacity and corruption as reigning everywhere. The extravagance of the court, the oppressive collection of taxes, the remorseless tyranny of the feudal chiefs and officers of government, as he describes them, corresponds so closely with the records of the Mohammedan people in the annals handed down to us, even by the hands of "the faithful," as to make it wonderful how the power of Mohammedan dynasties and governments held so tenacious an existence in regions where so large a portion of the inhabitants hated its sway. Notwithstanding exceptional instances of good government, and impartial administration of justice, the general current of Mohammedan affairs resembled that which had so long prevailed in Oude until the suppression of its native government. The officer* just named gives an instance of the anarchy,

* *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude.* By Sir W. H. Sleeman.

cruelty, treachery, and faithless government of that ancient kingdom, illustrating the condition of the people of India under the yoke of Islam during the greater portion of the Mohammedan period. In a particular district Sir William met with a certain nizam, a rajah (of Bulrampore), and a banker, one Ramdutt Pandey. The nizam by his extravagance became a debtor to the banker for a large amount, but requiring more, he invited the money-lender to his camp, and with him the Rajah of Bulrampore. The sequence is thus related by General Sleeman:—"The nizam and Ramdutt talked for some time together, seemingly on the most friendly and cordial terms; but the nizam at last asked him for a further loan of money, and further securities for landholders of doubtful character, before he went to bathe. The banker told him that he could lend him no more money till he came back from bathing, as he had lent him eighty thousand rupees only the day before, and that he could not increase his pledges of security without further consultation with the landholders, as he had not recovered more than four out of the seven lacs of rupces which he had been obliged to advance to the treasury on the securities given for them during the last year. He then took leave, and rose to depart. The nizam turned, and made some sign to his deputy, Jafir Allee, who rose, presented his gun, and shot Ramdutt through the right side, close under the armpit. Exclaiming, '*Ram, Ram!*' (God, God!) the banker fell, and the nizam, seizing and drawing the sword which lay on the carpet before him, cut the fallen banker across the forehead. His nephew and deputy drew theirs, and together they inflicted no less than twenty-two cuts upon the body of Ramdutt. The banker's three attendants, seeing their master thus shot down, and hacked to pieces, called out for help; but one of the three ruffians cut Towahir, the Brahmin lad, across the shoulder with his sword, and all ran off and sought shelter across the border in British territory. The nizam and his attendants then buried the body hastily near the tent, and ordered the troops and artillery to advance towards and fire into the two camps. They did so; and the Bulrampore rajah had only just reached his tents when the shot came showering in upon them from the nizam's guns. He galloped off as fast as he could towards the British border, about twenty miles distant, attended only by a few mounted followers, some of whom he sent off to Bulrampore, to bring his family, as fast as possible, across the border to him. The rest he ordered to follow him. His followers, and those of the

murdered banker, fled before the nizam's forces, which had been concentrated for this atrocious purpose, and both their camps were plundered. Before the rajah fled, however, the murdered banker's son-in-law, who had been left in the camp, ran to him with a small casket, containing Ramdut's seals, the bond for the eighty thousand rupees, as also the written pledges given by the nizam and his commanding officers of corps for the banker's and the rajah's personal security. He mounted him on one of his horses, and took both him and the casket off to the British territory." After these transactions the nizam attacked the banker's villages, and plundered from them property to the value of £100,000. He then complained to the King of Oude that the banker had attacked and plundered him, and was rewarded by the chief potentate of the realm for his good conduct by presents of honour! Soon after the nizam was defeated by the banker's brother, and became a fugitive, but found by bribery at the court of Lucknow protection and immunity. Thus, in every part of India, and in every century since it was invaded by the Saracens, the Mohammedan rule has been a curse to the people, socially and politically, as it has been in every other part of the world subjected to its baleful power. In sweeping away idolatry, and, to a certain extent, in abolishing caste, the religion of the false prophet was better than that which it superseded; but its inexorable tyranny, and that of the political system it fostered, crushed the people, deluged the land with blood, and familiarized those dignified as "true believers" with rapine, treachery, and injustice, in every form.

The conduct of the princes to one another, whether rulers of great states or petty rajahs, was utterly perfidious. The rules of the Koran, which obliged them to do justice, and show hospitality and alliance to princes of their own faith, were so loosely laid down, that great latitude of interpretation was a consequence, and this was stretched to the uttermost by the kings and rajahs of India. The moral obligations of their religion being so propounded, and of such a nature as not to press very sternly upon conscience, every advantage was taken of this fact by those sovereigns who affected or felt religious principle. There are no cruelties recorded upon the page of history as practised by monarchs against monarchs, which have not been rivalled by those of India, and generally the latter far surpass in atrocity the most appalling deeds perpetrated by the most ruthless tyrants in any other part of the world. The history of the various dynasties recorded in previous

chapters reveals a sad narrative of turpitude and faithlessness on the part of many of the proudest, and, religiously, the most zealous of the princes of Islam, to one another. No treachery appears to have been too base for a Mohammedan king, zealous for his religion, to practise against another equally zealous; and when war decided their relations to one another, as victor and vanquished, with a few generous exceptions, the former exacted from the latter the most shameful humiliations, and inflicted cruelties, from the mention of which humanity shudders. Here again we perceive the genius of Mohammedanism in India, illustrated by its phenomena in more western regions. The history of the sovereigns of Turkey, Egypt, and Persia, during the memory of living men, has displayed the same utter want of principle, where honour, treaty, and the most sacred pledges, given on the Koran, might have been expected to bind; and the same cruel disposition has been shown so far as the nature of the events, and the proximity of the rival sultans and pashas to Europe, permitted. During the wars of the present century between Turkey and Russia, the latter succeeded in forming alliances with various Asiatic chiefs, who treacherously sold their allegiance, and inflicted upon the loyal who fell into their hands, in defiance of the Koran, all manner of indignities and cruelties. The habit of mind which the religion of the Arabian prophet begets in his votaries, of hating all who differ from them in religion with an implacable and remorseless enmity, extends itself to all who differ from them in any way politically or socially, and even to such as have opposing commercial interests; and thus Mohammedan is made to suffer from Mohammedan in the result of the spirit of hatred so keenly nursed in the bosom of every Mussulman to members of an alien creed. There is a moral retribution thus brought home to the abettors of this most bigoted of all religions, showing in a striking manner the retributive principle of God's moral government, which brings upon every man, or association of men, the consequences of the evils they perpetrate upon others. As the electric spark travels back by the quickest media to the spot from which it issued, so the hostilities and evil deeds of men come back again, under the influence of another law, not less sure, to their own breasts.

The spirit of the Mohammedan invaders, and the consequences of their invasion, have been thus faithfully described by an old author:—"The invasions of the Mogul Tartars overturned the Hindoo empire, and,

* *Sketches of the History, &c., of the Hindoos*, London, 1792.

besides the calamities which immediately attend conquest, fixed on succeeding generations a lasting train of miseries. They brought along with them the spirit of a haughty superstition; they exacted the conversion of the vanquished; and they came to conquer and to remain. The success of the first invaders invited many to follow them; but we may consider the expedition of Tamerlane as that which completed the ruin of the Hindoo government. Wherever he appeared he was victorious; neither Mussulman nor Hindoo could resist his fortune, nor could any one who opposed him expect mercy. The march of his army was marked with blood, from the banks of the Attock to the eastern side of the Ganges, and from thence back by a different route to Samarcand. The disappearance of this angry meteor was followed by a long scene of warfare among the Mohammedan invaders themselves."

It has been the fashion of late years with a certain class of writers, especially in connection with the periodical press, to laud the policy of the Mohammedan rulers of India towards the vanquished Hindoos. The foregoing chapters, written with impartiality, disclose a different state of things, even when the settled government of the conquerors had existed for centuries, and there was no prospect of any extensive revolt. It is true that some of the wisest of the settled monarchs of the various dynasties brought in by the sword were just and tolerant to the Hindoo population. During the long reign of Akbar this was to a great extent the case. "He endeavoured," said the author last quoted, "to correct the ferocity of his co-religionists; was indulgent to the religion and customs of the Hindoos; and wishing to revive the learning of the Brahmins, which had been persecuted as profane by the ignorant Muftis, he ordered the celebrated observatory at Benares to be repaired, invited the Brahmins to return to their studies, and assured them of his protection."

Although there are other instances of the haughty princes of the new faith not only showing tolerance to Hindooism, but appearing to sympathize with it personally, they were generally restrained by the fanatical spirit of the people, and thus, against their own judgment, driven into an intolerant and inhuman policy by the multitude of "the faithful." The mild enactments of Akbar excited a deep jealousy in the minds of his subjects of his own creed. Elphinstone,* beyond all comparison the best authority generally on the condition of Mohammedan India and its history, says, "Akbar's innova-

tions had shocked most Mohammedans, who, beside the usual dislike of the vulgar to toleration, felt that a direct attack was made upon their own faith." It is doubtful whether the tolerant spirit of some of the Mussulman sovereigns was any mitigation of the miserable state of the Hindoos under their yoke for the indulgence thus shown them provoked the bigotry of the mass of the conquering race, who left no opportunity unused that might otherwise have passed, for purposes of indignity and injury against the subject people. Elphinstone represents the toleration of Akbar as affecting the throne of his successors, and for generation promoting civil war among them, as well as inciting the furious fanaticism of their more immediate subjects.

In the journal of Sir Thomas Roe this fact in reference to the celebrated Jehanghire is fully brought out. The hypocrisy of the monarch in the toleration he affected, the prostitution of religion to ends merely political, the jealousy of his own children, the utter want of confidence between him and the heir to the throne, and the shrewd recognition in his policy of the relentless bigotry of his people, are all characteristic of the Mohammedan princes and policy in India. Sir Thomas, after alluding to the lax opinions of Akbar on this subject, who at one time contemplated establishing a new religion, with himself as its head, observes that Jehanghire, "being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour, and is an atheist." He describes him as very liberal, not only in his own opinions, but towards those of others, and with an equal dislike to proselytism and apostasy. "He is content with all religions, only he loves none that changeth." He is represented as observing all the festivals of the Hindoos, and invariably paying marked respect to the Christian doctrines, granting perfect freedom of worship; ample privileges to the ministers and followers of that faith, both Protestant and Catholic, and frequently encouraging disputations between the professors of different creeds, "often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose." He further mentions that Jehanghire sent two of his own nephews to a school kept at Agra for some years by Francisco Corsie, a Portuguese priest, where they were not only taught the Portuguese language, but instructed in the Christian religion, and finally "were solemnly baptized in the church of Agra with great pomp, being carryed first up and down all the citie on elephants in triumph, and this by the king's expresse order, who often

* Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 521.

would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them." Sir Thomas adds, however, that many considered this a measure of policy intended to render the young princes, who might at any time become rivals and aspirants for the throne, odious, and incapacitated for government, in the eyes of a Mohammedan population.*

The history of the sovereigns, votaries of Islam, viewed in relation to one another, and to their people, verified the just remarks—"Under a despotic monarch, while the liberty and life of the subject are constantly exposed to danger, the crown totters on the head of the monarch; he who is the most absolute is frequently the least secure; and the annals of Turkey, of Persia, and of the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindostan, teem with tragic stories of dethroned and murdered princes."† It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the lust of conquest for its own sake, and of rapine, the iconoclastic spirit of the conquerors, and the fanatical enthusiasm they entertained for the spread of their religion, they were never able entirely to subjugate the native communities. What was described as the case three-quarters of a century ago was true when the British wrenched, during the recent rebellion, the remnant of power from the Moslem tyrants. "Throughout Hindostan there are many rajahs to be found who still enjoy the territories of their ancestors. Some, happily, never were subdued, and owe their independence to the natural situation of their possessions, which renders invasion difficult. Others were permitted, from policy or necessity, to retain them on condition of paying a stipulated tribute."

One of the causes of the ultimate decline of the Mohammedan rulers, as will be shown in those chapters which record the European period, especially during the progress to power of the British, was the want of good faith always cherished, and sometimes openly displayed to the Europeans. The Portuguese had many pretexts afforded to them for cruelty and rapacity by the breach of engagements by princes with whom in peace and war they came in contact. The Dutch had fewer transactions with the rajahs, and managed with better policy than the Portuguese, but they also found the sirdars faithless. The British are frequently accused by writers among themselves of having acted without faith to Mohammedan princes from whom they had experienced justice and truth, and from whom they had every reason to expect such virtues. That some of the agents of the British government stood no higher

than the Mohammedan rajahs in political morality is, unfortunately, too true, and that presidential governors, the governor-general at Calcutta, the East India Company, and the British cabinet, have all in turn not only erred in judgment, but proved themselves deficient in justice and candour, are facts, unhappily, beyond dispute; but such impeachments were of exceptional application, while the rule of Mohammedan government, as well as of heathen government, in India, was unprincipled and perfidious. This was shown in the treatment of the first English ambassador by the Great Mogul in the beginning of our Indian career, and recently by the reckless violation of treaty and honourable obligation by the King of Oude, whose deposition was one cause of the violent catastrophe which befel India in our own time. A glance at the treatment received by a British ambassador from the Great Mogul and his heir, has already been given in this chapter. The reader desirous of following out the subject can have further proof by consulting Purchas* and Churchill.† Astonishment may well be felt upon the perusal of these and other true narratives of the spirit and character of Mohammedan princes, that the British were able to maintain with them any alliances, treaties, or negotiations whatever. In a letter directed to the company by Sir Thomas Roe, a brief but correct picture is given of the utter want of honour and truth which he found in the emperor to whom he was accredited, and in the princes, one of whom soon ascended the imperial throne. Sir Thomas also shows the general spirit of insolence as well as chicanery which, towards Europeans especially, pervaded the Mogul court. "This I reapeate for instruction, to warne the company, and him that shall succede me, to be very wary what they send may be subject to no ill interpretation, for in that point this king and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousy and trickes. . . . I must plead against myself that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I would sooner die than be content with the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, amongst these proud Moors, better effect your business. My qualitie often for ceremonies either begets you enemies or suffers unworthilie. The king has often demanded an ambassadour from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two causes: first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness; next, they knew his recep-

* *Purchas his Pilgrimes*. London, St. Paul's Church-yard, at the sign of the "Rose." 1625.

† Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. London, at the "Golden Ball," Paternoster Row. 1744.

* *Calcutta Review*.

† *History of Hindostan*. 1792.

tion should not answer his qualities. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. *Half my charge shall corrupt all to be your slaves.*"

The Mohammedan people, in spite of the policy of several of their princes, never amalgamated with the Hindoos. Their habits and customs were always distinct, and so even were the callings which they pursued, when choice influenced the selection. "The Hindoos are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers. The Mohammedans who came into India were soldiers, or followers of a camp, and even now are never to be found employed in the labours of husbandry or the loom." Such was the testimony of an observer written before the present century, and it is still extensively borne out. The mutiny and insurrection of 1857 may lead persons to conclude that there is at present some affinity between the two races. That there is a nearer approach than formerly in their manners and customs is a fact which all recent authorities announce; but the mutiny would be a deceptive indication of the like, for it was the union of two dissimilar peoples for a common object—a political phenomenon known in all ages. The Mohammedans scorned the Hindoos too much to amalgamate with them, and their hatred was as keen as their contempt. Bigotry and fanaticism appear to have been the chief elements of this disdain and hostility, and in the reluctance to assimilate which proved so stubborn. The Hindoos, servile and crafty, soon learned to look on the bold and rude Mohammedans as their natural masters: even the Brahmin regarded them with awe; his demeanour giving expression to the words of Goldsmith—

"Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the lords of human kind pass by,
Intent on high designs."

The opposition of the Hindoo to the Mohammedan, religiously and politically, was, for the most part, passive but not the less obstinate. "The thorough amalgamation of the Hindoo faith with the whole national and individual life rendered speedy conversion impossible, and made it clear that by violence alone could any empire over the people of Hindostan be obtained and preserved. Thus was the spread of Mohammedanism in India slower and more difficult than anywhere else, long after it had made a lodgment within the territory; the lapse of time tending, meanwhile, to relax the forces of fanaticism, and to turn the warriors of the Prophet from apostles into politicians and princes." *

* Harriet Martineau.

The genius of custom often keeps separate contiguous people, and even citizens or subjects of the same state who are brought into close and constant contact. This was the case in India throughout the Mohammedan period. "The Hindoo dwelling of bamboo, with its curved thatched roof, and placed, if possible, apart and under trees, contrasted with the Mohammedan cottage or house of clay, or unburnt brick, or stone, with its terraced roof. The Hindoo swathed himself in two scarfs of white cotton or muslin, rubbed his skin with oil, eat rice, thought his lank hair and moustaches a sufficient covering for his head, was conscious of the grace and suppleness of his carriage, and delighted in conversation and indolent and frivolous amusement, while yet his cast of character was quiet and thoughtful. The Mohammedan, on the other hand, covered his head with a turban, and wore trousers, tunic, ornaments, and arms; tiled his roof; ate wheaten bread (unleavened); shut up the women of his family, and was not much of a talker in society. The Hindoo village had always a bazaar, a market day, and an annual fair; one temple and one guest-house, where the wayfarer might find shelter. Each hut and each mansion had its mat, its earthen pot and dishes, its pestle and mortar, and baking plate, and its shed for cooking. The husbandman prayed and went forth at dawn with his cattle to the field; his wife brought him his hot dinner at noon, and his evenings were spent in smoking and amusement. The women meantime had been grinding and cooking, washing, spinning, and fetching water. In the towns, the tradesmen and artisans lived in brick or stone houses, with shops open to the streets. The bazaar loungers—mendicant priests, smoking soldiers, and saucy bulls which lorded it over everybody—distinguished the towns where the Hindoos predominated; and so did the festivals in which the townspeople took at one draught the pleasure which the villagers spread over all their evenings. The observances at death and burial were unlike those of the conquering race. The Hindoos burned their dead, except those belonging to religious orders; and they seldom or never set up tombs, except to warriors fallen in battle, or widows burned with their husbands. When Leedes was at Delhi, widows were not allowed to sacrifice themselves. In almost every other case, Hindoo observances were carefully cherished by Akbar, and Mohammedan peculiarities subordinated to them." *

In spite of the efforts of Akbar, the contrast in customs and manners continued, and

* *British Rule in India.* By Miss Martineau.

even where in many respects the same habits were adopted, and the same jubilee festivals enjoyed, the spirit and feeling of the two peoples remained distinct. Thus was it when the commercial enterprise of the Portuguese led them to the realms of such reputed wealth, and when afterwards their rivals, the Dutch, entered upon the same field of aggrandizement and ambition. When the French and English measured swords on the plains and coasts of India they were struck with the same contrast; and though under the dissolving power of English influence there has been more blending of the customs of the two races as they stooped together to mightier conquerors, yet the broad marks of distinction remain. The hand of England has lifted up the debased Hindoo in the presence of his oppressor, and has forced the latter aside from the path of his tyranny; but except as both may desire the removal of the constraining power, they have no identity of feeling, no sympathy in religion, no kindred of race, no sympathy of nationality. Freed from the controlling power of Great Britain, heathen and Mohammedan India would break loose

again, and only mingle as when separate torrents meeting, the stronger sweeps the weaker onward in its more voluminous current. Christianity and infidelity are mighty solvents of all superstitions, and both are now at work in India with an activity which must bring to pass ultimate changes which few contemplate. Before these two powers, Brahminism and Mohammedanism must together perish. The signs of this great transition are two significant for any persons acquainted with India to doubt its advent. The final struggle in India and everywhere will be between the two most potent principles, Christianity and Infidelity. That Christianity will triumph reason and revelation assure us; but, nevertheless, long after the follies and wickedness of Hindoo mythology shall have perished, and the crescent and scimitar shall have ceased to be the symbol and the instrument of a sanguinary and tyrant creed, infidelity and Christianity shall wage their warfare within the confines of those wide-spread and glorious realms. Faith and hope alike teach us to exclaim, "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*"

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PARSEES: THEIR RELATION TO INDIAN HISTORY.

THE Parsees have filled a part by no means unimportant in the history of India. In describing the religions of India, the creed and devotional practices of the Parsees were shown, and in the account given of the presidency, island, and city of Bombay, more particular notice was taken of the social peculiarities and position of that people. Several learned Parsees have demurred to those descriptions of their religious opinions and observances, but both have been stated with unswerving fidelity. It has been objected, that the Parsee people do not worship the sun or fire, as is stated in this History, but only pay them a relative honour, as the symbols and representatives of the divine nature and presence. The talented author of *The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, Mr. Dosabhoj Framjee, has, in conversation with the writer of these lines, strongly objected to such a representation of the Parsee religion; but he has nevertheless confessed, what his published views also show, that whatever may be the devotional exercises of the more enlightened members of that profession, the mass of those who are in communion with it

pay an idolatrous worship to the sun and to fire,—to the former in the great temple of nature, and to the latter in the temples erected for Parsee devotion. Anxious to present truth impartially, and entertaining a high respect for the intelligence, enterprise, and loyalty of our Parsee fellow subjects in India, it is desirable to offer confirmation of the picture of the devotees of the sun, drawn in a previous chapter, and at the same time to show the opinions entertained of that people by men eminent for knowledge in the history, literature, and political and social relations of India. It is the more important to do so, because of the growing importance of this people. The language of the manager of the *Bombay Times* is appropriate:—

"Of all the races inhabiting India, the Parsees are the most intelligent and energetic. Not trammelled by that cursed system of 'caste,' they are at liberty to trade in and inhabit all quarters of the globe, and follow whatever profession they think will be conducive to their advancement in life. They may justly boast that, upon the first opportunity the race has possessed for a thousand years of rising into eminence, they have

proved themselves the worthy descendants of a renowned ancestry.

"Although insignificant in point of numbers, the Parsee community can never be absent from the European mind when contemplating the vast empire of India. The Parsee has been flatteringly described as the Saxon of the East, and, under the ægis of the just and enlightened rule of England, has entered with success into competition with the Saxon of the West in the meed for honourable distinction.

"The wealth acquired by the Parsees, we are proud to say, is rarely misspent. There are, of course, as in all communities, some who wisely hoard up their riches, while others squander away large fortunes in luxury and debauchery, without contributing a penny towards any charitable fund or object of public utility. But it cannot be denied that the majority of the Parsees are benevolent to a great degree; some even forget that charity begins at home, and are liberal beyond their means. The race has inherited this spirit of liberality from its ancestors, who were conspicuous for their love of charity. It is enough to show to a Parsee an object deserving of relief or support, and his purse is at once opened."

Dr. Hyde, in his work on the ancient religion of the Parsees, gives a picture of it with which most eminent writers on the subject concur, but which is somewhat too favourable for even the best periods of that religion, and which certainly would not apply to the superstitious views so generally held by Parsee devotees at present. "The Persians, from the beginning of their existence as a nation, always believed in only one and the same true and omnipotent God. They believed in all the attributes of the Deity believed by us; and God is called in their own writings, the Doer, the Creator, the Governor, and the Preserver of the world. They also believed that the Deity was eternal (without beginning or end) and omnipotent, with a great many attributes, which to enumerate particularly would be tedious. They also believed this Deity to be the judge of all men, and that there was to come a general resurrection of every man, to be judged and accounted according to his merits or demerits. And they also believed that God has prepared for the blessed a place of happiness called heaven or paradise. And as there was a heaven for the good, there was also a place of torture for the wicked (as may be proved from their old works), where they undergo a punishment for their faults and misdeeds. They acknowledged that they sinned daily, but proposed themselves to be penitent for all the sins

committed by them either by thought, word, or deed."

Dean Prideaux, Sir William Ouseley, Hanway, Captain Pope, and many other writers of eminence, express themselves as strongly in favour of the monotheism and morality of Parseeism. It is, however, evident that the ancient theory of worshipping the Supreme Being as the light and life of the world, using the sun as his most glorious emblem, and when the sun was not in view using fire as the most appropriate representation, has become obsolete, the majority of the worshippers adoring the material media rather than the Being to whom they profess to look, or at all events associating them idolatrously with him in worship. And not only are the sun and fire linked with the Creator as objects of adoration, but the air, earth, and nature generally, are so adored as to make modern Parseeism pantheistical. This is often indirectly conceded by even the most partial writers, who extenuate these superstitions, and are carried away by the subtlety and beauty of ancient Zoroastrianism, to admire indiscriminately all the usages of modern Parsees. The Indian journals are in their business departments often in the hands of Parsees, and an influence over the press there is thus acquired, which has much conduced to the laudation of sun-worship, which has almost become fashionable with certain classes of European writers. Thus, in one of the numbers of the *Asiatic Journal* the following passage occurs:—"The observances paid to fire (it is unjust to call them worship) are only parts of a ritual which prescribes a similar respect for, and mention in prayers of, all the classes of animated nature, and some objects inanimate. The respect paid to fire is more prominent than the other parts of the ritual, inasmuch as that element is considered the terrestrial image of the Supreme Being."

Mrs. Postans, whose beautiful work on *Western India* has been quoted in a former chapter, was influenced by such representations to write in even stronger terms:—"I have used this title (fire-worshippers) in conformity with the popular English notion of Parsee worship; but the term is, I believe, quite unfounded. They do not worship either the elements or the heavenly bodies, being, in fact, pure Deists, and regarding the works of God's hand as to be revered only as proofs of the Divine power."

Were these descriptions exact, the practices of the Parsees would still fall under the Scripture denunciation of idolatry, which declares that it is incompatible with the pure worship of Jehovah for the worshipper to make to himself the likeness of anything that

is in heaven above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, either to worship them or bow down to them. God prohibits all religious honour to any creature whatsoever. The following passages from friends of the Parsees (of whom no writer has spoken more favourably than the author of this History) show that, however partially regarded, the religious customs of the modern Parsees are idolatrous, and, when they fall short of that degree of error, generally superstitious. Forbes* says, "These fires (the sacred fires of the Parsees) are attended day and night by the *andiaroos*, or priests, and are never permitted to expire. They are preserved in a large chafing-dish, carefully supplied with fuel, perfumed by a small quantity of sandalwood or other aromatics. The vulgar and illiterate worship this sacred flame, as also the sun, moon, and stars, without regard to the invisible Creator; but the learned and judicious adore only the Almighty Fountain of Light, the Author and Disposer of all things, under the symbol of fire. Zoroaster and the ancient magi, whose memories they revere, and whose works they are said to preserve, never taught them to consider the sun as anything more than a creature of the great Creator of the universe: they were to revere it as His best and fairest image, and for the numberless blessings it diffuses on the earth. The sacred flame was intended only as a perpetual monitor to preserve their purity, of which this element is so expressive a symbol. But superstition and fable have, through a lapse of ages, corrupted the stream of the religious system, which in its source was pure and sublime."

Sir John Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, declares that Zoroaster, the founder of the Parsee religion, taught that God existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. "There were, he (Zoroaster) averred, two principles in the universe—good and evil. Light was the type of good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he prays in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influences over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. . . . His religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator. Whatever might have been his (Zoroaster's) intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for

* *Oriental Memoirs.*

superstition. There can be no doubt that the devotion intended for the Deity by Zoroaster has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited by such a practice the reproachful name of worshippers of fire."

Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee,* himself a Parsee, and the able advocate of his people both in India and in England, thus defends them from the charge of idolatry:—"The charge of fire, sun, water, and air worship has, however, been brought against the Parsees by those not sufficiently acquainted with the Zoroastrian faith to form a just opinion. The Parsees themselves repel the charge with indignation. Ask a Parsee whether he is a worshipper of the sun or fire, and he will emphatically answer, No. This declaration itself, coming from one whose own religion is Zoroastrianism, ought to be sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical. God, according to Parsee faith, is the essence of glory, refulgence, and light; and in this view, a Parsee, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to direct his face towards the sun, as the most proper symbols of the Almighty."

"All Eastern historians have acknowledged that the Persians, from the most early times, were no idolaters, but worshipped one God, the Creator of the world, under the symbol of fire, and such is also the present practice among their descendants in India."

In this strong denial of idolatrous or superstitious practices, Mr. Dosabhoy must be supposed as writing in behalf of the lettered and refined of his persuasion, for he has *viva voce* acknowledged to the author of this History that the vulgar have departed from what he considers the purity of their fathers in worship. In his work, already referred to, Mr. Dosabhoy makes admissions that seem to go farther than this, and to acknowledge a general prevalence of idolatry among the Parsee people, however some among them may abhor what they would themselves consider the worship of the creature, for, after describing the fundamental principles and early rites of his religion, he makes the following statements:—

"It is unnecessary to defend the morality or excellence of such sentiments as these; but many causes have operated to place the religion of the Parsees in a false light. A persecuted race, destitute of many of its sacred books, and coming in contact with a people highly jealous of their own religion, and to whom the slightest touch from one of

* Author of *The Company's Raj contrasted with its Predecessors*, a work published in Marathi and Gujarati, highly commended by Colonel Sykes, M.P.

another caste was a source of impurity, it was natural that the Parsees should have contracted, as time passed on, many of the practices of their neighbours.

"The first Parsees in India had of necessity to follow certain of the Hindoo practices, in order to secure the protection, assistance, and good-will of the Hindoo princes, in whose country they took refuge. Time rolled on, and succeeding generations of Parsees fell into the error that these borrowed practices were sanctioned by their own religion. 'Our forefathers did so,' and, according to Asiatic ideas, the children thought that their ancestors could do no wrong. The study of the few religious books which they had with them was not cultivated, for there were few learned men among the body. The result was that many of the usages, customs, practices, and prejudices of the Hindoos were received and acted upon by the Parsees. It is thus that we may easily explain how it is that an ignorant Parsee, or his wife, at the present day, sends an offering of a cocoa-nut to the *Holi*, or a cup of oil to the *Hunooman*, or cakes, sugar, and flowers to the sea.

"The Parsee punchayet some twenty-five years ago took steps with the view of eradicating such ceremonies and practices as had crept into their religion since their expatriation from Persia; but they did not succeed to the extent of their wishes with the majority of the people. Religious usages which the Parsees of India had observed for nearly twelve centuries could not be easily eradicated.

"What the punchayet failed to do by compulsory measures is now sought to be done by an appeal to the sense of the people. An association composed of many influential and wealthy Parsees, and a number of young and educated men of the race, was formed in the year 1852, under the title of the *Rah-numai Mazdiasna*, or Religious Reform Association, which has for its object the regeneration of the social condition of the Parsees, and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity.

"In the face of considerable opposition from the ignorant classes of the community, this association has done much good, and wrought considerable changes in the social condition of the Parsees. Essays, composed in language eloquent and impressive, showing the disadvantages resulting from adhering to practices and usages which really do not belong to the religion, are read in public meetings before a crowd of eager listeners. Pamphlets by thousands have been circulated among the people; and judging from present appearances, the efforts of this body seem to

have had a beneficial influence on the minds of the people.

"The committee of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund lately contributed its quota to this much-desired object. An essay on the 'Origin and History of the Zend-Avasta, with an account of the investigations of European authors regarding the Zend books, with suggestions for enhancing religious education among the Parsees, and particularly among the priests,' was invited, and a prize of five hundred rupees, or fifty pounds, offered to the successful competitor."

The condition of the Parsee priesthood demands improvement: very few of them understand their liturgical works, although able to recite, parrot-like, all the chapters requiring to be repeated on occasions of religious ceremonies, for which services they receive the regulated fees, and from them mainly they derive a subsistence. The priesthood is an hereditary profession among the Parsees. The priest does not acquire a position from sacerdotal fitness or superior learning. Strictly speaking, he cannot be called a spiritual guide. The son of a priest is also a priest, unless he chooses to follow another profession, which is not prohibited to him. But a layman cannot be a priest. "The Parsee, religion does not, however, sanction this hereditary office; which is, indeed, contrary to the ancient law. The custom is merely derived from usage. Ignorant and unlearned as these priests are, they do not and cannot command the respect of the laity. The latter are more enlightened and educated than the former, and hence the position of the so-called spiritual guides has fallen into contempt. The consequence is that some of the priests have of late years given up a profession which has ceased to be honourable, and have betaken themselves to useful and industrious occupations, whilst a few have become contractors for constructing railroads in the Bombay Presidency. It is, however, very gratifying to notice an attempt that is now being made to impart a healthy stimulus to the priesthood for the study of their religious books. In memory of the late lamented high priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees, an institution, styled the 'Mulla Firoz Mudrissa,' has been established, under the superintendence of competent teachers. Here the study of Zend, Pehlvi, and Persian, is cultivated, and many of the sons of the present ignorant priests, it is confidently hoped, will occupy a higher position in the society of their countrymen than their parents now enjoy."

That a great reformation is going on from within among the professors of Zoroastrianism

is pleasingly evident, not only to enlightened Parsees but to Europeans ; still it ought not to be denied by either that superstition and idolatry prevail among the people, and the priests are the abettors of these things, and set an example calculated to encourage them.

The origin of this religion, and of the people who avow it, is well known to have been in Persia. The ancient creed of the Persians, like that of all other nations, was pure ; it was that of the patriarchs recorded in the Old Testament. Gradually idolatry crept in : men, wise in their own conceit, strayed from the counsels of the All-wise, and adored what they conceived to be his likeness. The sun, moon, stars, and terrestrial elements, received from them a relative worship, as media through which the Jehovah revealed his glory. This was the early departure from truth among the ancient settlers in Hindostan, who probably carried it with them from Persia, or countries further west. In Persia the usual progress of error took place—the spiritual worship of the only one God was gradually lost in the material reverence paid to the more striking phenomena of nature ; and the sun, the most glorious of them all, and fire, by which the sun itself was represented, became the objects of adoration. It would appear from the earliest historical evidence extant, that when Zoroaster appeared as a prophet in Persia, he was sincerely bent upon a great work of reformation. He desired to call back the people from the grosser forms of idolatry to a pure theism, but found such difficulty in his work that he yielded to expediency, making the chief objects of nature media of approaching the Divinity, and the luminary of day, by which the world was blessed with light and heat, the grand medium of devotion. It is evident that in the form his system ultimately took, and from the writings and traditions handed down by Zoroastrians from ancient times, he was much influenced by his notions of philosophy in his system of theology. He believed in the independent existence of a good principle and an evil principle eternally at war with one another, the good being destined ultimately to prevail by its own inherent and superior power. Light and darkness were made by him the emblems of these principles, and ultimately were regarded by the great majority of his followers as personalities. Zoroaster bore, in several respects, a resemblance to Mohammed in his personal character. Like the Arabian, he was sincere and earnest in his desire to sweep away the corruptions that prevailed, and especially the gross idolatry into which all, but especially the vulgar, had fallen. Like the

Arabian also, he allowed expediency to prevail where principle should have been his only guide. He did not rely upon the force of truth, and the conviction of duty on his own part in respect to it, any more than the reformer of Arabia ; but, anxious to enlist instruments of power and the prejudices of the vulgar in the accomplishment of what appeared to them to be a good purpose, they espoused principles, made pretensions, and employed agencies, incompatible with the grand objects they had originally in view—the love of mankind and the glory of the Supreme. It can scarcely be doubted by any one who studies the character and history of Mohammed, that he was at first a sincere reformer, that he put forth pretensions to divine authority under the influence of fanaticism and delusion, and that he ultimately became an impostor, feigning what he did not feel, professing what he did not believe, and imposing upon the credulity of his age. The course of Zoroaster was similar : he laid claim to a divine commission, which he might have supposed committed to him for a great purpose, but he eventually did not scruple to affirm what he knew to be false as to a divine inspiration. Even to the last Mohammed was as much deceived as a deceiver ; a love of truth, and the practice of imposture, were strangely blended in the man, in a manner and to a degree which it is difficult to believe, and which probably no man could have supposed possible, if so many instances of the like had not been authenticated. Zoroaster was one of these, and one of the most striking. He believed and lied like the prophet of Mecca ; he deceived and was self-deluded ; he desired to propagate truths, and hesitated not to resort to fiction and falsehood for their propagation and support. The scripture philosophy of the natural character of fallen man can alone account for these paradoxes—“The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked : who can know it?”

Zoroaster succeeded in filling Persia with his doctrines, from whence they spread to surrounding countries ; and at this day, while his disciples in Persia are few, feeble, and persecuted, in British India they are increasing in numbers, intelligence, wealth, and influence, and are by far the most enlightened of its native population. The student of antiquity is aware that various persons went by the name of Zoroaster in different ages and nations, and hence the opinion that the name was originally assumed as expressive of a principle. Chaldea, Bactria, Pamphylia, Armenia, as well as Persia, are each said to have had eminent persons bearing this name. In a very learned and remarkable work,

written by an Indian Parsec, Nurozjee Furdoonjee, translator and interpreter in her majesty's supreme court of Bombay, there is furnished the most extensive and complete evidence extant on this subject.* He proves that Zoroaster promulgated his philosophy and religion in Persia, in the sixth century before Christ, during the reign of Darius Hystaspes. This opinion had been pronounced by many authors† of eminence in Europe. He was born at the city of Rai, his father, named Poroshup, being a philosopher; his mother, Doghdo, being a person of singular excellence. The fables related of the parents of Zoroaster in Pehlvi works, in which he is termed Zurtosht, Zerdusht, and Zeratusht, and which are also related of the great lawgiver himself, are as numerous and absurd as those which the followers of Mohammed believe concerning him and his family. The Parsees themselves are not agreed as to the precise date of the birth of their prophet, but believe in many miraculous stories of his early life. The governors of the province in which he was born, hearing that his birth was predicted by an angel, sought to destroy him, but were baffled by "the good principle," in ways as wonderful as they were various. This story is evidently founded upon either the history of the persecution of the infant Christ by Herod, or the Old Testament prophecy concerning that event. According to the Pehlvi books (written at different times by the disciples of Zoroaster), he remained in his native town until he was thirty years of age, when he proceeded to the capital, and ten years afterwards he sought the presence of the king, Darius Hystaspes, or Gushtasp, as he is called in those writings. This, according to the chronology of the Pehlvi works, was the thirtieth year of the monarch's reign, and the fortieth of the life of Zurtosht. On that occasion the prophet bore with him to the foot of the throne the "Ader Boorzeen Meher," or sacred fire, and a cypress tree. The monarch having demanded his name and purpose, the so-called prophet replied:—"The Almighty God has sent me to you, and has appointed me a prophet to guide you in the path of truth, virtue, and piety. Learn the rites and doctrines of the religion of excellence, for without religion there cannot be any worth in a king. When the mighty monarch heard him speak of the excellent religion, he accepted from him the excellent rites and doctrines."

Such is the account given of the first inter-

* See *Tareekh-i-Zurtoshtee*; or, *Discussion on the Era of Zurtosht or Zoroaster*.

† Sir William Ouseley, Hyde, Anquetil, Kluher, Herder, Gorres, Von Hamper &c.

view between the prince and the assumed prophet, by Ferdousi, the poet, esteemed as the Homer of the Persians. The king, his prime-minister, and some of the *magi* or sages of the kingdom immediately embraced Zoroastrianism, notwithstanding much opposition from the gayer circles of courtiers. The prime-minister and chief counsellor of state became missionaries of the new faith, and travelling through Persia, backed by the king's authority, succeeded in winning the whole nation to their views. Efforts were made by the king and his chief ministers to extend to other countries a knowledge of this persuasion, and with success. According to ancient Persian authorities, Zoroaster produced sacred books called *Avasta*. These were written in the Zend language, the antiquity of which the Parsees maintain to be very great, so that it was an obsolete language in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Philologists differ as to this claim to so great an antiquity, some maintaining that the Zend is derived from the Sanscrit, others ascribing to it an age as remote as that alleged by the Parsees. Mr. Framjee says that the language in which the Parsee scriptures are written, first originated in the province of Bactria. The Sanscrit, he maintains, "was first spoken in the country situated to the south of Bactria, or in the region bordering the north of Afghanistan, in the vicinity of the range of mountains known as the Hindoo Koosh, any similarity of these languages is accounted for by the proximity of the countries in which they originated, but it has never been satisfactorily proved that the Zend has been derived from the Sanscrit."

The celebrated Professor Bopp is of opinion that the Zend is a much more improved language than the Sanscrit, and is as old as the language of the Veds, which was composed three or four thousand years ago. This learned author, who has compiled a comparative grammar of several European and Asiatic classical languages on the basis of the Zend, says, "that the Zend displays that independence of the Sanscrit which Rask claims for it perhaps in too high a degree;" and adds that "we are unwilling to receive the Zend as a mere dialect of the Sanscrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the old Northern with the Gothic. It in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on the Sanscrit."

The books alleged by the Parsees to have been produced by their prophet were twenty-one in number; these are comprised under the general designation of *Avasta*. Most of these books are lost; their destruction is

attributed to invaders. Alexander the Great, who, in his Persian conquests, is said by the Parsees to have been animated by an idolatrous hatred to their purer faith as professed and practised by their fathers, destroyed such as he could find; and the Arab Mohammedans, still more deadly foes to the faith of Iran, prosecuted a more complete search, and accomplished a more extensive destruction. Only a few of the sacred books survived. They are thus described, and their claims to antiquity thus asserted, by Mr. Doshoy:—

“They are the Vandidad, Yaçna, or Izashné, and Vispard. These three together are designated Vandidad Sade. Ogum Decha, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, and fragments of Vistasp Noosk, Hadokht Noosk, and Damdad Noosk, are also to be found. The first, fourth, seventh, eighth, and ninth of these works are mostly filled with prescriptions for religious ceremonies and instructions for the practice of the Zoroastrian religion. They also contain injunctions for the adoration of the Almighty, and abound with moral precepts. The Izashné, Vispard, Khurdah-Avasta, and the Yeshts, are books of prayers.

“It may be mentioned here that the oldest manuscript copies now existing of the Vandidad and Izashné were deposited in the Royal Library at Copenhagen by Professor Erasmus Rask, who, in the year 1820, visited Bombay, and passed through Persia. The copy of the first-named work bears date the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the year of Yezdezard (692—i.e. A.D. 1323). The latter work is dated ten months later.

“In India the oldest manuscript copy of the Vandidad is to be found in the library of the late Mulla Feroze, High Priest of the Kudmi sect of the Parsees. Manuscript copies of these works are also deposited in the Imperial Library, Paris; in the University Library, Oxford; and in the British, as well as the East India Company's, Museum, London. Professor N. L. Westergaard, of Copenhagen, published an edition of the Vandidad Sade, in the Zend character, in the year 1854. Professor Spiegel has also published the Avasta in the original Zend text, together with the original Pehlvi translation, and is said to be preparing an English version of the same for the press.

“While enumerating the liturgical works of the Parsees now extant, it may be mentioned that it has been asserted by Richardson, Kennedy, Jones, and some other European authors, but without any satisfactory proof, that the Zend books of the Parsees were fabricated by the Parsee priests upon

their arrival in India in the seventh century. Other orientalists are of opinion that they must have been written after the days of Ardeshir Babekan, who restored the religion of Zoroaster in the third century. The former hypothesis is utterly gratuitous. It is altogether improbable and beyond belief that a persecuted race of men, driven from their native country, and suffering vicissitudes of no ordinary kind,—refugees, indeed, flying for their lives,—could have compiled such elaborate works as the Vandidad, Vispard, and Izashné.

“On this point we have the opinion of a learned German author. Adelung, in his *Mithridates*, says, ‘In the Zend some writings still exist which have been made known by Anquetil du Perron; and these, when the grounds on which their antiquity are maintained are duly considered, will be found to be the oldest works extant except those of the Hebrews and the poems of Homer.’ Professor Rask has also maintained that the Zend was a living language, and the spoken language of Media, and that the Vandidad, as it exists, was written before the time of Alexander the Great.

“Dr. Bird, in his discourse on oriental literature, read at the anniversary meeting of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the year 1844, declares that ‘Professor Rask supposes, with great probability, that it was the popular language at least of a great part of Iran, and not merely a sacred dialect introduced for religious purposes.’ Professor Heeren declares that ‘few remains of antiquity have undergone such attentive examination as the books of the Zend-Avasta. This criticism has, however, turned out to their advantage; the genuineness of the principal compositions of the ancient Persians has been demonstrated.’”

The early Mohammedan writers also testify to the existence of the Zend-Avasta.

The Parsees regard these writings as most sacred, and profess to regulate their lives by the lessons of purity they inculcate.

There appears to have been an ancient hostility of a religious nature between the ancient Persians and Greeks, the former hating the idolatry of the latter, while the Greeks regarded their antagonists as sceptical and profane. The classic writings of the Greeks throw little light on this subject; but some Persian authorities ascribe the great invasion of Greece by Xerxes to the hatred with which that monarch was inspired to idolatry. When Alexander subverted the Persian monarchy, Zoroastrianism began to decline, and continued to do so for a period of five and a half centuries, when a reformer

arose, to whom the Parsees give the glory of having restored the ancient faith. This social regenerator was Ardeshir Babekan, whose work of revival began A.D. 226. This zealous religionist was monarch at that date. He collected the books written in the ancient Zend language, and had them translated into Pehlvi, the language then spoken throughout Persia. Fire-temples were erected by him, and the ancient glory of Zoroastrianism restored. The results of this great moral and ecclesiastical change lasted for four hundred and sixteen years, and was then extinguished by the Arabs A.D. 641. At that period the Arabs swept over the land of Persia, as the locusts over the fields and forests, destroying all that was verdant and fair. The Caliph Omar decided the destiny of the Persian monarchy and religion together at the battle of Nabravand, fought at the village of that name, about fifty miles from the ancient city of Ecbatana. The forces arrayed in the conflict, which was sanguinary and fierce, do not correspond with the results. The Persian army, although usually computed at a higher number by Western writers, according to Parsee relation, numbered but fifteen thousand properly disciplined troops, and the Arab horsemen by whom they were overthrown were still fewer in number. The overthrow of the Persian army was complete, and the monarchy fell as it fled. Yesdezird, the forty-fifth king of the race of Kaimur, became a fugitive, wandering about in the meanest disguises over the realms he had ruled; he lingered ten years, pursued with implacable hatred by his conquerors, and was at last betrayed and basely slain by one to whom the secret of his rank was confided. This perfidy was perpetrated A.D. 651. The dynasty of the Sussarian kings of Persia perished with the life of Yezdezird. The work of Cyrus the Great—the *Kaikhoshru* of the Persians—was thus destroyed. The great empire his genius founded vanished before the scimitar and lance of the Arab. The name of Mohammed triumphed over that of Zoroaster, and the ancient glory of Persia disappeared for ever.

The Parsees delight to represent their religion as shining in the light of purity at the period of its overthrow, and the people of Persia as intelligent, prosperous, and happy beyond all nations at the juncture when the hoofs of the Arab horsemen trod out the sacred torches of religion and liberty. These representations are, however, partial, for there is evidence sufficient in the history of the early Christian Church to show how superstitious and idolatrous the first oriental missionaries found the land of the Parsees. Jew

and Gentile had often groaned under the persecutions of a proudly dominant and essentially idolatrous system; and the Arabs, if they had no images to provoke their iconoclastic propensities, beheld in the Persians, worshippers of nature in a manner as hateful to the monotheistic conquerors. To the Mohammedans the fire-temples were the symbols and sanctuaries of an abominable idolatry, and they therefore razed or desecrated them. The Parsees complain of the intolerance of these early ravagers; but while it cannot be denied that the present Parsees of India are enlightened in the doctrines of religious liberty, their forefathers in Persia were not strangers to intolerance in their own policy and practice. The bigotry of the conquerors was, however, savage; they believed themselves divinely commissioned, as undoubtedly they were providentially raised up, to punish idolaters, and they spared neither the idols nor their worshippers. It is not to be wondered at if the altars of the sun met with no more respect than those of Vishnu, and the temples of fire-worship were in Mohammedan esteem as obnoxious to destruction as those of Brahminical worship were at a later period. The Mohammedans were not nice in their casuistry as to degrees of idolatry; the sun, the elements, a hideous representation of Hindoo mythology, Greek painting or Latin sculpture in honour of Christian saints, all fared alike before those who held that all idols and the makers of them ought to perish together, for the honour of God, and in the name of Mohammed, his prophet. The soldiers of the caliphate of Bagdad were among the truest to their mission in this respect that ever went forth for the glory of their faith. They overran every province of Persia, and gave the Ghebers no rest until they accepted the Arab creed, or were made martyrs by the Arab sword. Many of the Persians perished, but generally they preferred recantation to martyrdom. One hundred thousand daily renounced their religion, which ought not to excite surprise; for if they were sincere in the monotheistic creed which modern Parsees are so anxious to ascribe to them, they would find it in Mohammedanism more simply and rationally than in their own professed monotheism but virtual pantheism. It required a shorter time than ever before or since sufficed to change the faith of a nation, to overthrow that of Zoroastrianism in Persia. In a few years after the conquest the professors of the ancient faith were a despised and persecuted remnant, insignificant in numbers, and such they have continued to this day. Eastern writers have described the moral results of the change according to their

sympathies with the creeds of the victors or the vanquished, and European writers have given little attention to that subject. Weighing the evidence impartially, the ancient Persian professors of the religion of Zoroaster were more moral than the present Persians, many of whom are nominally Mohammedans, but actually atheists. It is certain that since the power of Islam prevailed Persia has retrograded both socially and in her relation to other nations. She wore once the glory and splendour of empire, and nations bowed the neck to her yoke ; now none so poor as to do her homage.

During the first fiery career of the Mohammedan conquerors, many of the Persians fled to the mountains of Khorassan. Here for a century they found freedom to adore God in the elements, in a fitting theatre for their peculiar worship. But at last the avenging sword of the Mohammedan sought their blood even in the defiles and ravines of that rocky and precipitous realm. The Persian settlements were dispersed after a feeble resistance, and the fugitives sought various sanctuaries of liberty and peace. A considerable number found a retreat in the Island of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Even to this island retirement they were pursued ; the ships and scimitars of the Arabs soon appeared, and the persecuted wanderers became fugitives once more. They resolved to seek an asylum beyond the reach of their conquerors, and considered India as a likely country to afford it. The emigration of this little company has a better authenticated history than that of other sections of those who became exiles for their religion and freedom, but the records preserved of any of the bands of fugitives are imperfect. Learned Persians had found honoured residence in India, as eminent Hindoos had in Persia from very remote ages ; for, as has been proved in other chapters of this history, the intercourse between the two countries had been very great from the remotest antiquity. It would appear from recent investigations that from the very beginning of the Arab incursions, various bodies of Persians sought refuge in Hindostan. The traditions and stories of the exiles of Ormuz, and their various wanderings before they found a final settlement, are very numerous, and often contradictory, as they exist among the Parsees of India. A learned Parsee, named Behram, who lived at Nowsari, a town near Surat, at the close of the sixteenth century, wrote a work entitled *Kissah-i-Saryan*, which professed to be a compilation of the traditions which existed in Western India at that period, respecting the immigrants from Ormuz and

other places in Persia. The first place at which any body of the refugees sought a home, was, according to Behram, Diu or Diew, a small island in the Gulf of Cambay, to the southwest of the peninsula of Kattywar. This was a very appropriate place for their purpose. Briggs, in his work entitled *Cities of Guzzarastra*, as quoted by Mr. Framjee, thus describes it :—" Diu or Diew was one of the earliest seats of the Portuguese power in India. It was regarded by Albuquerque as an excellent port for a settlement, one that would secure, from its advantages, both marine and terrine, the permanency of the country's influence in Hindostan. After several fruitless efforts, the infamous Nugna d'Acunha succeeded, in 1535, in obtaining possession of Diew, and within a very short time rendered it almost impregnable to the assaults of the native powers. . . . History asserts that the trade of Surat was destroyed to encourage commerce at Diew ; and Osorio makes mention of the splendour of its buildings and the greatness of its maritime powers. Upon Surat recovering itself, Diew declined, and is now said to be a vast pile of dilapidation."

At this place the fugitives disembarked, and found a shelter for nineteen years. The reason of their departure at that period, as given by Behram, is a most strange one :—" An aged *dastoor* (high priest), reading the tablets of the stars, made an augury that it behoved them to depart from that place and seek out another abode ; all rejoiced at his words, and sailed swiftly for Gujerat." Incredible as it might seem that a people, who for so long had found an undisturbed shelter, should on no better grounds forsake it, a knowledge of the superstitions of the Parsees, both of antiquity and of the present day, renders it explicable. The old Persians were famous augurs, soothsayers, and astrologers : their wise men, or magi, were held to be eminent as sages in proportion to their knowledge of ethics and the heavenly bodies. Astronomy was studied, but the heavens were chiefly contemplated for astrological purposes. The present race of Parsees, both in Persia and India, are influenced by similar delusions, and in their sacred services, and social ceremonies, astrology performs an important part. The exiled inhabitants of Diew departed, encountering fierce storms in their course. During their perils almost all hope was abandoned, and the Parsee interest was in imminent danger of being extinguished. A prayer was offered by the storm-tossed exiles, composed on the spot by their *dastoor*, which exhibits them in a more favourable light than the astrological auguries which sent them on

the expedition. As the strictures upon the high pretensions of Parsees to purity of creed and practice in the foregoing pages may be regarded as somewhat stern, it will be considered by the reader as impartial and just to give this prayer, which is, moreover, in itself, calculated deeply to interest those who trace the providence of God in Indian history, not in one race, or creed, or power, but in every element of the great social mass ever upheaving in the peninsula, like the ocean that surges against its coasts. "O wise God, come to our assistance in this jeopardy; and we pray to Thee to deliver us from the impending danger. O glorious God, we beseech Thee to gladden our hearts by removing those difficulties with which we are now surrounded. On Thy goodness, O Lord, we fully depend, and hope that the storm which has overtaken us will soon be over through Thy Divine Grace. As long as we have hopes of Thy aid, O God, we tremble not at this calamity. We have implicit faith in Thee, as the hearer of those who cry to Thee. Deliver us, therefore, O Merciful Providence, from this trouble, and lead us to the right path, that we may escape from this sea to the shores of India, and we promise, O Lord, to kindle on high the flame sacred to Thee in grateful remembrance of Thy kindness and protection." The storm abated, and the little fleet was wafted in security to Saujan, about twenty miles south of Damaun, at which place they disembarked. This is believed to have occurred A.D. 717. The territory of Saujan was then governed by a prince named Jadao Rana, a man of reputed wisdom and liberality. A high priest was sent, with the usual oriental gifts when it is necessary to conciliate power and bespeak favour from princes. The priest seems to have had some diplomatic qualities, and gained a ready and impartial audience. According to the Parsee traditions, the prince was somewhat awed by the martial bearing of the immigrants; which, judging of the easy conquest made by the Arabs, need not have caused him any apprehensions. Fearing that the strangers might ultimately, and perhaps speedily, constitute an *imperium in imperio*, or haply overthrow his throne, he demanded clear and specific statements of the affairs, objects, and history of those who sought so abruptly to become citizens of his dominion. The Parsees, well aware of the faith and customs of the Hindoos, and masters of the language of that part of India, were at no loss to provide a reply likely to interest the governor or ruler whose protection they sought. He was convinced of their merits, and his own obligations of hospitality. He required an explicit state-

ment of their religious opinions. This the dastoor, or priests, professed to provide; but as our Parsee fellow-subjects in India are never deficient in *finesse*, so it appears that their forefathers were not deficient in this quality, for an abstract of Parsee faith was given more cunning than correct. The object was not to offend their expected benefactor by too startling an *exposé* of a creed so much at variance with their own; and to effect this object they affected a coincidence of opinion and custom which was not real. It is not unlikely, however, that some conformity to Hindoo practice and opinion had been conceded or acquired at Diu, and so far the representations made by the dastoor may have been more honest than otherwise they would appear. Modern Parsees deny the validity of the doctrines and practices contained in the *Schlokes*, put forward by their forefathers on this occasion as an *exposé* of Zoroastrianism, and maintain that their ancestors yielded to a great temptation to secure a footing in the land of hope. The following *schlokes*, or distiches, were put forth, however, as a full exposition to the Hindoo prince, of the religion of his visitors:—

1. We are worshippers of Hormuzed (the supreme), and of the sun, and the four elements.
2. We observe silence while bathing, praying, making offerings to fire, and eating.
3. We use incense, perfumes, and flowers, in our religious ceremonies.
4. We are worshippers of the cow.
5. We wear the sacred garment, the *sadra*, or shirt, the *kusti*, or cincture, for the loins, and the cap of two folds.
6. We rejoice in songs and instruments of music, on the occasion of our marriages.
7. We ornament and perfume our wives.
8. We are enjoined to be liberal in our charities, and especially in excavating tanks and wells.
9. We are enjoined to extend our sympathies towards males as well as females.
10. We practise ablutions with *gaomutra*, one of the products of the cow.
11. We wear the sacred girdle when praying and eating.
12. We feed the sacred flame with incense.
13. We practice devotion five times a day.
14. We are careful observers of conjugal fidelity and purity.
15. We perform annual religious ceremonies on behalf of our ancestors.
16. We place great restraints upon our women after their confinements.

Jadao Rana was well pleased with this form of faith, and gave the petitioners authority to reside in the city on certain conditions. These were, that they should adopt the language of the country, giving up the use of their own; that they should dress their women in the Hindoo fashion, perform their marriage ceremonies by night, like the Hindoos, and wear no armour. The Parsees reluctantly con-

sented to these terms, which were only accepted as a sad alternative to being sent forth again vagrants upon the deep. They were permitted to select a tract of waste land in the neighbourhood of Saujan.

The industry and perseverance of the Parsees—which qualities then, as now, characterized the race—turned the desert into a garden; and they performed the vow to God made by them on board ship, “to kindle on high the flame sacred to him.” They erected a grand fire temple, to which purpose the rajah munificently contributed. The structure was completed, according to the chronology of Parsee tradition, A.D. 721.

The colony increased, and sent off outshoots to Surat, Nowsari, Broach, Variaio, Ukleser, and Cambay. Their brethren in Persia, who survived under terrible persecution or concealed their faith, found their way in small companies to most or all of these places. For a period of five hundred years but few incidents occurred in the history of the Parsees in India; nevertheless, their influence increased, and they lived in harmony with the people of the land. Their employments were chiefly agricultural, and they avoided all meddling with political affairs.

Their old enemies, the Mohammedans, however, still crossed their path, and pursued them with a vengeance which seemed destined to be successful. As shown in the chapters devoted to the history of the Mohammedans in India, those fierce marauders cut their way into Hindostan, blood and triumph marking their career. For a long time the Parsees escaped any especial exposure to their wrath or their power, but step by step the squadrons of the common enemy pressed onwards, and Hindoo and Parsee alike bowed to the thralldom. The conduct of the Parsees who were exposed to these troubles was passive and submissive generally. Early in the sixteenth century Sultan Mohammed Begada, of Ahmedabad, collected a large army under a general of reputation, named Aluf Khan, and invaded the territory of Saujan. The Hindoo rajah, unable to cope with the force sent against him, summoned the Parsee elders to his presence, reminded them of the favours lavished upon their ancestors by his, and appealed to their justice, gratitude, and honour for what succour they could render in that hour of danger. To the address of the rajah they are represented as having replied, “Fear not, O prince, on account of this army: all of us are ready to scatter the heads of thy foes, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in our veins. In battle we never give way; not one man of us will turn his back, though a millstone were dashed at

his head.” The past conduct of the Persians before the Arabs did not justify so magniloquent a speech, but their descendants at Saujan were prepared to make good on their own part what they vowed. Fourteen hundred Parsees, under the command of Ardeshir, a man eminent among them, joined the army of the rajah. The enemy approached the vicinity of Saujan with a force of thirty thousand men, chiefly cavalry, confident in their numbers, contemptuous of their foes, and proud of a long line of deeds of chivalry and daring, which had rendered terrible the Mohammedan name. The Hindoos marshalled in much inferior numbers and confidence; they, however, fought well, sending showers of arrows upon the enemy, in which their superiority was well asserted. The Mohammedans sought closer combat, but were received by the javelin men of the Hindoos fiercely and effectively; the usual irresistible charge of Mohammedan cavalry, however, at length overthrew bowmen and javelin men together, and the Hindoos broke away, retiring in disorder from the field. The Parsees were reserved to cover a retreat; and like the Irish Brigade in the French service at the memorable battle of Fontenoy, they rendered a more effective service; they charged the victors with such heroic impetuosity, that their line, already too extended, was broken, a panic ensued, under the impression that the rajah was performing a grand stratagem in the previous retirement of his force. Aluf Khan, with his cavalry, galloped from the field, while Ardeshir and his Parsee auxiliaries cut up the infantry, but few of whom escaped, and these only in utter rout. The movement of Ardeshir, and its execution by his devoted band of followers, were worthy of the reputation of Persian arms when, in the great days of that empire, its name and its glory filled all Asia.

The gratitude of the rajah placed the Parsee colonists in a position of great honour and esteem. None seemed to envy, all to admire them. But this happy state of things was not permitted to endure. Mohammed was enraged, and, with the characteristic pertinacity in war of his race, renewed hostilities. Aluf Khan organized a larger army, and advancing against Saujan, occupied the same battle-ground. The rajah was dismayed, but the heroic alacrity with which his Parsee subjects flew to arms reassured him, notwithstanding the overwhelming superiority of the enemy in numbers and oriental appurtenances of war. Ardeshir was sent for to the rajah's presence, and consulted. His opinion and counsel were against timidity, avowing that the safety of the rajah and his dominions lay

in energy, promptitude, and dauntless resolution. He is recorded as having concluded his address in the following terms, which were more intrepid than prophetic:—"O prince, the enemy has appeared in greater numbers than before. They are a hundred to our one, but behold our courage! We will either yield our lives, or take those of our foes; and in this resolve may God befriend us, since he always removes our difficulties." The rajah and his army went out against the foe, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Hindoo prince was unfortunately slain, and his men wavered, and gradually gave way. Ardeshir and his Parsees, as in the previous battle, charged the enemy with terrible fury. The Mohammedan general was prepared for this, and offered a resistance as desperate, led by a chief of great prowess. This redoubtable leader and Ardeshir encountered each other hand-to-hand, and the Mohammedan was slain. Aluf Khan, perceiving that fortune again favoured the Hindoo cause, chiefly in the person of Ardeshir, charged down upon him with the main portion of his force, and was received with unshaken fortitude. During this crisis a dart pierced the breast of Ardeshir, and he fell dead from his horse. The Parsees appear to have yielded to the panic common to oriental nations when their chief falls—they fled from the field. The enemy entered Saujan, dealing bloody retribution around them. The dynasty of the rajah, as well as his life, terminated on that day, and the Parsees of Saujan, like those of Iran, bowed the neck to victors the same in creed, and in enmity to them.

The Parsees who were not slain or subjected to slavery fled to the mountains of Baharout, saving nothing but their lives and the sacred fire. Saujan was never again occupied by them. Not one Parsee is to be found there even now, nor is there any memento of their influence and distinguished career at that spot, once so happy a refuge for them, except a *dokhma*, or tower of silence, for the dead. It would appear that the mountain fastnesses afforded a defence, or the enemy was too much occupied to pursue them, or deemed them unworthy of pursuit, for they continued in their mountain refuge for about twelve years unmolested.

A small company of Parsees existed at Bansda at that time, with whom a correspondence was opened, and the fugitives moved down from their highlands, and found hospitality among their brethren. Thither of course the sacred fire was brought; for the more a superstition is persecuted, the more its devotees cling to it, unless—as in the case

of the Parsees in Persia upon the conquest by the Arabs—death is made the alternative of conformity; and the latter is chosen once for all, at least in outward adhesion.

At Nowsari the Parsees had become somewhat numerous and rich; to that place the sacred fire was soon after removed, and ultimately to Oodwarra, thirty-two miles from Surat, where it still is, within the oldest and most venerated fire-temple in India.

Previous to the overthrow of the Rajah of Saujan many Parsees emigrated from that place to other cities of Gujerat, and almost all that is now known of them is that they peacefully prosecuted the pursuits of industry, contributing to the social importance and prosperity of those cities. Their lives were spent too tranquilly for many records of them to remain such as constitute the more exciting pages of history. Some few obstructions, however, to this easy current of their affairs were presented, and these were generally removed by passiveness on the part of the aggrieved. Sometimes, however, the ancient warlike spirit of their race burst upwards, as the fervent fires of their altars. An instance of some note occurred at Varião, near Surat, when it was under the sovereignty of the Rajah of Ruttunpore. This potentate attempted a heavy exaction in the form of an especial tax from his Parsee subjects, their reputed riches having tempted his rapacity. After petitions and remonstrances had proved unavailing, the objects of his plunder obstinately refused the tribute, and the rajah sent what the Parsees call an army, but which numerically did not deserve the name, to enforce his demands. An engagement ensued, in which, notwithstanding that their numbers were extremely disproportionate, victory was won by the Parsees. The rajah did not attempt a second time to accomplish his purpose by force, but resorted to an act of perfidy characteristic of his age, country, and creed. He surprised the Parsees at a grand marriage festival in Varião, and while they were with their wives and children enjoying themselves, all were put to the sword—not a woman or even a child was permitted to escape. The same sanguinary barbarity which was shown at Cawnpore, and elsewhere in India ages after, was practised on the Variãoan Parsees. To this day at Surat the members of the community celebrate certain religious rites in honour of those who perished by the cowardice and bloody treachery of the Hindoos of Ruttunpore.

It was not until after their flight from Saujan that the Parsees acquired much wealth or influence in the west of India generally. At Nowsari and Surat they

became gradually rich and influential. The nawabs of the latter city, although Mohammedans, were not unfriendly to the refugees, and frequently conferred upon them small situations of trust and honour. From time to time, there, and in other parts of India, the more enlightened Mohammedans were more favourable to the Parsees than to the Hindoos; but this was very seldom the case, except among such as were not reputed, or were not at heart zealous for the religion of the Prophet. By the more devout adherents of Islam the Parsees were regarded as the most dangerous of idolaters, because their idolatry was subtle and refined. There was no fear of the faithful being proselytized by the monstrous idolatries of Hindooism; but there was something insinuating and ethereal in the Zoroastrian system, which had a tendency to captivate alike the sentimental and philosophical.

On a few occasions even the Great Mogul condescended to treat with some consideration distinguished members of the Parsee community. About the middle of the eighteenth century a jaghire in the zillah of Surat was conferred by the Mogul upon one Nek Saut Khan, for services rendered by him at the court of Agra in mechanical and mathematical philosophy. This enlightened Parsee was instrumental in gaining concessions and privileges on behalf of the English at Surat. But throughout the long period of Mohammedan oppression acts of kindness on the part of their rulers to the Parsees were rare. The orthodox Mohammedans followed them with ruthless persecution, unless such was restrained or mitigated by political considerations, as one champion of Islam endeavoured to plunder or subdue the territory of another. Sometimes this persecuted race purchased immunity from torment, and at other times the general toleration, rendered necessary by the overwhelming number of dissidents from Islam, as a matter of course comprised the Parsees, comparatively so insignificant in numbers. To the good faith, generosity, or toleration of the Mohammedans, the Parsee community owed little in any age, and to this day it is scoffed at and hated by them everywhere in India.

The prosperity of the settlers at Newsari continued down to a late period. In the sixteenth century it seems to have reached its acme, but for a long time the community there has been on the decline, and is now composed of priests. From this sacerdotal colony the Parsees at Bombay and other places derive their ministers.

The settlement at Surat maintained a respectable position up to the time of the arrival

of the Dutch, from which period it rapidly rose in wealth. The Dutch, more liberal and politic in religious matters than the Portuguese, fostered the descendants of the Parsee colonists. The broker of the Dutch factory at Surat, when that nation gained a firm footing there, was a Parsee, and his influence with the nawab was so great, that the aims of the Dutch were much facilitated by him. Indeed, all the European commercial adventurers in India found it necessary, or for their interest generally, to employ Parsee brokers. This has arisen from the energy in trade displayed by the latter, their superior practical intelligence, their freedom from bigotry, and their rejection of caste and all its train of inconveniences socially and commercially. These quick-witted Parsee brokers have generally contrived to enrich themselves; and many Europeans have believed that the wealth thus acquired would not always have been gained had the agents been true to their principals. Dishonest Europeans have so often found themselves outwitted in commercial competition by Parsee agents or rivals, that they have very naturally propagated impressions concerning them far from favourable. There are, however, some grounds for the opinion that energy and integrity are not the only qualities which mark the Parsees as European agents, and that a capacity for intrigue where their own commercial interests are concerned is as prominent a feature in their character as almost any other.

It was at Surat that the intelligence, activity, and business talents of the Parsees—surpassing any degree in which the Mussulmen and Hindoos are ever found to possess these qualities—first won pre-eminent distinction. When Bombay rose to importance, the capital and energies of the Parsees were, to a great extent, transferred to the new and more powerful centre of operations. Indeed, from the commencement of the English power in India, this people rose rapidly in fortune and influence, the more tolerant spirit of the British giving them a fairer scope for their abilities than they had ever before possessed.

It is difficult to fix the date of the arrival of the Parsees at Bombay, as this people, like the Hindoos, are strangely neglectful of historical records, relying upon tradition, which, as in all other cases, proves of very uncertain value. It is likely that the Parsees settled in the Island of Bombay previous to the cession of it to Charles II., as the dowry of his wife, the Princess of Portugal, 1668. It is supposed that English merchants at Surat induced the Parsees of that place to go to Bombay as their agents, before yet the power of England was established there. Mr. Do-

sabhoy Framjee supposes that there was only a single Parsee there at the time, when the English assumed authority, or if more than one the number was very small. He adopts the following characteristic argument in proof of his opinion. Dr. Fryer, who visited Bombay in 1671, says—"On the other side of the great inlet to the sea, is a point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar Hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet *on the top of all is a Parsee tomb lately raised.*" The first work of the Parsees, wherever they settle, is to construct a tomb (*dokhama*) or tower of silence for the reception of the dead; and the statement of Dr. Fryer, that the tomb in question had been recently raised, is a sufficient proof that no considerable number of the Parsees could have settled in that island prior to its cession to the British.

"So far as we have been able to ascertain from tradition among the Parsees themselves, Dorabjee Nanabhoy was the first and only individual of the race, who resided with his family in Bombay when the island was under the sway of the Portuguese government. He was employed by the authorities in transacting miscellaneous business with the natives of the place. When the island was ceded to England, he was appointed to a similar office; and, as the new rulers were ignorant of the place, manners, language, and customs of the people, he was frequently consulted by them on affairs of state. We may also infer that at the time of Dr. Fryer's visit to Bombay, the number of Parsees living there must have been very insignificant, as that gentleman makes no mention of them in the description given by him of the inhabitants then comprising the population of the island."

Dorabjee Nahabhoy was a very remarkable man, and rendered signal services to the British; Dosabhoy Framjee thus refers to those of his son:—"In 1692, a severe plague broke out in Bombay, when most of the Europeans of the place, and soldiers in the garrison, fell victims to the disease. Taking advantage of this unfortunate circumstance, the Seedeas of Jungeera, who were then a powerful and independent people, invaded Bombay with a large force, and took possession of the island and Dunggerry fort (now called Fort George). Dorabjee's son Rustom Dorab, who had succeeded his father in the service of the Bombay government, undertook to drive away the Seedeas from the place. He raised a militia from among the fishermen of the population, fought the invaders and defeated them. He then dispatched messengers with the news of the victory to the chief of the English factory at Surat, who soon

after arrived in Bombay and took charge of the government. For these invaluable services Rustom Dorab was honoured with the hereditary title of Patel (lord or chief) of Bombay. He was also placed at the head of the fisherman caste, and invested with the authority of adjudicating civil and religious disputes among them, an authority which, up to this day, is enjoyed by his descendants. On the death of Rustom Dorab, his son, Cowasjee Rustomjee, was invested with a dress of honour by Governor Hornby. As in those days the government found much difficulty in providing tonnage for transporting troops from one place to another, Cowasjee Patel was entrusted with the provision of boats and tonnage for the public service, which duty he performed very creditably. When the British took Tannah from the Mahrattas, Cowasjee Patel was appointed to an important post in the place, where he colonized a number of Parsees, and built places of worship and other charitable buildings for their use from his own purse. On the death of Cowasjee, his son, Sorabjee, succeeded to the title of "Patel." The present head of this family, Hirjeebhoy Rustomjee Cowasjee Patel, was until lately one of the most extensive merchants in China, and is at present in England."

Among the early Parsee settlers at Bombay, after the British became the rulers, were several men eminent for their virtues and intelligence, who exercised no small influence upon the progress of the settlement and the development of English power. One Sawjee, a shipwright, was of this number; he left Surat, where he was born, to fill a situation in the service of Mr. Dudley, the company's ship builder. Sawjee's skill as a ship builder gave satisfaction to the East India Company, and the European community at Bombay. He acquired a preponderating influence with the government and merchants. Under his auspices, the dockyard at Bombay was founded, 1735. It is a singular circumstance that ever since, the situation of master of the dockyard has been filled by a descendant of Sawjee.

Many Parsees that are now, in 1858, prosperous merchants in India—more especially in Bombay—are the descendants of the first settlers in that island, when under the protection of the British flag they flocked thither secure of liberty, toleration, and protection. It was not until a much later period that the Parsees made way in Bengal and Madras. In eastern and southern as well as western India they rose in the social scale, with the gradual development of European power. In north-eastern India they never gained a

footing, up to the time of the arrival of the English; after that period they gradually found their way thither. As British conquest spread, a way was opened still wider for their commercial enterprise, and at last the Parsee was found in every part of India, in the newest conquests as well as in the old cities of the presidencies. The present position of the Parsees affords a striking illustration of the uncertain glories of states and peoples. The whole Parsee community in India, Persia, and adjoining countries, probably does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Persia is no longer the centre of their influence, religious, social, or political: they are there a persecuted remnant, trodden down by the Mohammedan tyrant. In India, and especially in Bombay, they are to be found in greatest numbers, and there alone have they influence—power, strictly speaking, they do not possess anywhere. Those who remained in Persia after the dispersion suffered horribly from every ruthless robber whose hosts overflowed the land. Arab, Affghan, or Mogul, which ever ruled where the Parsee kindled his sacred pile, alike inflicted indignity and oppression; and now, so genial has been the effect of British power to the Parsees, those who live in India are the teachers and succourers of those who still linger in their father-land. Seldom in the world's history has a race, once so mighty, fallen so low as the Ghebers of Persia. One of their brethren in India has, as eloquently as sadly, written when he thus refers to it:—“The instability of human grandeur receives no more striking illustration than is afforded by the overthrow of the great monarchies which ruled in Asia before the Christian era. Inheritors of the old glories of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, the Persian power spread its dominion from the isles of Greece to the table-land of Thibet—from the Caspian Sea to the confines of India. The ruins of ancient Persepolis tell of the splendour and the power of the Magian princes. The remains of mighty causeways, cut step by step on the Bakhtyari Mountains, which divide the valley of the Tigris from the plains of Ispahan, and form the natural defence on that side of the modern Moslem empire of Persia, tell of the passage of myriads of busy feet, and the march of heavy bodies of soldiery in ancient times, where now even the caravanserais dare not pass, and the wild robbers of the hills gain a precarious subsistence by plundering the plains, and by tending cattle, which form their only wealth. In short, here is a country, once the most powerful, groaning under the fanatic and despotic rulers, while the few descendants of that proud

ancient race are sunk into unnoticeable insignificance. All this, we again say, forcibly reminds us of the instability of human grandeur. To a Parsee, however, the decline and fall of the old Persian empire is a subject of peculiar interest. That strong feeling of association which binds to the present the memory of the past stages of a man's private existence—that same feeling presents vividly before our minds the memory of what our forefathers were. Our race in India enjoys all the blessings of an enlightened and liberal government—and our only wish is that our brethren in the Persian soil may also be as happy and fortunate as ourselves.”

It is difficult to compute the number of Parsees, but two-thirds of their whole number are estimated by themselves to be located in the Bombay presidency. Their increase there is rapid. Until of late years the Parsee population of Surat exceeded that of Bombay, but at present the latter city has a much larger population. Their natural increase is in a much greater ratio than that of any other race in India. They are a very united people, although there are two sects, the Shemsoys and Kadmis; but their difference not involving any article of faith, or test of communion, but simply the date upon which a certain feast should be observed, they are not likely to quarrel, or hold divided interests.

There is considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the law in India as regards their community. They are anxious to transmit property in their families on a principle naturally more equitable than that which British law recognises. The property of the Parsees, real and personal, is divided equally among their children, or in the proportion of one part to a daughter, and two to a son. They cannot be brought to comprehend the justice or the advantage of the law of primogeniture. In certain cases, however, this law has been applied and enforced, and certain covetous members of the community have insisted on their title as heir-at-law, according to British custom. This has excited intense anxiety and dissatisfaction among the whole people, and they demand that their own custom, from time immemorial, shall be law to them. The government which has favoured more powerful and less loyal religious bodies has not, in the opinion of some of this people, met them with fairness and frankness in this respect. There has been a reluctance on the part of the English authorities to depart from the aristocratic *régime* of England on the subject of inheritance. Still, the concession of some relief was necessary, and in 1837, an act was passed by the government of India (No. IX.),

which complied with the wishes of the Parsees to the following extent:—

I.—It is hereby enacted, that from the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, all immovable property situate within the jurisdiction of any of the courts established by his majesty's charter, shall, as far as regards the transmission of such property on the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by last will of any such Parsee, be taken to be and to have been of the nature of chattels real, and not of freehold.

II.—Provided always, that in any suit at law or in equity which shall be brought for the recovery of such immovable property as is aforesaid, no advantage shall be taken of any defect of title arising out of the transmission of such property upon the death and intestacy of any Parsee having a beneficial interest in the same, or by the last will of any such Parsee, if such transmission took place before the said first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and if such transmission were, either according to the rules which regulate the transmission of freehold property, or else took place with the acquiescence of all persons to whom any interest in that property would, according to the rules which regulate the transmission of chattels real, have accrued upon the death of such Parsee.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN,
Secretary to the Government of India.

When it is recollected that the wealth of the Parsees is out of all proportion to their numbers, the community being probably the richest in the world, taking such proportion into account, the importance of this subject to the government of India and to British interests is obvious. It would be an absurd policy to alienate a brave and loyal people, when all the other religious parties, even in the midst of their sedition, have had their feelings, principles, and customs, considered in the administration of the law.

The Parsees were grateful for the act of 1837, but it did not fully meet the case; the heir of the intestate Parsee might still claim the landed estates, if disposed to violate the acknowledged principles of his religion and the sacred customs of his people. The difficulty in the way of conceding relief on other points arose from the want of a proper standard among the Parsees themselves. Disputes among the Hindoos, and also among the Mohammedans, have been decided by judgments according to their sacred books, interpreted by their Shastrees and Kazees; but the Parsee books do not relate to such matters as would enable an English judge to adjudicate according to them.

One of the demands of the Parsees involves great difficulty in the administration of justice by an English court: it is, that the right of adoption where there is no child shall be recognised, so that property may descend to the person so adopted. The refusal of the English government to recognise this right

on the part of both Mohammedans and Hindoos was one of the causes of the great outbreak of 1858. The Parsees feel the operation of English law in this particular as keenly as the votaries of other Eastern creeds, and hence very much dissatisfaction exists.

Very few of the Parsees seek, or obtain unsought, posts of honour under government, but they are very sensible of any acknowledgments of their loyalty. Several of the richest and most benevolent men in India, or probably in the world, are Parsees, who co-operate with the government in doing good to the people. Among them Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy stands conspicuous. Queen Victoria has raised him to the rank of a baronet, and conferred upon him other honours. Among them was a gold medal set in diamonds bearing an effigy of her majesty, and on the reverse the inscription, "To Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart., from the British Government, in honour of his munificence and his patriotism." Seldom has any British subject received an honour so dignified or so deserved. Notwithstanding the Parsee customs, Sir Jamsetjee has set apart ten thousand pounds per annum in land for supporting the dignity of the baronetcy on the part of his successor. The shield of this renowned person is one of the strangest ever known to heraldry. The following is its description, as given by an Indian periodical, which evidently published it with authority. It will no doubt interest the British reader:—"Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's 'coat-of-arms' consists of a handsome shield in the form of the shields used by the Knights of St. John at the defence of Malta, beautifully emblazoned by scrolas of gold. At the lower part of the shield is a landscape scene in India, intended to represent a part of the Island of Bombay, with the Islands of Salsette and Elephanta in the distance. The sun is seen rising from behind Salsette, to denote industry, and, in diffusing its light and heat, displaying liberality. The upper part of the shield has a white ground, to denote integrity and purity, on which are placed two bees, representing industry and perseverance. The shield is surmounted by a crest, consisting of a beautiful peacock, denoting wealth, grandeur, and magnificence, and in its mouth is placed an ear of paddy, denoting beneficence. Below the shield is a white pennant folded, on which is inscribed the words 'Industry and Liberality,' which is Sir Jamsetjee's motto."

There is no class of the natives of India which engages itself so extensively in, or hopes to effect so much by, periodical literature, as that of the Parsees. They are not

only actively engaged on the native press, but also on the English press of India, many being excellent English scholars. The manager of the *Bombay Times*, himself a Parsee (as already mentioned), makes the following statement on this subject:—"There are fourteen newspapers published in the Gujarati language, which are mostly circulated among the Parsees. Three of them are published daily, one tri-weekly, three bi-weekly, six weekly, and one fortnightly. The *Rast-Goftar*, a weekly newspaper, is the most influential and best of all. It enjoys the largest circulation, is conducted by the most talented men of the community, and always represents the sentiments and feelings of the educated, liberal-minded, and enlightened portion of the population. It deals, we may say, without fear of contradiction, with public men and public measures in a pungency of style and independence of tone at least equal to that of its English brethren on the spot. To this paper is undeniably due the credit of having greatly contributed, by the force and weight of its vigorous articles, to the abolition of many superstitions practised among the natives, and the introduction of reforms calculated to raise the moral and social condition of the people to a higher scale of civilization. The daily papers are also creditably conducted. Of the bi-weekly journals the *Chabook* is the

best, and is one of the most spirited native journals in India. The *Suttaya Prakash*, a journal circulated chiefly among the Hindoo portion of the population of Bombay, is a very clever paper indeed, and is expected to do that service to the Hindoos which the *Rast-Goftar* has done to the Parsees."

These details of the present condition, temper, and prospects of this strangely interesting race are given with more propriety in this chapter than if reserved to the relation of events under the general history of the English in India, in detailing which it will be more important to dwell upon the great events of the cabinet and the field, which fill up the ever-memorable story of English conquest and English rule. Whatever be the future history of the Parsee in the land of his origin, he is destined to exercise a great and an increasing influence upon the land of his adoption; and not only upon it, but through it, and more especially through its commerce, upon the proud and mighty empire in which it is absorbed. Happy will it be if at the same time this interesting people shall learn that neither in the fire-temple nor in the luminary of day is God appropriately worshipped; but while he is known as "the true Light, that lighteth every man who cometh into the world," "he is a Spirit," and is to be "worshipped in spirit and in truth."

CHAPTER XLV.

RUSSIAN INTERCOURSE, COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL, WITH EASTERN ASIA.

HISTORIANS generally place the Portuguese first amongst the European nations which have, since the fifteenth century, for purposes of commerce or empire, penetrated to India, and the Asiatic regions and islands east of it. The Dutch have accorded to them, almost by common consent, the second place in the order of time for such adventurers. England is represented as afterwards pursuing the same objects; but, as will be shown in another chapter, the English preceded the Dutch in oriental adventure.

It is not generally known that Russia claims to have been the first European nation that has opened a commerce with China, and she professes to have traded with the people of Thibet and Northern India long before the Portuguese made any attempt whatever to accomplish such an object. Russia is a boastful nation; and the *éclat* won by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British, in their Eastern

darings and doings, roused the jealousy and vanity of the Muscovites to put forth claims to priority of Eastern commerce. The intercourse of Russia with India was never worthy of notice, and was so indirect, that it can scarcely be said she ever had any commercial connection whatever with its people. But her intercourse with China assumed a regular character before that of any other European power, and probably may be considered as entitling her to the claim she covets. In this history it is only necessary to notice the enterprises of other European nations in the East so far as they illustrate the history of India, and so far as they may throw light upon the history of the British empire in the East. A clear and comprehensive view of either cannot be received without some account being given of what other nations effected or attempted. A brief outline of Russian history in connection with the East is necessary,

because the designs of that power upon India and China—and, indeed, upon the whole Asiatic world—are in the present day no secret, and actually contribute more to the political complications of Europe than any other cause. The action of Russia, although not immediate upon India, is very decisive and extensive upon neighbouring countries. Persia feels in every fibre the touch of the Cossack lance; and the encroachment of the czar has already drawn the line of dominion around a large area of the Chinese empire.

The Tartar conquerors of Russia, it is well known, held intercourse both with India and China.

When the Czar Basilius, the fourth Duke of Smolensko and Pleskow, gained his independence, about 1508, it is alleged by the Russians that communications, for the purposes of barter, were maintained between the Russians and Chinese. The accounts given of such transactions by Russian writers are contradictory or inconsistent; but there is sufficient proof that some sort of trading intercourse with all the frontier nations, and through them for the productions of remoter Asiatic countries, was maintained from a very early period by the Russ.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Russia acquired Astracan, and extended her authority all along the Volga to the Caspian. Thence commercial intercourse with eastern nations was sought by her in the rude way which comports with her custom and character; and the Persians and Russians, as well as the Turks and Russians, maintained an active trade, as far as the character of the age and the degree of existing civilization attained.

It is admitted on all hands that while the Portuguese were seeking a trade with China by sea, the Russians had prosecuted the same object most arduously by land; and long before a Dutch merchant or mariner had set foot upon the shores of China, the Siberian Russ had actually acquired Chinese territory, and by a strange mixture of fraud, force, and barter, made a trade with the Chinese. Whatever question there may be as to the priority of the Portuguese in traffic with China, none can exist that the Russians preceded both the English and Dutch. The more, however, this subject is searched, the more evident is it that Russia carried on a sort of border brigandage under the name of trade in one direction, and a more fair interchange of commodities in another, long before the ships of Portugal entered the waters of the Chinese seas. M. Auber, probably, gave this subject as much attention as any person has done, and his opportunities as secretary

to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, gave him peculiar advantages in so doing; and he affirms in terms, however, which are probably too cautious, the very early border trade of Russia with China. In the sixteenth century, while Holland was only speculating upon trade with that country, and England was making brave but irregular and unsystematic efforts to found an eastern commerce; while the Portuguese were in a position, to their Chinese enterprises, of great uncertainty, the Russians had taken up a warlike attitude on the Chinese frontier, and were trading with weapons in their hands in spite of the prohibitions of the mandarins and the celestial emperor. Of that period, M. Auber says:—"The Russians had, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, penetrated through Siberia to the Chinese frontiers. The Chinese took umbrage at the enterprising spirit of these new neighbours, and erected forts to defend their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent, and an open war was expected." In fact, the Russians pursue the same policy which they prosecuted towards the Chinese at this day, with the same sort of failure and of success. The Russians passed the boundary; established what, in that age, were called factories; took as much ground as they wanted for those factories, and held them by arms. The Chinese frequently invaded the precincts of the Russian agents, and laid waste their buildings and plantations, destroying, but seldom appropriating, the property of the traders. Retaliation was sought by the Muscovites, which nearly always issued in a further advance within the Chinese territories, until fresh conflicts and renewed attacks by the Chinese compelled them to strengthen their positions, which again served as points from which further aggressions might be made. During a large portion of the seventeenth century, while the Portuguese trade was declining, and the Dutch and English rivalry in the eastern seas embroiled these countries and created uneasiness in Europe, the Chinese and Russians continued to trade even amidst the vindictiveness of a desultory border conflict. The Russians persevered in smuggling, and in land forays; and the latter in fitful and tumultuous attacks upon their dogged, persistent, and still encroaching neighbours. So early as 1689, it became a necessity to the Chinese emperor to have a boundary treaty with his brother the czar, and that treaty was cleverly made by the Russians a means of obtaining a recognition of their authority over a considerable area which they had invaded, and also of their right to trade under

certain stipulations. Plenipotentiaries of the two courts met and fixed the limits of the two empires at the river Kulecchi, three hundred leagues from the great wall. Raynal remarks that, "this was the first treaty in which the Chinese had ever been concerned since the foundation of their empire. They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Peking; an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners, with the utmost precaution. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, although they conformed to the manners and customs of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxim." A comparison of the way in which the Russians and Dutch were treated at the same period is very instructive to the student of the history of European progress in eastern Asia.

The Dutch embassy of 1655 to the Emperor of China, was one of the most imposing European embassies ever directed to that court. The ambassadors were accompanied by others from the Tartars and from the great Mogul. When they arrived at Peking, after many humiliations and much delay, they had to wait all night in an open court, in expectation that the emperor would appear on his throne early in the morning. When he did appear, he remained seated in state for a quarter of an hour, when the representatives of these potentates were haughtily ordered by an official to withdraw, the emperor not having deigned to speak to them. They were conducted to an ante-chamber in the court of ceremonies, where a letter of the emperor was handed to each, or rather bound to the back of an interpreter, who marched before them through the middle gate of the court. These letters the ambassadors were obliged to receive kneeling. The Dutch, on this occasion, were not admitted to the emperor's presence at all, until after they had made "the nine prostrations." This was considered an act of homage to the emperor, recognising him as supreme lord of the universe. The Dutch were willing to make any number of prostrations if they could gain a footing for their trade, but their compliance humbled them in the opinion of the Chinese, and their presents were accepted in the light of tribute from their country to the emperor, in virtue of the ceremony in which they had taken part. In that year an ambassador from the czar was also at Peking. He refused to make the nine prostrations, alleging that the czar his master was inferior to no monarch; and he, his subject, would do homage to no other than his own lawful sovereign. The spirit of the czar's minister startled the imagination of the Chinese, and

the emperor refused him an audience. The ambassador prepared to depart, but the emperor forbade him to leave Peking without his imperial pass. The czar's representative carried himself boldly, and reminded his imperial majesty, through his officials, that the czar his master, had the means of vindicating the rights of the humblest of his subjects, and would not be deficient in avenging the honour of his own representative. The courage and decision of the ambassador impressed the Asiatic mind with a sense of power, while the compliance of the Dutch produced an impression of weakness, and induced contempt. To the conduct of the ambassador on this occasion, as well as to the energy and force of the traders and soldiers on the frontier, the czar was indebted for the readiness with which the important treaty was subsequently entered into by his celestial majesty.

The contract of the terms of the Russian treaty with the final answer given by the emperor to the Dutch, is a very striking exemplification of the value of the two lines of policy when dealing with the Chinese:—

The ultimate Decree of the Emperor:

To the kingdom of Holland health and peace, which out of its cordial love to justice has subjected itself to us, and sent ambassadors through the wide sea to pay us tribute; we nevertheless, weighing in our mind the length of the voyage, with the dangers incident thereto, do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay their tribute unto this court; and this we do to make known to the universe our affections to the people of the remotest parts.

According to an old report of a committee of the British House of Commons, on the export trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, the chief cause of jealousy and fear, on the part of the Chinese towards European nations approaching them by sea was, an old prophecy which was circulated among them, "that a remote nation of whites, clothed all over, should one day conquer their country." Possibly the Russians were not considered as a "remote nation of whites, clothed all over," but a contiguous nation of whites, and therefore not falling within the scope of the prophecy. Be this as it may, the last efforts of the pertinacious and valorous Dutch contrast strongly in their results to the far less ostentatious efforts of the Russians, who relied alone on a bold bearing and steady well-matured territorial encroachment. M. Auber thus relates the last attempts of the Dutch*:—"The Dutch were dispirited by their ill success; but their loss of Tywan, in 1661, produced two other embassies. The first of John Van

* In a separate chapter, the enterprise of this nation in the East will have a place: so much is here introduced simply to illustrate by contrast the progress of Russia.

Campen and Constantine Noble, to the viceroy of the province of Fu-keen, in 1662. On this occasion the Viceroy of Fu-keen and the Chinese general presented the Dutch with silver plates, upon which their names and titles were engraved in Chinese characters gilt. These served as passes with which they might travel through the empire. This deputation was followed by a magnificent embassy to the Emperor Kan-ghi, in 1664. The Lord Peter Van Hoorn, privy councillor and chief treasurer of India, was chosen ambassador. His suite consisted of a chief councillor of the embassy, a factor, and master of the ceremonies, a secretary, a steward, six gentlemen, a surgeon, six men for a guard, two trumpeters, and one cook. In case the ambassador should die in the voyage, Noble was to succeed him. The reception of the ambassadors, and the forms observed in their negotiations with the Chinese ministers, were nearly the same as those already described, nor was their success better."

In the year 1693 Everard Isbred Ides was sent as ambassador from the court of the czar to that of Pekin; he was received with much ceremony, and no humiliating forms were exacted. He was allowed a direct audience, and invited to eat with his majesty; "the offspring of the sun and moon" even sent the ambassador, from his own hand, a cup of liquor such as was appreciated among all Tartar nations.

In 1712 an embassy was sent by the Emperor of China to A-yu-kee Khan, of the Tourgouth Tartars, on the banks of the Volga, north of the Caspian. The dispatch of this mission from Pekin is a very instructive incident in the history of the communication between Europe and Eastern Asia, for it is evident that the emperor really cared little for the Tartar chief in the Volga, but meant the mission indirectly for the Tartar's great master, the czar. The Chinese emperor had learned through his Tartar connection of the fame of Peter, whose reputation was then noised abroad through Europe and Asia; and the celestial monarch supposed that the mission would effect certain objects with the czar, while purporting to be an errand of business and courtesy to a tributary Tartar chief. The pretext for sending the embassy was, that it was a return for one from the chief, respecting his son, who, on a pilgrimage to Lassa, the holy place of Thibet, found it necessary to claim the protection of the government of Pekin. The messengers of the emperor received written instructions. These, through the labours and learning of Sir George Staunton, were made known in 1821. The directions afford ample proof of

the alarm felt by the Chinese concerning Russian aggression, and the desire to impress the czar with the inutility of any close relations, political or commercial, between the two empires. The ambassadors were to tell the czar or his ministers that "his imperial majesty entertains no designs whatever which are inconsistent with the peace which has been established for many years. *You may therefore immediately remove and employ your frontier troops, without the least hesitation or uneasiness!*" The envoys were also put in possession of the following among other general instructions:—"If Russia speaks to you about fire-arms and solicits assistance of such kind, you may remark on the length of the way, the rugged mountains and forests which are difficult to pass; and should they press you upon the subject of remitting to us their request, you can answer, that being sent on a mission to the khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, you can hardly venture to address his majesty upon the subject. . . . As the Russians are of a vain and ostentatious disposition, they will no doubt display before you the several things they possess; on such occasions, neither express admiration nor contempt. In all your proceedings you must show moderation, as well as gravity and composure. The inhabitants of the Russian territory, its natural and artificial productions, its geography and general appearance, are subjects to which due attention is to be given by you in the course of your journey."

The emperor styles himself Emperor of China and king of the world, while Peter is designated as a great khan or chief, showing that his celestial majesty intended to make known that he assumed superiority.

On arriving at Tabolkska, they met Prince Gazarin, who was then governor of Siberia, who informed them that the czar was in the field at the head of his army. The governor and the tributary Tartar chiefs showed them much respect. A great display for the time was made of Russian troops, and a grand escort was placed at their service.

In 1715, the czar sent Laurence Lange as envoy to Pekin, whose reception was with the highest honours the Chinese court could confer. Lange kept a journal, which has much in it which is very instructive as to the relations of China and Russia at that early date, and the closer intimacy maintained between the two nations, than China allowed to exist between her and any other. He says, "The merchants in particular who trade with the Russians, receive frequent marks of his bounty, for when they are not able to make their payments at the time prefixed, he advances them money out of his own treasury,

that their creditors may not complain of being detained. In 1717, trade being so dull at Pekin that the Russian merchants could find no vent for their goods, the emperor gave his subjects leave to traffic with them without paying the usual duties, which occasioned that year a deficiency of twenty thousand ounces of silver in his revenue."

Two Chinese and two Tartar lords were sent, as ambassadors to the czar, with M. Lange on his return. It was the fortune of this gentleman to visit Pekin soon after as secretary to another and grander embassy, in 1719. It was the 23rd of September, 1720, when they entered the Chinese territory, from which date they were made the guests of the emperor, and supported sumptuously at his expense. It is a curious circumstance that we are indebted mainly to an Englishman for an account of that embassy and its results. Mr. Bell, of Autermony, referred to in former chapters, accompanied the ambassador, the feeling of Russia to England being at that particular juncture most favourable. This gentleman published a narrative of what he saw, as he did also of his experience when accompanying a Russian embassy to Persia four years previously. His narratives show how intent Russia then was to gain a diplomatic and commercial footing in both eastern and western Asia, and how skilfully the influence she was enabled to obtain was calculated to ensure territorial encroachment. The policy was actively at work which ripened in the reign of Nicholas, and which occasioned such an armament of nations against the ambition of St. Petersburg. During the discussions which arose upon the mode of reception of this embassy, it was agreed that the representative of each nation should conform to any ceremonies which their respective sovereigns might prescribe. The emperor, however, waived the customs of China, as usual in the case of the Russian ambassador. Nevertheless, whether influenced in these courtesies by Tartar affinity, or because of the contiguity of the two empires, the secret policy of the Chinese court was hostile. This was evinced soon after the Russian ambassador departed. M. de Lange was left at Pekin, as resident agent of the czar. This greatly displeased his imperial majesty, and every opportunity was taken to indicate his displeasure, and cause the resident to take his departure. M. de Lange's account of the affronts, indignities, and injuries to which he was subjected show that his residence there excited a deep animosity on the part of both court and people. The treaty as to the yearly caravan was badly kept as to the letter, and utterly violated as to the spirit. Extor-

tion and even plunder was perpetrated by people and officials, and with the connivance of the government. The provisions promised as a gratuity to merchants, and to the attendants of the Russian minister were withheld, and even when paid for were not delivered. De Lange was little better than a prisoner at Pekin during more than a year and a half, and at last, having been treated with insupportable insolence, he withdrew with the return of the Russian caravan: the Chinese government never admitted another. It would have been impossible for Russia to have been represented by a person freer from Russian nationality or a haughty bearing than the gentleman who then endeavoured to support her interests, but neither his courtesy nor his firmness were of any avail. The permanent resident was regarded by sovereign and people as a spy, and resentment against his nation was enkindled. De Lange was finally given to understand that all future business, commercial or otherwise, should be transacted on the frontier. The Russians did resume business on the frontier, and with a vengeance; for the old disputes which had been settled by the treaty of 1685 were re-opened; the Russians soon indemnified themselves by territorial plunder for any loss in the profits of the caravan, or any indignity to their ambassador; and so far back as the return of De Lange the Russian designs, which have since been developed on the Amour, were formed.

In 1727 the czarina, Catherine I., resolved to accomplish what Peter failed to do. She projected a plan for Russian residence at Pekin, ostensibly of a purely ecclesiastical kind, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to negotiate a treaty for that purpose. Being ostensibly one of amity and friendship the object was secured, and the residence of certain priests and lay students of the Chinese language was authorized by a specific article of the treaty. This mission or residence has enabled the Russian government to obtain exact intelligence of all public affairs, and as the residents or students are changed every ten years, Russia is always provided with a number of intelligent persons acquainted with the Chinese language, the habits and opinions of the Tartar court, and the general condition of the empire. The "Celestials" are thus accustomed to the appearance of Russian official visitors.

The renewed frontier feuds increased the indisposition of the Chinese to hold intercourse with Russia. The ecclesiastical residence at Pekin has had the same effect: nothing but the fear of open war with Russia prevents the emperor from breaking it up, as it is believed

that Russia makes it a *sine quâ non* if peace is to continue.

In 1806 two Russian ships arrived at Macao, contrary to existing treaties, which forbid the traffic of the Russians by sea. The ships were not permitted to land or take in cargoes. An embassy from Russia was in the same year turned back from the great wall. From that date the Russians relied upon territorial encroachment as the chief or only means of their gaining advantage in China and Chorea, and they have succeeded to a marvellous degree. Finally, they have, in 1858, obtained a treaty by which they are empowered to trade by sea on the same footing as the most favoured maritime nations. The steps by which Russia has effected these advantages were too gradual, and the sphere of action too remote to attract, in past times, much notice in Europe, but now the western nations are fully acquainted with the great results. In the progress of this History, detailing the advances and successes of our own countrymen, references to the policy and progress of Russia will be necessarily made where they will be more appropriate than in this chapter, because they will be then treated in their relation to the development of English power. It is sufficient here to say, that the position and prospects of the British empire in India and the East cannot be fully understood, or studied with historical unity or political foresight, unless the real position and power of Russia is comprehended and appreciated. Possessing the shores of the Amour, splendid ports and harbours on the Pacific, forts along the Chinese frontier, and a large area of Chinese territory, she is in a position of power and grandeur which will soon be felt by the Chinese empire, and the nations of western Europe which trade with it. On the opposite side of Asia, it is already felt that the quietude of the Affghan frontier of British India may at any time be disturbed by Russian intrigue acting through Persia. That country, from local and religious relation to Affghanistan and the nations of central Asia, can influence numerous tribes of wild and hardy horsemen along the line of British Indian frontiers; and it is, unhappily, certain that Russia has an influence over the Persian court possessed by no other nation, and which is dangerous to the independence of that country and to the peace of British India. It is true that naval and military demonstrations in the Persian Gulf by England can always alarm and humble Persia, but before such demonstrations could prove effective much mischief might be done. The conquest of Persia by Russia cannot be

remote, unless France and England deem it politic to unite in supporting Persia, as they did in maintaining the integrity of Turkey. Should Russia possess the present Persian empire, she could from the shores of the Red Sea, and from the confines of Affghanistan, always menace India. Between the two powers a war *à l'outrance* would then be waged for Asiatic empire, in which the whole world would be involved.

That Russia will yet rule at Peking and Teheran cannot be doubted, unless China and Persia be regenerated or fall within the dominion of England. Whatever the statesman or politician may deem as to the future of the British Empire in India and the East, the development of Russian power in north-eastern and north-western Asia must never be lost sight of as a most important, if not the most potential, element of their calculations. Much that has been written of late years as to the impossibility of Russia penetrating through Central Asia to Hindostan, is utterly irrelevant to the question as to the influence Russia is likely to exercise upon the future of Asia by a continued encroachment on Persian territory on the one hand, and by land and sea upon China on the other. Tamerlane, the Tartar, marched to Moscow, dominated the golden land of the great Mogul, and was only prevented from pouring two hundred thousand men across the frontier of China by the hand of death. He did what all men thought to be impossible until it was done. Alexander marched from Eastern Europe to Hindostan, a feat which is still regarded as beyond belief, were not the evidences irresistible. Russia has herself achieved conquests little short of miraculous, at all events, when the time in which her territory has spread to its enormous extent is considered. There is no impossibility, but there is strong probability that from the positions described above, a hardy, hopeful, obstinate, persevering, ambitious, warlike power, with great resources, such as Russia is, will yet overrun China and Persia, unless frustrated in either or both the modes already stated. If China and Persia be regenerated by intelligence and truth, then the robber power will be kept within its own wide precincts, and perhaps pushed back to its least genial climes; or if the flag of Britain should be borne over those regions by the events of future wars or revolutions, Russia may be baulked of her prey. Otherwise, humanly speaking, her course of conquest will not be checked in Asia until her confines from both east and west of that glorious continent meet at last.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA AND EASTERN ASIA.

THE Portuguese in Asia have been already noticed in a chapter on the commerce of India with the West, and a chapter was devoted to an account of their mission there. The conspicuous part which they had in some of the most stirring events of the Indian empire during the greater part of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and, indeed, their present position there, entitle them to a place in its commercial, political, and military history.

Portugal, though now a kingdom of very limited extent, was formerly much smaller, and came to have a sort of recognised independent existence in the reign of Don Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon. This prince gave his daughter, Donna Theresa, in marriage to a foreign adventurer, who, by his personal merits, had risen to distinction, and with her as a dowry the frontier province, which had been recently wrested from the Moors. The excellence of the situation, its natural beauties and fertility, compensated for its restricted boundaries. In such high estimation is it held, that it is sometimes designated *Medulla Hispanica*, or the Marrow of Spain. To this territory was affixed the title of count. For a period of two hundred years subsequent to this transaction the history of Portugal presents scarcely any event of importance. In 1289 there arose some differences with Castile, which were not adjusted for a long time after. In the reign of King John I., who was married to an English princess (Philippa, the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster), an invading army from Castile, amounting to thirty thousand men, were defeated, and reprisals made on the Spaniards. The result was a lasting peace. The cessation of this war enabled King John to undertake an expedition against the Moors in Barbary in 1414. He commanded in person. The campaign was successful, and the town of Ceuta fell into his hands. He was impressed with the importance of its situation, and, contrary to the urgent remonstrances of his council, he decided on preserving it, and had it enlarged and more strongly fortified. He garrisoned it with six thousand foot and two thousand horse. This force he considered sufficient to repel the attacks of the Moors.

In the following reign an unsuccessful attempt was made on Tangier, in Barbary. The Portuguese were shut up by the Moors, and the king's son, Don Ferdinand, was given

as an hostage for the surrender of Ceuta. The king and council of Portugal refused to fulfil the conditions, retained the place, and left the young prince to the fury of the Moors. The war with Barbary was continued at intervals, and with little success to the Portuguese.

John II. succeeded to his father Alphonso in 1481, and during his reign the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese was developed to an extent never before attempted, and attended with results which have operated to a universal reformation of the geographical and commercial relations of the old world, and discovered a new one. During the reign of Alphonso, the Portuguese, proceeding along the western coast of Africa, stretched as far as Guinea, and opened a trade with the inhabitants. John, as one of the first acts of his government, ordered a fort to be erected, for the purposes of permanent commercial intercourse. The result of this politic step was the influx of ivory and gold, from which the monarch derived a large revenue. In a short time this fort, called *St. George of the Mine*, became a considerable city, and notorious for its traffic in slaves.

The progress which had been made to the south-east revived a project which for centuries had lain in abeyance—a passage by sea to the East Indies. Since the voyage of Nearchus little had been satisfactorily done to explore the southern shores of the Eastern continent, or to become acquainted with the ocean beyond, destined now to be the highway of empires, old, recent, and prospective. John ordered two small squadrons to be equipped to prosecute this inquiry; and in the meantime he prudently sent two of his subjects into India and Abyssinia to trace the communications, and ascertain the resources of these vast and very little known regions. The two travellers, Pedro da Covilhan, and Alphonso de Payva, passed first to Naples, and thence to Rhodes; by the knights established there they were hospitably entertained, and assisted on their journey to Alexandria. There they parted company, Covilhan setting out for India, and Payva for Abyssinia. They had previously arranged on meeting after a certain period at Cairo. Covilhan embarked on the Red Sea, visited the principal cities of India, and prosecuted his journey to the banks of the Ganges, and on his return coasted the shores of Persia, Arabia, and Africa, as

far as Mozambique, and there learned that the continent terminated in a great cape far to the south. From Mozambique he returned, as appointed, to Cairo, and heard of the death of his former associate. To glean the information which this death intercepted, he proceeded to Abyssinia; and though he settled in that country, he forwarded to the king the result of his travels, and a chart of the maritime places he had visited. The further prosecution of these discoveries, and the crowning result in Vasco da Gama's success in doubling the Cape and reaching the coast of Malabar, have been previously recorded in these pages.

The Portuguese found the voyage along the south-east coast of Africa very pleasant and prosperous, and in the city of Melinda had the satisfaction of discovering, as well as in other localities on that route, buildings of respectable pretensions, cultivated vegetable productions, and a race of people accustomed to several of the refinements of civilization, and carrying on an active commerce; the women accounted beautiful, and dressed in cottons and silks, and veils with gold lace. Friendly relations were established with the king; some India Christian traders met with; also an able pilot, so expert in navigation, that, on being shown an astrolabe, he took little notice of it, and appeared to be acquainted with more considerable instruments.*

Gama on his arrival intimated his presence to the King of Calicut. Although greatly surprised by this strange arrival of foreigners, who in their aspect, dress, accoutrements, arms, and manners, were dissimilar to the representatives of the various nations that traded on his coast, and who had travelled thither by a route hitherto never ventured on, the Indian prince personally received them with every appearance of admiration and respect. He readily agreed to enter into the most friendly relations with them. The Moors, envious of their success, and fearing the loss of that commerce, of which they had all but a monopoly, soon succeeded in rousing the suspicions and jealousy of the native authorities, and caused the Portuguese to be considered as pirates, and not as ambassadors. Gama and some of his retinue were made prisoners, but he ably managed to escape wiles and force; and though beset at the entrance of the harbour by sixty armed vessels, he extricated himself, and sailed homewards with his ship, filled not only with the products of that coast, but with the rich commodities from the eastern provinces of the peninsula. Two years after his departure to the East he anchored in the Tagus. His crew were seriously diminished:

* *Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 42, Stevens' translation.

fifty-five returned out of the one hundred and forty-eight who had sailed with him. All the honours which might be expected for such services were heaped upon him by his grateful sovereign. He was created Count of Videguiera, declared Admiral of the Indus, and the office made hereditary in his family.

Few princes have rendered such essential services—not to his subjects alone, but to mankind—as he who now wielded the sceptre of the comparatively insignificant kingdom of Portugal. Under the guidance of Manuel his subjects entered on a new career. Capable of forming projects of the most comprehensive character, and of executing them with diligence and intelligence, he exhibited abilities equally invaluable in that perception of human capabilities which enabled him to select the men best qualified to conduct with success the duties confided to them. It has been stated by no mean authority, “that, happily for Portugal, his discerning eye selected a succession of officers to take the same command in India, who, by their enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity, accompanied with disinterested integrity, public spirit, and love of their country, established a title to be ranked amongst the persons most eminent for virtues and abilities in any age or nation. Greater things were achieved by them than were ever accomplished in so short a time.”*

Gama reached home in September, 1499, and in the course of a year a fleet of thirteen ships was got ready, and entrusted to the command of Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Driven to the south-west of the continent of Africa as he endeavoured to double the Cape, to his astonishment he discovered land—the Brazils. He sent back to Europe one of his vessels to announce his good fortune, and then launched across the Pacific for the coast of Malacca. Though he was received kindly on his arrival at Calicut, this good understanding did not long continue. Through the insidious intrigues of the Moors the Christians were persecuted, and fifty of them massacred. Cabral, to convince them that these aggressions could not be inflicted with impunity, destroyed by fire all the Indian and Arabian vessels in the port; he put the crews to the sword, and appropriated the cargoes; he then directed his cannon against the town, demolished several of the houses, causing great destruction of human life. The Portuguese authorities say fifteen great vessels and five hundred lives were lost.

After this affair the admiral proceeded with some of his vessels to Cochin, and thence back to Cannanore. At both these places he was

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. x. p. 465.

well received, and every facility afforded of getting his cargo. The native princes resented the treatment they had received from the Rajah of Calicut, and from Cochin and Cannanore ambassadors were sent to the court of Lisbon with presents and an offer of free trade.* Gonzalo Gil Barbosa was left as factor at Cochin to provide lading for the next arrivals.

Before this fleet had reached Europe, four ships had sailed from the Tagus, under the command of John de Nova. These vessels arrived at Cannanore, and were there informed that an attack was apprehended from an armament of forty great ships, which were being equipped by the King of Calicut. To prove to the king and people that he had no fear of this force—leaving four factors on shore to prepare goods for his return—he sailed direct for Calicut, and, finding the fleet prepared for the voyage, he fell upon it. During that day and night, and part of the morrow, he kept up an uninterrupted fire, sunk several, and put the rest to flight. Having called at Cochin, he put on board the commodities collected by the factor left there by Cabral, and then proceeded to Cannanore, where he completed his cargoes. On his return he discovered the Island of St. Helena, which proved of great service to subsequent voyagers, by the excellence of its water, and is now, and long will continue to be, famous as the prison-isle of the first Napoleon.

The spirit of the Portuguese was now thoroughly roused, and to the purely worldly considerations were added the stimulants of religious zeal. As has been fully detailed, missionaries had accompanied all their expeditions, and the court of Rome was resolved to extend its all-grasping power over the thousands of millions who crowded the teeming continent and islands of the East. Manuel was inspired with the hope of completing the work which he was assured the Apostle St. Thomas had begun, and of re-establishing the Christian religion in those countries, and of enlarging his royal titles by adding to them, as he did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,—which was confirmed by the Pope. In March, 1502, he dispatched three squadrons to India: the first consisting of ten ships, under Vasco da Gama; the second of five ships, under Vincent Sodre, to clear the coast of Cochin and Cannanore, and intercept the ships trading to Mecca; and the third under Stephen da Gama: but all the squadrons were under the supreme command of Vasco. On coming to Cannanore, the admiral had an interview

with the king upon the shore, to arrange as to the condition on which their commercial intercourse was to be conducted. Without waiting to complete this negotiation, he proceeded close to the shore towards Calicut, to which he had forwarded intelligence of his approach, resolved to avenge the outrages offered to his countrymen, and vowing the destruction of that city. As an instalment of his vengeance, he cruelly hanged thirty Moors at the yardarms; then cutting off their hands, heads, and feet, he threw them into the sea, to be cast on the shore by the tide, proclaiming that their fate was merciful in comparison with the tortures reserved for the murderers of the Portuguese.

Vasco now discovered that three kings had combined to induce him to winter on their shore, and that a fleet of a hundred sail, recently destroyed by storms, was fitted out for this object. The salutary fear which his late summary proceedings had created induced an entire change of policy. The King of Cannanore conceded to apprehensions what he had peremptorily denied to entreaties; and the King of Cochin concluded a treaty both advantageous and durable. A wooden house was erected, and a factor and thirty-two Portuguese were left there to carry on the trade.

A treacherous attempt, attended with great danger, was made to entrap the admiral. Whilst the vessels were receiving their cargoes, a Brahmin of high note, with his son and nephew presented himself, professing a desire of visiting Europe and being instructed in the faith. He also proposed measures of conciliation between him and the King of Calcutta. The possession of the son and nephew as hostages in his hands, induced Vasco to place confidence in this Brahmin, and he was thereby induced to proceed in his ship, and, accompanied by no other vessel in the fleet, in order to visit that port. The Brahmin was landed and was the bearer of several despatches to and from the king; but in the interim one hundred boats were prepared by the Hindoos, which unexpectedly one morning boldly surrounded the Portuguese vessel, and daringly endeavoured to destroy it with fire-works. It was actually on fire, but assistance was at hand, and the enemy suffered severely for their temerity. The Brahmin's relatives were hanged in sight of the city. Vasco shortly after met with their fleet and obtained considerable booty. He then returned with nine ships richly laden to Lisbon. Sodre had been left in care of the coast and factories.

In 1503, the King of Calicut, in the absence of the greater portion of the Portuguese squadron, thought a favourable oppor-

* De Sousa, vol. i. p. 6.

tunity was presented of destroying the factory at Cochin. He accordingly marched thither with that object; but though defeated, forced to fly and seek refuge, and his capital burned, he refused to surrender. Having fled to a neighbouring town much easier of defence than Cochin, he was closely besieged and reduced to extremities, when a large naval force arrived, commanded by the celebrated and able man Albuquerque, who repelled the attacking army with very heavy loss. The victors now built a fortress in the territories of their faithful ally Tremumpara, to whose late fidelity they were so greatly indebted. The zamorin, in consequence of this timely succour, was compelled to seek for peace, and the terms which he conceded were very favourable both to the King of Cochin and his European allies. In several engagements both by sea and land the newcomers were invariably victorious. A factory was established at Coulam, and the vessels having succeeded in securing freights, both the Albuquerquees started for home, the younger brother and his companions were never heard of. Amongst the cargo of the eldest were two horses, one Persian the other an Arab, which were held in great esteem, being the first imported to Portugal. A small garrison for the protection of their trade and ally was left on the Indian coast.

The Portuguese fleet had scarcely lost sight of its new possession when a powerful confederacy was formed by the neighbouring princes. They drew together fifty thousand men, and attacked Cochin by land and sea. Duarte Pacheco, who had been left in command of the small garrison of St. James, resolved to resist the threatened attack, and encouraged his friend and ally to make all the preparations in his power. The king was left to protect his capital; and the Portuguese, with their inconsiderable force, accompanied by only three hundred Malabars, put to sea in search of their enemies. In several engagements they were victorious. The fertility of expedients, the intrepidity of conduct, the confidence which he inspired, the obedience he commanded, and the consummate success which attended his evolutions, justly place Pacheco among the first men of his own or any other country. He triumphed over every difficulty, and at length the zamorin, foiled in every attempt and conscious of the contempt to which the successive defeats of his formidable force by a mere handful of men, was reduced to abdicate his throne in favour of his nephew.

Pacheco had been scarcely released from this danger when his aid was urgently demanded by the factory at Coulam, which was threatened by five Moorish ships. He has-

tened to the relief of his countrymen, secured the safety of that harbour and a monopoly of the trade, and spread a wholesome terror of the Portuguese through all the coasts.

On his return to Cochin he found that a large fleet and force had arrived, consisting of thirteen ships, "the largest that had yet been built in Portugal,"* and twelve hundred men, commanded by Lope Soarez, who had been joined by some ships he met on his voyage. This fleet first called at Cannanore, and then sailed for Calicut, which town was battered by them for two days; the greater part was reduced to a heap of ruins, and three hundred of the inhabitants sacrificed. Thence they sailed to Cochin, where Pacheco found them. An expedition was then sent against Cranganore, a town within four leagues of Cochin, which, having been fortified by the zamorin, was a great annoyance. It was burnt to the ground, and the Prince of Calicut, who was to have defended it, fled. A friendly treaty was made with the King of Tanore. In 1505, a fleet of the King of Calicut, consisting of seventeen large ships well stored with cannon, and carrying four thousand men, was destroyed by Lope Soarez. The ships' cargoes were consumed, seven hundred Turks were drowned, besides those who perished by fire and sword. This victory cost the Portuguese only twenty-three men. Early in January the following year Soarez sailed, and arrived in July following in Lisbon, with his thirteen victorious vessels laden with rich booty. He was accompanied by the brave and successful Pacheco, who was received with every mark of respect by his sovereign in recognition of his glorious services; but on some accusation was shortly after imprisoned and suffered to die miserably. "A terrible example," says the historian, "of the uncertainty of royal favours and the little regard paid to true merit."

On the twenty-fifth of March there sailed from Lisbon the largest fleet that had, to that time, faced the Indian Ocean. It consisted of twenty-two ships, and conveyed fifteen hundred fighting men. Eleven of these vessels were destined for commercial purposes, and the other moiety were to remain in India. The command was entrusted to the celebrated Don Francisco de Almeida, who was commissioned to govern the late acquisitions with the title of viceroy.

On his landing in India, Almeida sought an interview with the King of Cannanore, and informed him that he came to reside in that country to defend his countrymen against the aggressions of the zamorin, and he demanded permission to erect a fort in the harbour.

* *Faria y Sousa; Asia Portuguesa.* Tom. i. p. 1, c.vii.

Permission was granted, and on its completion a garrison of one hundred and fifty men was placed in it, and two ships assigned it for the protection of the coast. Having reached Cochin, he learned that the men left in charge of the factory at Coulam were all cruelly butchered by the Moors. Three vessels which he sent thither with orders to procure merchandize, and to omit all notice of the outrages perpetrated, but in case of denial to avenge it, being received in a hostile manner, the town, and twenty-four vessels assembled for its protection, were subjected to a fierce cannonade; the ships were all burnt, and only a few of the crews escaped by swimming.

In reward for his fidelity and protection, the Portuguese authorities at home had commissioned Almeida to crown Tremumpara, the King of Cochin, and had for that purpose brought with him from Lisbon a diadem of gold ornamented with pearls. The old sovereign having resigned in favour of his nephew, Nambadorim, this intended honour was bestowed upon the latter.

The Zamorin of Calicut was still plotting the expulsion of the Europeans, and had prevailed on the King of Cannanore to enter into his views. Brito, the captain of the fort which had been erected by the Portuguese in the latter place, was unjustly accused of an act of cruelty and perfidy in seizing on a ship from that port with a Portuguese pass, and in having sunk it, and all the Moorish sailors sewed up in a sail, that the act might not be detected by the discovery of any of the mutilated carcasses. Of this deed, perpetrated by one of his countrymen, the captain of the fort was innocent. The two Indian princes had made arrangements to surprise him and his small garrison, and having discovered the design he sought the aid of the viceroy. This was promptly sent, and the little garrison, though beleaguered by a large army and reduced by the accidental loss of their magazine and provisions to feed on vermin, repulsed the enemy with a very great sacrifice of men, not one of their own having fallen in the action. A larger force now arrived to their assistance under the command of the viceroy and Tristan de Cunna, who forced their way up the river through showers of balls; the town was entered, the garrison put to the sword, and all the vessels in the harbour set on fire.

In 1507 Don Francisco de Almeida sent his son Lorenzo as far as Choule, with eight ships, to protect the Portuguese traders along the coasts of Cannanore and Cochin. On his way he captured some Moorish vessels, and obtained intelligence that a fleet was in those waters, commissioned by the Sultan of Egypt

to encounter the Portuguese adventurers, and exclude them from the East.

Previous to the discoveries of the Portuguese, the cloves of Amboyna, the nutmeg and mace of Banda, the sandal of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of the East, the spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Siam, Java, and other kingdoms, were first conveyed to Malacca, and thence to the nations west of the Red Sea. This commerce it was that, during the middle ages, had enriched the cities of Calicut, Cambaya, Ormuz, and Aden, which, in addition to the commodities enumerated as coming through Malacca, also had the trade in rubies from Pegu, stuffs from Bengal, pearls from Ceylon, the diamonds of Golconda; the cinnamon, and richer rubies of Ceylon; the pepper, ginger, and other spices of Malabar. From Ormuz they were brought to Europe up the Persian Gulf, to Bassora, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and thence distributed in the caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus, and to the port of Berut upon the Mediterranean, and from this depot the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalonians, conveyed them to their respective countries. Such of those commodities as had to travel by the Red Sea, were landed at Toro or Suez, towns at the bottom of the isthmus, and thence were borne in caravans to grand Cairo, thence down the Nile to Alexandria, and there shipped. The Italian commercial states and towns of Spain, the Sultan of Egypt, and many other princes and communities were considerable losers by the channels into which this commerce was diverted by the recent discoveries; and, however widely they differed on all other points, they felt they had a common interest in driving the new intruders out of India. To ensure their Eastern possessions, the Portuguese established a factory at Malacca; the Isle of Ormuz, bravely defended by its sovereign, Sheifedin II., had to submit to become tributary, and to the erection of a fortress. On the coast of Sofala another was raised. Thus, along the vast extent of the continent of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia, and along the shores of Asia, from Ormuz to Siam, the flag of Portugal waved triumphantly.

The Venetians were amongst the first to feel the depressing effects on their commerce, and to endeavour to provide a remedy. They entered into a communication with the Sultan of Egypt, and after exciting his worst apprehensions, they offered to provide him with the materials for the construction of a fleet which might be used to cut off the vessels of the Portuguese in the eastern waters. It is more than probable that to the wily counsels of

the Italians, is attributable the artful means by which the Turks endeavoured to use the agency of the pope, in accomplishing their objects, before they appealed to arms.

The sultan accounted for his warlike preparations by publicly avowing that his intentions were, in revenge for the outrages offered to the pilgrims on their way to Mecca, to destroy the temple and holy places of Jerusalem. The mediation of the pope was obtained, but by presents well applied by the Portuguese monarch, and by ardent professions of devotion to the holy see, and zeal for the propagation of the faith, he disarmed all hostility on the part of the pontiff. The sultan, deprived of all hopes in that quarter, urged on his other preparations, and entered into correspondence with the Indian Mohammedan princes. With the connivance of these and of his Christian confederates, a large fleet was built and equipped, and dispatched, under the command of Meer Hozem, to the western shores of the Indian peninsula, with commands to pursue and extirpate the foreign infidels who were spreading terror and devastation in their path eastward. This fleet made its appearance as the younger Almeida was steering his course to Choule. The father forwarded immediate instructions to attack the fleet before it could reach the coast, and be reinforced by the natives. The young admiral, who had cast anchor, was attending to pushing on the preparations to execute his father's commands when the Egyptian squadron was seen in sight, and, favoured by wind and tide, was approaching the harbour. The ships succeeded in entering the river, and drew up in order of battle. For two days the engagement was maintained with equal vigour and courage. Hozem was confident of victory, having succeeded in surprising his enemy, and professed his resolution to board the Portuguese admiral, and gave orders to the rest of his ships to board the others. The gallant Almeida, though partially surprised, was not in the least disheartened, and when his adversary neared to the attack, he poured in such a shower of ball, arrows, grenades, and other dangerous missiles, that the Turkish vessel shrunk from the encounter, though far larger than its adversary. Lorenzo now became the assailant, and attempted to board the enemy. Two of his galleys were more successful than their gallant chief, and took two of their opponents and put their crews to the sword. The victory inclined to the Europeans, when the dismayed Mohammedans were relieved by the arrival of Melique Az, the governor of Diu, with a number of small vessels well manned. This unequal conflict was injurious to the men and ships, but it was maintained

till the second night separated them. Lorenzo then, under favour of the darkness, held a council of his chief officers, when it was decided that they should endeavour to escape to the open sea, where the fight could be renewed with greater advantage, and with greater facilities for retreat, should circumstances render the latter advisable. In endeavouring to accomplish this manœuvre, the attention of the enemy was attracted, and Lorenzo's ship, running foul of some fishing stakes, made so much water, that her destruction became inevitable. Her consort was drifted out to sea, and the admiral was left exposed to the united attack directed against him. He neglected nothing which became a brave and a skilful commander; and when his thigh was shattered by a ball, he ordered himself to be placed against the mast, where he stood encouraging his men till another shot broke his back. His body was placed under deck, and the vessel was not surrendered. The Turks boarded it, and found Lorenzo's faithful page by the body of his master, bewailing his loss with tears of blood as well as water, having received an arrow in his eye. Mutilated as he was, he rose to defend the corpse, and, having killed as many as covered his master, he then fell upon the heap of slain. Such devotion should leave an imperishable name; his lives—Laurence Freyre Gato. Of one hundred men that were with Lorenzo, only nineteen escaped. Six hundred of the enemy fell. Melique Az, a prince to whose bravery and humanity his enemies testified, prevailed on the survivors to surrender, and paid them every attention, and wrote a letter to Almeida, condoling with him on the death of a son so eminently distinguished. This was the first occasion in which the Portuguese cannon was heard on the shores of the Maharashtra.* Choule then belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednuggur. Although the viceroy received the intelligence of his son's death with apparent submission to the will of the Supreme, and declared that he had much less desired for the youth long life than a distinguished name, and felt in the realization of that aspiration that he had no cause for mourning, as he was now enjoying the rewards of his conduct, he, however, did not exhibit this commendable resignation in his acts. With all the expedition possible he fitted out a fleet of nineteen ships, and embodied an army composed of Portuguese and natives, when his arrangements were interrupted by the arrival of Alphonso Albuquerque with the title of viceroy, and with peremptory orders from the king to Don Francisco de Almeida to resign the government into his hands, and

* Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. ii. p. 76.

return home in one of the trading vessels. He refused to surrender the dignity until he had concluded the expedition which he was preparing. Albuquerque pressed him to compliance; he pleaded as an excuse that the ship in which he was to return had already departed, and that he should remain to inflict condign punishment on the Turks. To further pressing remonstrances, accompanied with an assurance that ample satisfaction would be exacted for the death of his son, he replied, "That he had taken up the sword, and would never resign it to another to avenge his wrongs." Finding all argument ineffectual, Albuquerque proceeded to Cochin. This refusal to comply with the commands of the sovereign, established a precedent which led afterwards to bad results, and set the royal authority at open defiance.

Almeida, on the departure of Albuquerque, proceeded with his armament—confidence in its strength, and the attachment of his officers and forces, induced him to act so independently—as has been just related above. He sailed for Dabul, one of the greatest and most splendid towns on that coast, and which had given its zealous support to the Egyptians. The Portuguese entered the river on the 30th of December, 1508. Francisco de Almeida, who personally commanded, landed his men, and took, plundered, and burnt the town. According to Ossorio and other historians, this conflagration was ordered by the viceroy himself, as the only effectual means left him of putting an end to the plundering.

The combined fleets of the enemy were in the Gulf of Cambay; hither he determined to direct his course. When he entered he found them strongly posted in the harbour of Diu. Though covered by strong batteries, and a sloping network of strong rope, the Portuguese did not hesitate, but advanced to the attack. The conflict was short, sharp, and decisive: all the large vessels were either sunk or taken; the rest, defeated and shattered, sought protection in shallow water. The captured vessels, stored with plunder, amply rewarded the toiling victors. All the European captives were restored unconditionally. This victory was sullied by a disgraceful and unprovoked massacre of his prisoners. On his return to Cochin, Albuquerque was placed under arrest. This Almeida soon regretted, and shortly afterwards he was persuaded to resign his appointment into the hands of his successor, and then set sail for Portugal, which he never reached, being killed in an affray with some naked and contemptible Caffres on the coast of Africa.

Albuquerque being now at the head of the government, hurried his preparations for the

reduction of Calicut, the capital of the earliest and most powerful enemy of the Portuguese. With a body of eighteen hundred men, in thirty vessels, and some boats of Malays, who were led by the hope of plunder to accompany the expedition, he set sail, and arrived there on the 2nd of January, 1510. Albuquerque was also accompanied by Coutinho, who had recently arrived with a fleet of fifteen sail, having been sent out by King Manuel, to whom intelligence had been communicated of the preparations made by the Sultan of Egypt, and also of the apprehended refusal of Almeida to surrender his office. This nobleman was entrusted with great powers; and the duties committed to him having been duly executed, he was on the eve of departure for Europe when this armament was ready to sail. Ambitious of fresh laurels, he insisted on being permitted to take a prominent part upon this occasion. The honourable post he sought was conceded by his friend. The difficulties to their landing they found very great. The town was surrounded with jungle, and could be approached by narrow avenues only, which left the troops no space for their files and evolutions. The army was therefore divided, and it was agreed that the two commanders should advance with separate divisions. To Coutinho was assigned eight hundred men, and some fieldpieces. Albuquerque led an equal number, and a supplementary body of eight hundred Malays. They remained under arms all night, through their eagerness to land, but the sound of the signal to march and the discharge of cannon drowned all their fatigue in the military ardour they evolved. They marched with great confusion, as both parties were emulous of performing the most distinguished feat. The followers of Albuquerque first reached the defences, and charged the six hundred men who were posted at their point of attack, who, though they vigorously received the assault, were compelled to succumb to their intrepid assailants, and in a few minutes the Portuguese were in possession. Coutinho, whose progress had been retarded, did not arrive until the banner of Portugal was planted on the wall of the captured fortress, and was chagrined that he had had no part in the matter. He indulged in the bitterest reproaches, and charged his friend Albuquerque with having by his contrivances robbed him of his share of the glory. He insultingly added, "Were you ambitious that the rabble of Lisbon should trumpet your renown as the conqueror of Calicut, and that our sovereign should yield you all the credit? Were that your vain-glorious object, you will be disappointed. On my arrival I shall tell the king I could

have entered the town with only this cane in my hand; and since I find nobody to fight with, I will not rest satisfied till I enter the palace of the zamorin, and dine in his halls." Haughtily disdaining to await any explanation, he commanded his troops to march to that quarter. His progress was disputed as he impetuously and successfully cut his way for the space of five leagues, encumbered with a continuous grove of palms that lined the way. When he reached the palace, he found it formed a little town, strongly walled in, and, in fact, the only fortification in Calicut. The main strength of the army also was posted there. The brave Portuguese was not disheartened by these discoveries. For him the difficulties sweetened the labour, and enhanced the prospective rewards. Giving a short respite to the soldiers, he made a fierce assault on the gates. His impetuosity was irresistible; the enemy fled to the mountains, and the royal residence was at the mercy of the victors, who were soon engrossed in appropriating the wealth with which they were profusely surrounded. They were blinded by their cupidity to the fearful consequences of their disorganization and recklessness, and acted with as little precaution as if the enemy had been destroyed as well as defeated. They were soon called to a sense of their folly. The foe had been expelled, but not crushed. Animated by the paucity of their number, and their present imprudent behaviour, a body of thirty thousand well-armed men returned to renew the contest. Several of the Portuguese, encumbered with spoil, were killed. During the progress of Coutinho, and the occupation of the palace, Albuquerque had entered the city, and set fire to the houses, and then resolved to ascertain what Coutinho had done, who had foolishly neglected to keep open the communications with the rear. Having followed in his track, and arrived at the scene of action, he found him and his companions surrounded by an armed and resolute host, in the most imminent danger. He discovered means of communicating the fact of his presence to Coutinho, and in the meantime endeavoured to prevent the pressure on him of the enemy on the outside. After some considerable delay, and in reply to a third message, Albuquerque was informed that he might proceed towards the fleet, and that Coutinho, then engaged in collecting his men, who had dispersed in all directions, would follow. On his march Albuquerque learned that his colleague's life was in danger; he attempted, but in vain, to cut his way back to his relief. It was too late. The Indians in multitudes thronged the intervening street. The tops of the houses

were crowded with armed assailants, and from windows, turrets, and every covert he was assailed with clouds of darts. The bravest of his men fell around him: entangled in the narrow streets, lanes, and avenues, he could neither advance nor retreat; his own fate hung trembling in the balance. The flames of the burning houses at last gleamed upon his path, and forced his scorched assailants to clear his way. The gallant Albuquerque escaped almost by a miracle; he was wounded in the throat with a dart, in the head with a stone, and was so faint that he was borne senseless to the shore. Coutinho, when sensible of his imminent danger, placed himself at the head of his men, and fought like a lion. Though the palace around him was in flames, and he surrounded by an infuriated host, he bravely endeavoured to cut a passage through them; he at length fell, and in endeavouring to defend him officers of the noblest families in Portugal shared his fate. Eighty of the Portuguese were slain, and three hundred wounded. In so severe an encounter, and taken so by surprise, it is scarcely credible their loss was so small. Their own historians are the only accessible authorities, and it is to be suspected that truth has been frequently sacrificed to national vanity.

The ardour of the viceroy was not moderated by this disaster. He had no sooner recovered from his wounds than he directed his attention to the extension of his conquests. His intended enterprise was not directed against the capital of the zamorin, but on the acquisition of some town on the sea-coast, which might be established as a capital for the Portuguese colonists. The Island of Ormuz appeared to him the best selection, and thither he steered, about the end of January, 1510, with seventeen hundred men in twenty-one vessels, of all sorts and sizes. Timora, an Indian pirate, who visited him on his way, drew his attention to Goa, a town on the sea-coast of the Deccan, in the district called Canara, which has since become famous as the military, civil, commercial, and religious capital of the Portuguese empire in the East.

Timora had been originally an Indian chief. He had been dispossessed of his inheritance by his relatives, and harshly treated by his neighbours. He became a pirate, and the captain of a numerous and daring body of Indian adventurers. He attached himself to the Portuguese, and proved himself a trusty friend. In all probability he was induced to cultivate the friendship of the Europeans in the hope, with their aid, of being able to avenge his injuries, and to re-

cover his lost power. On this memorable occasion he pointed out the superiority of Goa to Ormuz. Goa had been only recently conquered by the Moguls, and annexed to Delhi. The convulsions by which that power was shaken in the commencement of the seventh century, have been already detailed, and the capture of Goa glanced at. Amid the disruption of the cumbrous and unwieldy components of that empire, the severance of the Deccan, and the growth of the three states, which from vice-royalties grew into independent kingdoms, an opportunity was afforded for the assertion of similar pretensions in the south, and amongst other kingdoms, first rose that of Narsinga, with its capital, Bisnagor. But the most powerful of these at this time was Goa, whose sovereign bore the title of zabaim. Timora informed Albuquerque that this prince was involved in war with several states of the interior, that he was now absent in some distant campaign, that his resources were absorbed, and his capital left unprotected, an easy prey to the first powerful invader. As an assurance of his confidence in the propriety of his recommendation and the issue, he proffered the co-operation of his own force, amounting to twelve ships.

No time was lost, on the 25th of February the combined fleets of these freebooters—Hindoo and Christian—cast anchor in the harbour of Goa. The forts for its protection were captured without delay, and the ships drawn up close to the walls. The inhabitants, who were chiefly engaged in commercial pursuits, alarmed by the threatened storming of their city, and the treatment to be expected from their unscrupulous and exacting enemies, reluctantly presented themselves to the Portuguese to make an offer of surrender, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and estates should be secured. The offer was accepted. Albuquerque entered the city, and was received with as much homage as could have been paid to the legitimate sovereign. He applied himself to the restoration of order and public confidence, and the measures he pursued to accomplish these ends were hailed with public approval. He dispatched embassies to the neighbouring courts, proffering friendship and soliciting alliances. The towns dependant on Goa awaited no advances; as soon as they learned the fall of the metropolis they immediately proffered their submission, and were, as might be presumed, kindly received. It must be confessed, however unjustifiable his designs on Goa were, when in possession he faithfully fulfilled every stipulation, and with great prudence endeavoured to establish his power

on the attachment of the people. The command of the fort was conferred on one of his principal officers, Don Antonio de Noronah; the government of the natives on Timojee, and the officers of the late administration were continued in their posts. This pleasant state of things was not fated to continue. The zabaim, as soon as he heard of the sudden reverse of fortune and the loss of his capital, suddenly concluded peace with his adversaries, and turned his attention to home. He induced several of them to make common cause with him, and to assist in driving from their vicinity an enemy whose object was to crush them all in turn. An army of forty thousand men were quickly under his command, all breathing vengeance against the hated foreign invaders. The natives properly held everything as secondary to the necessity of their immediate overthrow. The zabaim had, as might be expected, a great number of adherents in the city on whose loyalty he might reckon. They had assured him of their fealty and assistance. He had been four months in possession when the expected foe appeared at the gates. Albuquerque rested his hopes on defending the approaches. He fortified all the strong points of defence, and stationed chosen troops at them, covering them with walls and intrenchments. A danger now manifested itself which had not been anticipated, and one which was calculated to frustrate his best efforts and genius. Amongst his army there arose a numerous party, who looked upon the attempt to retain the town as insanity. They argued, and not without plausibility, that it was imprudent in the highest degree to expect to be able, in the midst of a hostile population, with no possibility of succour from home or elsewhere, to offer resistance to the numerous army by which they were beset. The towering ambition of the viceroy was too lofty to look down upon those common-place calculations. To his all-grasping spirit nothing seemed impossible. With him, as with Napoleon le Grand, there was no such word as *impossibility* in his vocabulary. He indignantly scouted the craven fears that suggested the idea of abandoning a prize so magnificent. His displeasure did not convince the dissentients, who protested against sacrificing to the temerity of one the whole army, and the future prospects of the Indo-Portuguese. Nine hundred of them conspired to strip him of his power, and consult as best they could for the common safety. Their machinations were not conducted with such privacy as to escape his observation. Having timely notice he surprised them in secret conclave, imprisoned the leaders, and pardoned the rest.

A conspiracy of the natives being detected in the city four hundred of them were cut to pieces with the sword. Baffled in every attempt, the enemy at length decided on a nocturnal attack. On the 17th of May, in the darkness of night and storm, the Indians advanced in two bodies, and succeeded, in spite of every opposition, to force their way into the island, being assisted by some outburst in the city; the Portuguese were obliged to retire to the fort, and this from necessity was soon evacuated. This hazardous feat was accomplished with characteristic resolution. Albuquerque privately sent on board his guns, ammunition, and provisions, and having seen his troops embarked, he was the last who entered the flag-ship. His escape might have been effected without the cognizance of the enemy, had not the explosion of a magazine aroused them. This accident led to an encounter, in which Albuquerque had his horse killed under him. The siege had lasted twenty days.

It was resolved to pass the winter in some convenient harbour on that coast. It was not the intention of the viceroy to waste even that season in inglorious inactivity. His proud spirit burned to atone for the late ill-fortune, and he was also anxious to revive the spirit and confidence of his men. A portion of the native confederate troops were encamped at Pangin, near Goa, and strongly intrenched. From this post ships were frequently dispatched to annoy the Portuguese. The guns of the fort also seriously incommoded them. This Albuquerque determined to surprise. Three hundred men were appointed on this expedition. They approached the shore in deep silence, and suddenly landed at the break of dawn; and then with drums and trumpets sounding, and with shouts which echoed through the quiet morn, they rushed on the slumbering enemy. The Indians, startled from their sleep by the unusual din, fled without striking a blow in defence of their tents and baggage. A great quantity of cannon, stores, and provisions, were left behind. Shortly after, a successful attack was made upon a squadron sailing to attack them, and some of the Portuguese having exhibited a daring proof of bravery—it is a pleasing duty to have to record an instance of chivalrous courtesy where it was least to be expected—the zabaim, having witnessed it, sent one of his officers to express his admiration of the heroism displayed; a polite answer was returned, and this exchange of civilities led to negotiations for peace, which led to no satisfactory results.

After these exploits, the Portuguese sailed to Cannanore, and there refitted their fleet and

planned new conquests. Albuquerque did not yet resign his pretensions to Goa. He resolved on a second attempt on it. He had been reinforced by the arrival of thirteen ships which Manuel had dispatched to strengthen his Indian squadron.

Albuquerque sailed from Cannanore with a fleet of twenty-three vessels and fifteen hundred fighting men. On his way he was joined by three ships, which were sent to his aid by his confederate Timojee, who promised to join him at Goa with six thousand men. His strongest assurance of success was the impolitic absence of the zabaim, who was again engaged in prosecuting some quarrel with the sovereign of Narsinga. On the 22nd of November the Portuguese cast anchor a second time before the devoted city. Although it had been recently strongly fortified, and was defended by nine thousand men, before the arrival of the promised contingent from Timojee he commenced operations, and soon drove the enemy within the walls. As the latter were in the act of shutting the gate, Fernandoo Melos thrust in a long spear, which prevented it from closing; his soldiers made a desperate effort to turn this to their advantage, and eventually succeeded in entering the town with the fugitives, and though a fierce conflict hand to hand was maintained from the gate to the distant palace, the Portuguese flag again waved triumphantly from the captured battlements. Six thousand of the enemy had fallen, and only fifty of the victors. The glory of this achievement was tarnished by uncalled-for cruelty. The dead and wounded were cast a prey to the crocodiles, and not one Mohammedan was left alive in the island. An immense booty fell into the viceroy's hand, which enabled him to prosecute effectively the grand conceptions of his ambition.

To the natives, inoffensive agriculturists, he behaved with moderation; to them he restored their lands. Ambassadors from the princes of that country came to congratulate him on his success.

To consolidate his power was his next undertaking. He laid the foundation of a fort, which he named Emanuel after his sovereign; other useful works were also erected, and nothing was neglected which it was thought would contribute to render Goa a suitable capital for an eastern empire, and it actually became the bulwark of the Portuguese power in India. The viceroy perceived how essential to the stability of his power would be an incorporation of the conquerors and conquered; he endeavoured to effect this politic and desirable result. Several females, some belonging to the best families in the land, had fallen

into his hands in the capture of the town; these he treated with the highest respect and consideration, and having induced them to profess Christianity, he portioned them with lands, houses, or employments, he gave them in marriage to his European followers, and bestowed on the husbands some of his best appointments. The principal native families, finding the advantages of these connexions, availed themselves of the opportunity of further extending them.

Matters being thus far satisfactorily adjusted, Albuquerque now proposed to himself the accomplishment of projects which had been postponed as secondary to what had been just achieved. These were the conquest of Ormuz, the magnificent emporium of the Persian Gulf, on which he had made an attempt on his voyage to India, and which was snatched from his grasp almost in the moment of victory; and Malacca, considered then as the key of the remotest regions and islands of the East. To lull all suspicion of his immediate purpose he promulgated a report that Ormuz was his destination, and actually sent some ships there. He first sailed to Cochin, and thence set out for Malacca, on the 2nd of May, with nineteen sail and fourteen hundred fighting men, eight hundred of whom were Europeans, the rest natives.

The Portuguese entered the harbour of Malacca on the 1st of July, and found it crowded with vessels from all parts of maritime Asia, and the islands. The trade of the East and West had added to the wealth and population. Mohammed, who then reigned there, had greatly added to his power and popularity by the defeat of an army of forty thousand men, sent against him by the King of Siam. On this occasion he had recourse to those treacherous practices of which the Portuguese had frequently cause to complain, and the punishment of which he had now serious cause to apprehend. On this occasion he had recourse to the King of Siam, who placed a large contingent at his disposal, and by this his army was increased to thirty thousand men, and his artillery consisted of eight thousand pieces of cannon; but as De Faria remarks,* his fear was far greater than his preparations. With this force, and aid also from some neighbouring princes, Mohammed, the King of Malacca, made a vigorous defence, and availed himself of several appliances, movable wooden turrets, cannon, poisoned arrows, and thorns, and floats of wild-fire drifted down the river, to burn the ships; but the intrepidity of the Portuguese, inspired by their fearless chief, overcame all opposition; the enemy were compelled to fly, and Albuquer-

que was left master of the city. A fort was erected, which was called Famosa, from its beauty; and a church, which was dedicated to the visitation of the Virgin. With his characteristic discretion he settled the government on a conciliatory basis; established friendly relations with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; interchanged embassies with them; dispatched a party to discover the Molucca Islands and Banda, and offered to all nations in the habit of trading with Malacca, more liberal terms than they had previously enjoyed. He left De Brito Patalim to command the fort, with above three hundred men, and the like number to command the sea in ten ships, under Perez de Andrade. Albuquerque had returned home with four vessels.*

During this successful expedition, encouraged by his partizans within the city, the zabaim made a powerful effort to recover his lost capital. His commander succeeded in forcing his way into the island, in erecting a strong fort called Benaster, and reduced the Europeans to great straits. By the arrival of the viceroy the aspect of things was altered, his supremacy effectively re-established, and the complete expulsion of the enemy effected. His projected expedition for the subjugation of Ormuz—a conquest of great consequence to the maintenance of the supremacy of the Portuguese in the East—now had indisputable possession of his thoughts. Two attempts were frustrated. Defeat but strengthened his resolution. With a formidable armament—his troops numbering fifteen hundred Europeans and six hundred Asiatics—he made his final attempt. The king did not dare resist this force; he readily conceded permission to erect a fort, and when this was completed, confident of his power to enforce his demands, Albuquerque suggested to the prince the propriety of transporting all the cannon which frowned from the bulwarks of his capital to this station. The unfortunate king had no alternative, and thus the celebrated Ormuz became a Portuguese establishment.

In a declining state of health Albuquerque longed to return to India, and had some hopes that the change of climate would facilitate his recovery. But a blow impended which wounded his pride and aggravated his disorders. As he coasted along the shores

* A marvellous tale is told by De Faria: "A Malay, though pierced with several mortal wounds by the Portuguese, to the general astonishment of all shed not one drop of blood, but when a bracelet of bone had been removed from his arm, the blood gushed out. The Indians discovered the secret, saying it was the bone of an animal of Java, which has that virtue. The bracelet was esteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque."—*De Faria y Sousa*.

* *De Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 176.

of Cambay, information met him that a squadron had arrived in India commanded by Lope Soarez, the man whom he most detested, and that he was appointed his successor. Hearing this he cried out, "It is time for me to take sanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's displeasure."* He was seized with profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul almost in the arms of death. Upon the bar of Goa, which he called his land of promise, he expired on the 16th of December, in the sixty-third year of his age. "He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, twice before Malacca; three famous islands and kingdoms in Asia over which he gloriously triumphed."†

Portuguese historians have not recorded the cause of his disgrace; nor does it appear that his sovereign softened in any way the harshness of his conduct in his recall, and the appointment of his avowed enemy to the chief command in the East.

Under his successful administration the Portuguese empire in the East attained nearly its greatest limits, only a few places on the remoter coast of Africa were added to it, and two or three minor settlements on the coast of Coromandel. This splendid empire, with the exclusive commerce between Europe and India, they retained for upwards of a century.

The chief duty imposed on Lope Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, was the destruction of the fleet which had been equipped by the Sultan of Egypt, and was stationed in the Red Sea. As soon as he was formally settled in his new government, he began to make preparations for the performance of that task, and with a formidable armament sailed from Goa and anchored at Aden. This important town was then threatened by Soliman, the admiral of the Egyptian fleet; the inhabitants sought the protection of the Portuguese, and proffered the surrender of it to Soarez. Though it was the most valuable station the Europeans could have in the Indian seas, and its value appreciated not only by Albuquerque but also by each of his predecessors, Lope declined the offer, as he had no instructions in relation to it.‡ This expedition was a

miserable failure, and Aden, which recently invited his rule and protection, insulted him with impunity on his return. During his absence Goa was nearly lost, and was saved through the valour of two captains who volunteered their services, and by some concessions to the enemy. Some factories about this time were established on the coast of Bengal, on the coast of China below Canton, and in the Molucca Islands. The violence of the Portuguese soon incurred the wrath of the Celestials, and also of the authorities of Bengal. From both nations they were expelled, and in the Moluccas their tenure was very insecure indeed.

In 1518 this weak imbecile, Soarez, was recalled, and Sequiera was nominated his successor. To him fortune was equally unfriendly. Malacca was disturbed with new troubles, which were but imperfectly quelled. A squadron sent to avenge the late failure in the Red Sea returned ingloriously; in Cannanore the fort was attacked by the natives, and defended with severe loss to the Europeans. The affairs of the Portuguese were never in a more perilous condition.

At the close of the year 1521 Manuel died, after one of the most glorious reigns on record. He was, in every respect, a great monarch. His fame extended as far as the wings of commerce could waft it; and his little kingdom, under his enlightened administration, grew wealthy and powerful. His ambassadors visited the courts of all the potentates of his time. They were dispatched to the King of England and to the sovereign of Abyssinia, to the monarch of Congo and the Sultan of Egypt, to the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of China, and all of them were distinguished by a magnificence suitable to the lord of so many regions, and whose sway was acknowledged on every continent of the globe.

When his son and successor Joam ascended the throne, Don Duarte de Meneses was viceroy of India. Incited by Xaref, the minister of the King of Ormuz, an attack was made on the Portuguese fort, several of the garrison were put to the sword, and the rest besieged in the citadel, to which they retired for safety. Coutinho, the governor, sent to Goa for reinforcements, but before they could have arrived the Portuguese had retrieved their reverses, and the minister and king were compelled to fly to a neighbouring fort. Here the unfortunate prince was assassinated, because he advised an accommodation with the Europeans, and to the disgrace of the avaricious viceroy, the murderer, Xaref, instructions, would soon cease to acknowledge the authority of the small parent state.

* "Tcempo es de acogerme a la Iglesia; Vassi quedo yo mal con el Rey."—*Faria y Sousa*.

† "Dos veses se mostrò a Ormuz, dos a Goa, y a Malacca dos. Trcs islas y coronas celebres en Asia."—*Ibid.*

‡ This strange conduct on the part of Lope seems to be inexplicable, particularly when it is remembered what an effort, and ineffectual, his predecessor made to gain it. Perhaps a clue to its explanation is to be found in the dismissal of Albuquerque, and that his offence was the prosecution of conquests for which he had no authority from home. Fears may have been entertained that an empire so extensive and remote, acquired independent of

instead of punishment, had conferred upon him, on payment of a large sum of money, the government of Ormuz. This Portuguese wretch was no exception to the others, on whom had now devolved the government of the various Asiatic settlements. The same rapacity and venality are laid to the charge of the governors of Cochin, Calicut, Malacca, the Moluccas, and of every place cursed with their degenerate and detestable rule. To remedy this disgraceful abuse of power, and to restore, if possible, the national honour, the now venerable Vasco da Gama, the celebrated discoverer of the Indian peninsula, was dispatched by the court of Lisbon. What services he might have rendered to humanity and his sovereign are not left to the historian to recapitulate, for his new career, commenced with a vigorous repression of crimes and abuses, was cut short by death at Cochin.

His successor was Henrique de Meneses, brother of Duarte. This nobleman possessed the qualifications to realize the reformation which Vasco had commenced. His virtues made him the terror of both the licentious Portuguese and hostile natives. He gained a splendid victory over the Rajah of Calicut, an inveterate enemy. He did not live to reap all the fruits of it, nor to eradicate those evils he knew so well how to correct. He breathed his last at Cannanore. The proceeds of all his goods did not defray the expenses of his funeral. His short experience convinced him of the great risks to be run in maintaining in Calicut a fortress already exposed to the attacks of the zamorin. A few months before his death, he decided on transferring the settlement to Diu, near the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay, in the kingdom of Gujerat. His successor, Pedro Mascarenhas, impressed with the sound policy of this removal, prepared to effect it. To obtain possession of Diu by arms was no easy matter. It was strongly fortified by art as well as by nature, and the sovereign of Cambay, one of the most powerful princes of western India, was sure to come to its defence. It was resolved to obtain possession of it by negotiation, and a liberal expenditure of money. These negotiations, however, were suspended by the substitution of a new viceroy, Sampeyo, which led to some serious differences, which proved detrimental to the interests of the empire.

In 1529 Nuno da Cunha was sent out to take the command and supersede Sampeyo. He commenced his government auspiciously; on his way out, he called at Ormuz, recovered that island, and sent the blood-stained traitor, Xaref, to Lisbon in chains. On his arrival at Goa he, too, was convinced of the importance of removing to Diu, and pronounced

it essential to the security of the Portuguese possessions and commerce. He commenced his preparations for besieging it. He collected such a formidable force, that when he presented himself before its walls it was surrendered without the discharge of a shot; and, when in his possession, every effort made by the king for its recovery was defeated.

The Sultan of Egypt, though he had suspended operations in the Indian waters, had not relinquished his hopes in that quarter. He now entered into a treaty with the Mohammedan King of Cambay, and in the fulfilment of his part of the conditions sent a fleet under the command of Soliman Pasha, admiral of the Sublime Porte, to co-operate in the expulsion of the odious Christians from the Eastern seas. Diu was assaulted, but the small garrison, only seven hundred—fighting forty to one—bravely kept their own. Enraged as well as disappointed by this heroic defence, the Egyptians sought the aid of the King of Calicut to exterminate the “infidel dogs,” proffering in return the protection of the sultan. The proud zamorin spurned the idea of protection, “Tell thy master,” was the reply, “that the sovereigns of Calicut need no protection, but are the protectors of other kings; and never receive presents, they always bestow them.” This siege is considered one of the most memorable in the annals of Portuguese rule in Asia, and thus justifies a more general notice. Exploits of the most daring valour were performed, nor was the honour of them and the labour shared by the men alone. The fairer sex were their rivals in courage and enthusiasm. Donna Isabella de Vega assembled all the women in the forts, and, in glowing terms, depicted to them the incessant toil imposed upon the men, in their uninterrupted efforts to repel the incessant attacks of an army, that numbered twenty-seven thousand strong. She induced her audience to undertake the reparation of the breaches. Another heroine, Ann Fernandez, the wife of a physician, ran from post to post fearless of the missiles which fell around her, cheering and encouraging the soldiers; and seeing her son fall in one of the attacks, she rescued his body, bore it to a place of safety, and having performed a mother’s duty, she rushed to her post, and there stopt till the day’s deadly work had ended, then she performed the obsequies of her gallant boy. Such examples kindled an enthusiasm superior to all obstacles. For weeks was this conflict thus heroically maintained. At length the enemy, wearied and exasperated, resolved on a final and general assault. To lull all suspicion they began to withdraw their galleys, as if preparing for raising the

siege. At midnight they suddenly returned, and, applying their scaling-ladders to the sea-wall, they made the assault. The garrison were soon aroused. They rushed to the defences; hand to hand they grappled with the foe; deeds of superhuman valour were in that encounter performed; fifteen hundred of the assailants met a warrior's death; the enemy had made their last effort, and the liberated garrison of heroes were rewarded when morning lit the landscape, by seeing the canvas of the Egyptian fleet filled with the auspicious gale that bore them to their distant homes. On reviewing his gallant band, Sylveira found that not more than forty of them were fit for duty.

The next nobleman who was appointed to the viceroyalty, by Joam, was Estevan da Gama, the son of the celebrated Vasco. He was a man of consummate ability, and, what seldom happens, proved himself to be as able a man as his father. He established a college in Goa for the education of the higher classes of Hindoos; and when the Turks attacked the Christian sovereign of Abyssinia, he chivalrously defended him. He also waged a war of extermination against the corsairs who frequented the Indian seas, and succeeded in their expulsion.

This able man was succeeded, in 1542, by Alphonso de Sousa, who was accompanied by Xavier, as previously stated. In the year of his arrival the Europeans first reached the islands of Japan.

The power of the Portuguese was felt and feared along the shores of eastern, southern, and south-western India, and in the numerous islands clustered in the Indian Ocean; Ceylon bent to their yoke, and many of its inhabitants embraced its religion. Their domination might have been co-extensive with that of Great Britain at a subsequent period, were it not for their gross abuse of their opportunities. To sordid purposes they sacrificed honour and religion; for greedy lucre they violated every moral obligation. The rapid extension of the power which culminated to its height before the grave closed over the remains of its first Portuguese visitor, was equalled by its more rapid declension, the effect of the abuse of its mission. The visit to Japan would have been a source of wealth to Europe, and of salvation to thousands, had not the heinous enormities of these professing Christians outraged humanity. The Japanese, who were in close communication with the natives of the Moluccas, were horrified by the excesses perpetrated there. The Portuguese had gained possession of two princes, sons of the late King of Ternate. These they liberated, in the hope of being enabled, under

the semblance of the authority of a nominal king, to rule absolutely over his dominions. The eldest, with this object, was placed upon the throne; but, not being found a pliant or effective tool, he was degraded by Fonseca, the Portuguese governor, and his younger brother substituted. A new governor was shortly after sent from Europe, who, on some paltry pretext, arrested the king and sent him to Goa. No offence could be proved against him, and he was consequently honourably discharged, but he died on his return. There was still remaining of these puppets of royalty a bastard brother. The Portuguese raised him to the throne. His mother, a Javanese and Mohammedan, aware of the dangers which surrounded his elevation, endeavoured to dissuade him from its acceptance. Ataide, the European governor, was informed of her interference, and, incensed at the discovery, had the mother, in the sight of her son, thrown from a high window, and she was killed by the fall. This outrage was generally resented; the natives retaliated, and massacred all the Portuguese they could lay hands upon. The summary of their proceedings is not exaggerated in the following quotation:—"Under the pretence of commerce, obtaining from the incautious natives permission to build a citadel, they uniformly perpetrated atrocities. Their odious domination was founded in hypocrisy; was cemented by violence and blood; was crowned with rapacity and insolence."

Sousa was succeeded by Castro, under whom the garrison of Diu again obtained immortal fame.

Passing over the intermediate events, till the year 1570, we then arrive at a period, the most critical in which the Portuguese colonists were ever placed. Don Louis de Ataide was then governor. The zamorin, who had still preserved his independence, had entered into negotiations with the court of Delhi, and Adil Khan and Nizam-ool-Moolk were commanded to give him all the aid he could. An alliance was formed for the expulsion of the Europeans. The capture of Goa, the seat of their power, was the first object of the confederation. Adil Khan, with an army amounting to one hundred thousand men, marched upon it. The Portuguese had only seven hundred men and some armed slaves, and were encumbered with thirteen hundred monks. A reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from the Moluccas was afterwards received. With this small force, after a siege of several months, the enemy was obliged to retire, with the loss of twelve thousand men. At Choule, near Bombay, Nizam-ool-Moolk was vigorously

conducting his operations. The prospect of defence was less hopeful here than at Goa. Choule was situated on the continent, and defended only by a single wall, with a fort only a very little superior to a simple private dwelling. In a short time the wall was demolished, a battery of seventy cannon being incessantly played upon it. Every house was garrisoned in the path of the assailants, and defended with intrepid valour; various assaults were successfully repelled, and the Moguls eventually were obliged to withdraw, having formed a league offensive and defensive. The zamorin did not act faithfully by his allies during the progress of the war; he made repeated efforts to come to terms with the Portuguese; every advance was haughtily rejected by the proud and confident chief.

By such daring confidence and valorous acts, the little kingdom of Portugal, during the whole of the sixteenth century, maintained its supremacy in the East; and even when in their decadence, the prestige attached to their name awed into submission and cowardice those states which had previously felt the edge of their swords.

The opening of the seventeenth century introduced into India a new European element. The enterprising mariners of the lowlands had defeated Alva, thrown off the yoke of Philip of Spain, adventured from the dykes to the broad waters, coasted Africa, and reached the wealth-yielding realms of the East, there to dispute, with the all but effete Portuguese, the monopoly of Asiatic commerce. The history of the Dutch in India is reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ADVENT OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA—BRITISH EASTERN EXPEDITIONS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Mohammedan conquerors of India entered the land for the avowed purposes of plundering the people or subjugating the territory. The Portuguese and Dutch merely contemplated the opening up of commercial intercourse, and the maintenance of a trading monopoly. After a short interval of trade each of those nations became desirous of acquiring land, and the first-named formed ultimately the ambitious design of ruling "the Indies." The English were actuated by no greed of territory. The idea of conquest in such a region never entered the head of the most ambitious Englishman. The conception formed in England of "the Great Mogul" was that of a potentate very mighty, perhaps the most powerful in the world. It was supposed that his court was the most splendid, not only in the East, but on the earth; that his throne was gold, ivory, and pearl, glittering with the rarest jewels, and diamonds of the purest water. The jewelled turban of the emperor, or the jewelled hilt of his sword, was supposed to equal in value European cities or provinces. Hosts of cavalry, numbered by the million, and war-elephants, counted by hundreds of thousands, were believed to be at the command of that all-powerful monarch. The extent of the regions submitting to his sway was exaggerated in an extraordinary degree, vast as these realms really were. Rich as the soil of India

was, its fertility was, if possible, magnified. Mines of diamonds and precious stones in the remoter provinces, sufficient to adorn all the courts in the world, were, in English opinion, part of the monarch's exhaustless wealth. It was thought certain that the vigilant Portuguese, and persevering Dutch, were likely to possess a lucrative traffic in the costly spices and gems of the East, and it was deemed unworthy of British spirit to permit it. To share with the adventurous Lusitanians and Hollanders in the rich rewards of such a trade was the only ambition of the English people when they first sought the shores of India. If another ambition ruled them, it was to prove their naval and commercial superiority to the rival maritime countries of Europe, then successfully engaged in Indian commerce. To force out the Spaniards and Portuguese, and afterwards the Dutch, from monopoly, or even ascendancy, in the trade of the East, was the only employment of arms which the British thought of; indeed, the prevailing feeling upon the subject among all enlightened Englishmen, political and commercial, was, that all exercise of force, or even display of it, towards the natives of India, was impolitic and perilous. The conquest of any of the princes of India—even the smallest tributary to the Great Mogul—would have been regarded as a wild dream of folly and ambition, not only to be denounced

but to be laughed at. There was no objection to combat with the ships of European states, so as to inconvenience them in their commerce, and open up a prospect of securing with less opposition the chief trade of the Eastern seas; but towards the Indians there was rather a disposition to act submissively than boldly, and to win them to trade by enduring some indignities, and avoiding all demonstration of power. Had any one in those days affirmed that the time would come when the British flag would float in undisputed supremacy in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, from the Straits of Babel-mandel and the Persian Gulf to the Yellow Sea, and on shore, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, from Kurrachee to Malacca, he would have been set down as insane, or as ridiculing the genius and enterprise of the English people. Even for commercial purposes it was not easy to awaken English enterprise in connection with India. After Stevens, Fitch, and Leedes, very early British adventurers in that land of fable and romance, had detailed to the English public the realities they had witnessed, and although the jealousy entertained of the Portuguese could not fail to stir the spirit of a people of such maritime enterprise, it was difficult to obtain subscriptions to a company for trading with the East Indies. But even when the trading spirit of the London merchants was thoroughly roused, and the English were already of importance in the Eastern seas, nothing could be farther from their thoughts than military occupation of Indian territory, or warlike undertakings of any kind against the natives. Sir Thomas Roe, mentioned in a former chapter as the ambassador of James I. to the Great Mogul in the year 1615, in a letter to the company, declared that war and trade were incompatible; that the emperor, in refusing the English a fort, did them service rather than injury; and that if his imperial majesty offered any number of fortified places, he would, in the interest of England, refuse them. This was the spirit maintained both by English merchants and English governments, until events in India, which had not their origin in British policy, were not promoted by British purpose, and could not be controlled by either the company or the English government, led to territorial conquest. The Spanish proverb, "Give me a seat, and I will make myself room to lie down," may be aptly applied to the energy and tenacity of the English, whether as traders, colonists, or conquerors, and their peculiar characteristics may account for the early commencement of a career of territorial acquisition, but they neither desired, intended, nor hoped for the like. Miss Mar-

tineau has pertinently asked, "How was it possible that our first lodgment in such an empire should appear otherwise than small and unpretending? The imputation is, no doubt, that there was craft under this humility; but there is very clear evidence that the charge is simply slanderous. The English wanted to buy and to sell, and they wanted nothing else." The remarks of the same distinguished authoress are equally pertinent when she says, "At sea there must be warfare; and the general success of the British in their sea-fights with European rivals advanced their reputation on land; but those conflicts were only heard of; and for a course of years the native impression of an Englishman was of an energetic personage, always buying and selling, loading and unloading ships, emptying and filling warehouses, paying his way and demanding his dues, becoming irritable when the Dutch and Portuguese and the Spice Islands were mentioned, and always victorious at sea over the Dutch and Portuguese, and in the question of spice. Such was the beginning of our connection with India. It was, as we see, purely commercial. A change took place in 1624, which excited no particular notice or marked expectation at the time, but which is now regarded as introducing a new period in our relations with India."

The commercial connection between the East and West has been fully set forth on earlier pages of this work. In the nineteenth chapter* the earliest commercial intercourse between the East and West was related; and in the twentieth† an account was given of the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations from the invasion of Alexander the Great to the settlement of the British. At the close of that chapter it was observed that so mingled did the commercial and political become in the History of the East India Company, that it was necessary to trace their development together. In this and successive chapters the accomplishment of the task will be attempted. The great difficulty in tracing the early history of the English in India arises from the confusion of apparent cause and effect. The designs of the English trading company, and the results of their efforts, seldom corresponded. Their best concerted measures were baffled and defeated by agencies and instrumentalities trivial or unexpected. When they naturally expected profit from transactions from which large advantages might be reasonably inferred, there was loss; where they meditated peace they found war. The long-established power of the Portuguese melted away before the

* See p. 360.

† See p. 371.

commercial fleets of the London merchants, and the sturdy and hardy Dutch were defeated alike in the competition of industry and arms; while the petty rajahs and their tributaries were able to offer effectual opposition, and the wisdom and negotiation of sensible and earnest men were set aside by the intrigues of a courtesan, a courtier, or a slave not adequately feed. Yet the most extraordinary fortunes opened up where least expected and desired, and from sources and by means altogether beyond the calculations of human foresight. The London Company seemed to struggle with some great destiny, of which it was unconscious, and for which it was not prepared. From whatever course the company selected for itself, it was turned aside into other paths, intricate as they were devious. With an object simple, and a pursuit of that object sincere, it was involved in complicated transactions of a totally different nature, from which a heroic daring and skilful address did not always suffice to extricate it; but these, when called forth by one difficulty, created others, to be encountered by new forms of daring and self-possession, which, however, issuing in renown or gain, led to results wholly different from those to accomplish which they were put forth. The progress of the English in India is one of the most entangled threads of history. Who can refrain from seeing a superintending Providence, overruling the aims of commerce and the policy of man, for purposes of magnitude and importance connected with his own glory and the moral government of the world? Transactions, great and small, the advent of a genius, or the discovery of some minute article of commerce, bore alike in their relations and upon the grand destination to which all events were constrained to hasten. They were instruments alike in his hands, who

"Sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall."

Miss Martineau truly says, "Nothing could be more unlike what men designed and anticipated than the issues of the early schemes of the East India Company. The members themselves, their supporters and their opponents, were alike surprised at finding, from period to period, that they accomplished scarcely anything they designed, and that all manner of unlooked-for things came to pass—as if the whole affair was some mighty sport, in which grave and earnest men were made the agents of some transcendent levity, or were bewildered pupils in some new school which they had entered unawares. The merchants, who began the whole business, meant to trade, and obtain large profits, and,

above all else, to avoid everything but trade. With the magnificent shows of life in India they had no concern whatever, beyond valuing, buying and selling, the commodities in use before their eyes. They knew nothing, and cared nothing, about politics—Mogul or Mahratta; and, as for war, it was only too fearful even to witness it. All they desired was to be let alone to make their fortunes, without any thought of law, government, negotiation, or war, except as far as any of these might affect their commerce—a handful of strangers as they were on a foreign coast. No men could be more sincere than these men were; and yet, in the course of the next century, a mocking destiny seemed to make teetotoms of them, their plans, and their fortunes. . . . Their trade was never very successful; their balance-sheet pleased their enemies better than their friends. They exchanged commodities no doubt, and made profits; but their concerns were puny in comparison with their pretensions, and did not expand at all in proportion to their scope. While their direct object succeeded no better than this, they found themselves passing laws, ruling settlements, and making war and negotiating treaties, in alliance or opposition, with the princes of the country. They found themselves touching many points of Indian territory and Indian polity, and fastening wherever they touched, till the necessity was ripe which made them a great administrative and military power."

When the English gained mastery their progress was still a reluctant one in the direction of annexation. It was not by a desire to aggrandize territory that they gained it. The display or exercise of military power formed no part of their designs, the company denounced aggression, and an increase of territory by military force was regarded by its officers as the worst policy that could be pursued. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly*, in 1858, justly represented the spirit of the English throughout the greater part of their career, when he thus wrote:—"Our ascendancy in India has been hitherto due to our moral rather than our physical superiority; to the higher qualities which enable us to utilize with the best effect slender resources, rather than to the amplitude of the resources themselves—still less of that portion of them actually derived from home. But from the time of Clive onwards, the foundations of our power were securely laid in the moral prestige which he established, and others amply sustained. The spell of a master-mind was laid in succession upon each of the enervated and half savage tribes with which we came into contact. And not only did they own subjec-

tion to British constancy, British valour, British faith, but they became the willing, for a time the enthusiastic, instruments for extending the British sway. At such a season as this it is encouraging and profitable to look back into the past; and while the world is ringing with the fame of present heroic achievements and endurance on the part of our countrymen, to trace the resemblance, the identity, between the qualities that have won *them* renown, and rescued India from a demoniac *Raj*, and those that of old, under Providence, conferred glory and honour on the British, *vixere forts ante Agamemona*. The Lawrences, the Neills, the Havelocks, have had their worthy, if, now at least, less conspicuous predecessors; the fruits of whose exertions we have long been enjoying, the memory of whose excellences we should not willingly let die."

It is in this spirit that the English reader must approach the history of his countrymen in India, if he will do justice to them, or comprehend the strange and mighty events which fill up that glorious and gorgeous story.

It has been explained in the chapter on the commercial intercourse between India and the Western nations after the conquest by Alexander the Great, that the English derived their oriental commodities by way of the Mediterranean. An intense desire for a sea-passage, by which their own ships could go direct to China, pervaded the commercial public, especially of London and Bristol, and various romantic stories were circulated of the riches of Cathay, and the possibility of discovering a way thither.

A trade in Indian commodities was, at a very early period, instigated by Sir William Monson, who witnessed the wreck of a Venetian carrac, laden with spices and other Indian commodities, on the Isle of Wight. The views of Sir William only contemplated the opening of a trade with the Levant in British ships, so as to rival the Venetians, instead of being obliged to deal with them as the merchants and carriers of Indian commodities. His appeals were successful, and the Turkey merchants, as they were called, imported Indian goods for the English markets.* In the latter half of the sixteenth century an English merchant named Thom took up his residence at Seville, and being an attentive observer, and an inquisitive person, he acquired a great deal of useful information about the Spanish and Portuguese Eastern commerce. He communicated this information to the ministers of Henry VIII., and convinced them of the advantages that would result from opening up a trade directly with

the Indies. He suggested that a new passage might be discovered either by the north-east or north-west to the Indian Ocean, so as to avoid the tedious and dangerous passage round the Cape, by which the Spaniards and Portuguese carried their trade. The idea of Thom, that the Indian seas might be reached by way of a northern passage, was probably derived from the Dutch, who were at that period so extensively engaged in the carrying trade; for the mariners of that nation had prevented the English in the hardy enterprize, but of course without success. The first expedition, undertaken with the hope of reaching India by an arctic voyage, was fitted out by some independent merchants who combined for that purpose. The object was a north-east passage round the coast of Asia. The command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, and he set sail with three ships upon his perilous, and, as it proved, disastrous mission. Driven upon the bleak shores of Lapland, he and many of his crew perished by famine and cold. Richard Chancellor, in command of one of the vessels, reached the White Sea, and, disembarking, travelled to Moscow, and opened up communications with the court of the czar. This resulted in various schemes for an overland route through his dominions, and those of the Shah of Persia. Several British agents crossed the Caspian Sea, and travelled to Bokhara, then the chief city of Independent Tartary. Efforts to establish any profitable intercourse with India through the territories of Russia and Persia were soon discontinued, the route having been found too expensive, as well as unhealthy and dangerous. When the hope of gaining access to India by a north-east voyage or an overland route *via* Russia and Persia grew faint, the adventurous spirit of the age sought to achieve the object by a north-west voyage round the Cape land, in which it was believed the continent of America terminated to the north. This result has often been attempted since, but all adventurers, from the days of Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, and Hudson, to the recent accomplishment of what has been called a north-west passage, proved the impracticability of ever finding a way to India by that course. When the idea was presented to the English public it produced a great sensation in London, both in the court and in the counting-house, and some London merchants combined to reap the golden harvests which such a discovery, it was supposed, was sure to produce. They fitted out two ships, and placed them under the command of a Captain Frobisher. This courageous man attempted the perilous exploit; undauntedly he again and again renewed his

* See chap. xx. p. 376.

efforts, and failed to accomplish what so many skilful navigators, with more resources at command, have since in vain essayed, although for a time such enterprises were discouraged by the opinion of Sir Francis Drake, who, when he returned from his voyage round the world, declared the passage by either north-east or north-west impossible.* The English were at last constrained to direct their attention to the route by the Cape of Good Hope, as the only one by which any certainty of communication might be obtained. Philip II. was at that time King of Portugal, and claimed what was called "the right of discovery." The Portuguese having found out that by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope they could reach the Eastern seas, argued that, therefore, the ships of no other nation was entitled to take the same direction. For a considerable time this argument had weight with the English themselves, and the British court was very unwilling to offend the court of Spain and Portugal, by allowing any proceeding that appeared to be against the wishes and interests of the latter. Besides, there was a general admission in Europe, vague and undefined but still real, that this "right of discovery," was a thing to be recognised and allowed. Along with these considerations there were others to deter the English court and people from entering into a direct rivalry with the Portuguese in what was regarded as their own high road upon the waters. Philip was at once the proudest, most bigoted, and most powerful monarch of the times, and it was a matter of most serious consideration to the statesmen of England how far it was politic to offend him. The English nation was too brave and high-spirited to shrink from a war with him if occasion imperatively called for it, but it was very unwilling to provoke one; and the court, and the statesmen which surrounded the British throne, were still more reluctant to bring on a quarrel with so powerful a prince. British vessels, unless under convoy or heavily armed, would be exposed to great peril, as they must pass near the European and Asiatic ports of his Iberian majesty, whose fleets were numerous and well equipped, and whose armed merchant ships were formidable, and prepared to

attack any rivals of their commerce. Such was the energy and enterprize of the British that none of these considerations prevailed, and the nation gradually resolved to assert the right to travel the high road of nations on sea, whithersoever traffic might require, in spite of the combined forces of the nations of the Iberian peninsula. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch have received the credit of having anticipated the English in their oriental enterprise. They certainly antedated them in the acquisition of oriental empire, but the Portuguese alone preceded the British in purely trading transactions, unless the overland intercourse of the Russians with China may give them a similar claim. Both Portuguese and Dutch entered upon their Eastern designs with consecutive and persistent efforts from the first, while the proceedings of the English were for a long time desultory; although, when at last the East India Company was formed, their brilliant career went on with accelerated motion until all competitors were driven from the great theatre of exploit and profit. So early were the English in their first designs that five months before Vasco da Gama left Lisbon for India, several vessels were sent out by the Bristol merchants for the same destination. Henry VII. added two ships to the squadron, and the whole were placed under the guidance of the celebrated Venetian, Giovanni Cavatta, better known as John Cabot. When Cabot reached 67° 30' north latitude, he was compelled by mutiny on board his ships to turn in a southerly direction; and ultimately he touched Newfoundland and the American continent.

Captain Francis Drake had the honour of opening up British commerce in the East, and of defying the haughty exclusiveness of the courtiers of the Spanish peninsula. Drake had won for himself a great name by his services in America and the West Indies, and he ardently took up the purpose of penetrating into the South Sea. In 1577 he fitted out an expedition at his own expense. The ships were five in number, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons, the smallest was of as low a burthen as twelve tons. No nation has had the art and courage to employ such small vessels on great enterprizes as the British; and while the French and Spaniards have surpassed the English in the architecture of large ships, and the Italians have excelled them in beauty of construction, none have equalled the English in building ships of small tonnage so well adapted to arduous and difficult undertakings in peace or war.

Drake fitted up his ships with the greatest

* "The discovery of the East Indies and Brazil by the Portuguese, and of the West-Indies, Mexico, Peru, and America by the Spaniards, all nearly at the close of the fifteenth, or at the commencement of the sixteenth century, conduced to the extension of European commerce; and the unsuccessful attempts of England, as well as of the Dutch and the Dances, to discover north-west and north-east passages to China, opened new and considerable sources of traffic, and led to the general increase of navigation."—AUBER.

care, and took on board very remarkable cargoes of rich furniture, and the best specimens of English manufacture. He also employed a band of musicians. His object was to startle and delight the natives of the countries he hoped to visit, by a display of novel and dazzling objects, so as to leave a deep impression in their minds of the riches, ingenuity, diversified resources, genius, and glory of England. He sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, and in August the following year he accomplished a passage through the Straits of Magellan. He then cruised for some months along the western coast of Spanish America, not hesitating to appropriate some rich prizes that presented themselves in the course of his voyage. Having obtained great wealth, though his fleet was reduced to a single vessel, he determined to attempt a return homeward by the north-west passage. He sailed to the coast of California, of which he claimed the discovery, and called it New Albion; but finding his main object impracticable, he resolved to cross the Pacific, and proceed to Europe by the Moluccas. He steered directly through the ocean, pausing nowhere till he found himself among the Spice Islands, the valuable productions of which were then the subject of general interest in the West. The King of Ternate, who was in a state of hostility with the Portuguese, gave a friendly reception to the English navigator, who first began that commerce with India which has since been carried to so immense an extent. Having coasted along Java, he proceeded to the Cape without touching at any port of the Asiatic continent. He took in supplies at Sierra Leone, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years and ten months. His arrival was hailed with the utmost exultation by his countrymen, who regarded so successful a voyage as having raised to the highest the naval glory of the realm.*

The merchants of London hastened to do him honour, and the people at large treated him with the greatest respect and admiration. The court was silent, and the government of the day has been generally blamed by historians for their tardiness to reward the bold and successful mariner who had rendered his country such services. The political considerations which influenced the queen and her ministers were, however, reasonable and just. Captain Drake's ideas of *meum* and *tuum* were not of the sort which governments could ostensibly acknowledge. He was not particular to what nation the vessels belonged of which he made prizes, and Elizabeth, although

* Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.

one of the most likely persons in all her dominions to appreciate the captain's spirit and daring, without being too discriminative as to the nationality of his captures, yet could not forget that policy demanded some caution before she ostensibly rewarded such peculiar services. At length her majesty overcame all scruples, visited him on board his vessel in a manner characteristic of the queen, the age, and the commander, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, highly prized in those days.

The commodities brought home by Captain, then Sir Francis Drake, excited much curiosity and pleasure among both traders and citizens, and his account of his adventures charmed all hearts. While at Ternate he found the sovereign of that country at war with the ruler of Tidore, and the assistance rendered by the British captain to the former decided the fate of the war. For this succour the grateful monarch offered to supply the English with all the cloves exported from his country. Captain Drake laid in a valuable cargo, which was much prized in England, more especially when the circumstances under which it was obtained were understood. Thus Sir Francis Drake not only acquired the great reputation of being the first navigator who sailed round the world, and conferred upon his country the glory of that exploit, but he opened up a direct commercial connection between England and the East.

The success of this voyager confirmed the practicability of accomplishing a trade by direct sea communication, but the capital required, and the risk involved, appeared to be too great for any private merchant to incur. What had been achieved was by naval squadrons or expeditions of privateers, rather than by peaceful merchantmen transporting their "venture beyond seas;" and this circumstance discouraged English traders. Still the ingenuity of the mercantile and seafaring community was thoroughly stimulated, and various projects were discussed, and some actually set on foot. A number of merchants united to open up a commerce by way of the Persian Gulf. They proposed to land their agents on the Syrian coast, who were to proceed to the Persian Gulf by way of Aleppo and Bagdad, and sail down the Persian Gulf by Ormuz to the coast of Malabar. They were influenced in this determination by the representations of a Mr. Stevens. Dr. Cooke Taylor describes "Captain Stevens as having sailed from England to India by the Cape, which would convey the idea that he was engaged in a British commercial undertaking; but Mr. Stevens had gone out in a Portuguese ship to Goa, and attached himself to the

Jesuits there, as Miss Martineau affirms, or took service under the Archbishop of Goa, as other writers state. He had been a student of New College, Oxford, was a man of classical acquirements, and was mainly influenced by religious feelings in seeking the far-famed Jesuit establishment of Goa. From thence he wrote to England, giving a long account of the place, describing his voyage thither, and showing his interest in commerce, and in that of his countrymen more particularly. He afforded intelligence and aid afterwards to agents engaged in the promotion of the English oriental trade. The account given by Stevens tended very much to fan the flame of Eastern enterprise which had been so long kindling. Miss Martineau flings off in her rapid but interesting way her views of the man, his motives, his book, its effects, the first English travellers who were influenced by it, and the result, in the following brief passage:—"When Stevens, who had joined a party of Portuguese to reach Goa, saw what he could from thence, he probably formed a most just estimate of the great peninsula than we have hitherto done; but now, stern events are awakening the interest which has slumbered too long. What made Stevens go to Goa? One of the agents of the Russian trading company to India was a man of English birth, who had seven times gone down the Volga, and by the Caspian and Persia to Hindostan; what he saw of the wealth of India, and of the scope for commercial adventure there, became known to Stevens, who found enough that was wonderful and tempting to make a most stimulating narrative as soon as he got home. Everybody read his book, and the nation became extremely eager to obtain a commercial footing under the shadow of the Moguls. News from other wanderers began to come in. Of a party of four travellers who had gone to see what they could see, one, named Storey, remained as a monk among the Portuguese at Goa; another, Newberry, died on his way back; a third, Leedes, accepted service under the Emperor Akbar; and only the fourth, Fitch, came home. Queen Elizabeth might be proud of her correspondents if she chanced to write to Henri Quatre and to Akbar on the same day. Leedes and his comrades carried a letter from her to the emperor at Delhi: and it is probable that Akbar was as eager to hear from his English follower all details of our queen's good government, as the English certainly were to learn from Stevens and Fitch whatever they could tell on their return of the empire and rule of Akbar, the great Mogul."

The letter of Queen Elizabeth was not en-

trusted to Leedes, as the above extract alleges. She wrote two letters, one to the Mogul, and the other to the King of China, and they were entrusted to the two principal men of the party of four, who were commissioned to make trial of the way by the Persian Gulf—Newberry and Fitch. That to the Mogul, or Emperor Akbar, was oddly addressed, as "To Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaya." It solicited his kindness towards her subjects, and expressed a promise of reciprocating such kindness to any of his majesty's people who came within the queen's dominion—a very unlikely eventuality.

Thus accredited, the travellers left England early in 1583, followed by the good wishes of the nation. Newberry wrote from Aleppo and Bagdad as much about business as the most practical merchant could desire. At Bagdad he could sell with difficulty, and not with advantage even then; but had he been furnished with money for the purpose, he assured his principals that spices could be obtained in abundance at prices that would prove remunerative. From Bagdad he proceeded to Bussora, without reaping any peculiar advantage. Thence he went to Ormuz, and found it practicable to conduct business transactions advantageously. This favourable state of matters continued only a week, when a rival in trade—an Italian, named Michael Stropene—brought an imputation against both Newberry and Fitch, who were consigned to prison. Newberry, writing from his prison, says, "It may be that they will cut our throats, or keep us long in prison. God's will be done!" They were not detained long, but were sent to Goa, where they were still held in custody. There the charges were brought out openly and formally against them. Nothing personal was imputed, except in reference to their trading; but they were held responsible for certain acts alleged against Captain Drake, especially his having fired some shots at a Portuguese galleon near Malacca. No doubt Drake had fired a great many shots at all sorts of galleons there and wherever he met them. Newberry disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction, and doubted its occurrence, and forcibly remonstrated against the hostile feeling shown to his country in his person, while men of every Asiatic nation and of all other European nations were allowed to trade there. Stevens, in his book, had dwelt in terms most laudatory upon the liberality of the Portuguese. This threw the English off their guard as to the intense religious animosity which prevailed in the Portuguese and Spanish nations towards them. Stevens, however, befriended Newberry in his perils

and difficulties, as did also a Dutch captain, John Linschoten. The English traders were, after a short incarceration at Goa, liberated, on giving heavy pecuniary security that they would not leave Goa without permission. They were still badly treated, their merchandise purloined, and large presents extorted by the officials. Stevens, from his connexion with the Jesuits, being himself secure, could afford them some aid, but it was of short duration. The Englishmen found out that fresh accusations were concocting against them, and that the governor was himself eager to bring them into trouble. Accordingly, all hope of justice having vanished, they made their escape from Goa on the 5th of April, 1585. They found their way into the interior, passed through Belgaum, where, they relate, there was a great market for diamonds and jewels, and reached the royal city of Bejapore. At this place the narratives of Newberry terminate, and Ralph Fitch becomes the relator. Three things seem to have struck his imagination—the abundance of the precious metals, the war elephants, and the idols. Concerning the last-named, he queerly and quaintly said, “Some be like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil.” Fitch proceeded to Golconda, and refers in his correspondence to the diamond mines. He then penetrated through the Deccan, and reached Agra, which he thought superior to London. The emperor was at Futtehpoore, to which place our traveller proceeded, and describes the country *en route* to be as populous as a European city. He describes the social character of the people, and represents the Brahmins to be “a crafty people, worse than the Jews.” Fitch was accompanied in his journeys by the rest of the party; for although Newberry and himself are chiefly made mention of, there were others of their company. It is a curious circumstance that Fitch in his narrative omits all mention of any interview or negotiation with the Emperor Akbar, but relates that when they departed from Agra, William Leedes (called erroneously by some writers Leader), who was a jeweller, remained in that capacity at the court of the Mogul, who allowed him a house, a horse, five slaves, and a regular pension. Fitch relates his subsequent journeyings to Prage (Prayaga), now called Allahabad, and his descent of the Ganges to Benares, the idolatry of which city filled him with wonder, and baffled his attempts to describe it. How far were these travellers from thinking of the possibility of the nation they represented being at any future period the masters of those vast and populous realms! Fitch went next to Patna,

then to Tanda, in Bengal, and to Conche, in the neighbourhood of the Bhotan Mountains. He then traversed the banks of the Hoogly, returned again to the Ganges, penetrated to Tipperah, travelled back to the Ganges again, and visited Serampore, with which city he was much pleased. He took ship from Serampore to Pegu, and thence to Malacca. He returned to Bengal to ship himself for Cochin, but first went to Ceylon. So adventurous was this brave man, that he once more touched at Goa, and this time with impunity. Thence our adventurer went to Choule, where he found ship for Ormuz, which he visited, notwithstanding his former misadventure there. Thence he found means to return home, passing overland to Tripoli, where he embarked for England, and arrived in safety A.D. 1591. Seldom was travel more bravely sustained than by this Englishman; and the accounts he furnished on his return added another impulse to the ambition and enterprise of his countrymen. While Fitch and his companions were thus engaged in the overland undertaking, another expedition was attempting fresh successes by sea.

The triumphant voyage of Sir Francis Drake inspired Captain Cavendish with the desire to follow up his enterprise. Dr. Cooke Taylor represents him as a young gentleman of fortune, who, having wasted his substance by riotous living, resolved on an Eastern voyage to repair it. Other writers describe him as actuated by purely patriotic motives, and a love of adventure by sea, such as was then very prevalent in England. Mr. Murray describes him as selling an estate to embark in naval adventure; and that author gives at once the most succinct and probable account in these terms:—“Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of extensive property in Suffolk, after having served his naval apprenticeship under Sir Richard Grenville, determined to sell his estate, and embark the produce in a voyage to the South Sea and round the world. Having left Plymouth on the 21st of July, 1586, he reached, early next year, the western coast of South America, and, being restrained by no very nice scruples, made a number of valuable prizes. Stretching thence across the Pacific, he touched at Guahan, one of the group to which the Spaniards give the appellation of Ladrões. He passed afterwards through the Philippines, observing with surprise their extent and fertility, and holding communication with the natives, who expressed a decided preference of the English to the Spaniards, by whom these islands had been occupied. Sailing next through the Moluccas, and along the coasts of Floris and Sumbawa, he opened a friendly correspondence with

some of the princes of Java, and, following the course of Drake, reached England in September, 1588, by the Cape of Good Hope.* Thus, although Newberry and Fitch and their comrades preceded Cavendish in their Eastern enterprise, and information from them arrived from time to time before Cavendish set out, and during his absence, he arrived in England, bringing with him the results of his successful voyage, several years before the return of Fitch. It is likely that the letters of Newberry from Aleppo, Damascus, Brasso, Ormuz, and Goa, as well as the narrative of Stevens, written in the last-named city, influenced Cavendish very much in undertaking the voyage he so bravely accomplished, but it was from Drake he derived the first spark of ambition with which he was animated to become a naval commander, perform on his own account a voyage round the world, and bring to his country, direct from the places of production, cargoes of the costly spices then so highly valued in England.

The merchants of London, Bristol, and other English cities, became gradually convinced before Fitch returned—through his letters, and more particularly through those of Newberry—that there was no hope of prosecuting a profitable Eastern trade but by direct voyages *viâ* the Cape, and that it should be an armed traffic, in the face of the malignant enmity of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The successful voyage of Cavendish, and the representations which he made, confirmed these convictions; and accordingly, the year after his return, and within less than twelve months of that event, a merchants' association was formed, for the purpose of oriental trade by way of the Cape, and a petition was presented to the government for permission to send three ships and three pinnaces to India. Queen Elizabeth was in all probability favourable to these measures; but the government, although then at war with Spain, was unwilling to shut out all prospects of peace by the irritation and injury which a commercial rivalry in the East would create in the minds of both Spaniards and Portuguese. Discouragements were therefore offered, and nothing immediately resulted from the petition. When Fitch returned the project was renewed. In 1591 three ships were sent out under Captains Raymond, Kendal, and Lancaster. This expedition has been confounded by several modern historians with another undertaken by Captain Lancaster, and especially called Lancaster's expedition, but which was not sent out until rather more than ten years afterwards. Lancaster was not the senior officer of the expedition in 1591, but Ray-

* *History of British India.*

mond, who was the admiral or commodore of the little squadron. Never perhaps was a naval expedition more successful or more unfortunate. In spite of every variety of obstacle, great success was obtained, and yet all that good fortune was at the last hour frustrated. The squadron sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April. Sickness seems to have befallen the crews as soon as they left the British Channel. They reached the Cape of Good Hope in August, by which time the number of invalids had so increased, that Captain Kendal was ordered by Captain Raymond to take them home. Kendal himself appears to have been far from well, but, nevertheless, willing to prosecute the arduous enterprise in which his colleagues persevered. The remaining vessels, when off Cape Corientes, were smitten with a fearful hurricane. The ships were separated, and Captain Raymond's, named after its commander, was never again heard of. Lancaster, having cruised about for several days, in the hope of meeting with Raymond, encountered a still more formidable tempest than that which had separated them. The heavens were darkened—the sea rose to such a height, as to threaten the destruction of the vessel every moment—the lightnings flashed with appalling vividness—and the ship was damaged severely; and had she not been extremely well built, and commanded by a man of intrepidity and presence of mind, she must have been lost: as it was, four men were killed; several more were struck blind—some temporarily, and others permanently; several lay “stretched out as on a rack;” and no man escaped without bruises or wounds. The heroic Lancaster, undeterred by even this new disaster, set about repairing his vessel, and recruiting the strength of his crew. He proceeded to the Island of Comoro, where he took in a supply of water, then much required by his men. Here a new, and, if possible, more terrible disaster than the storm awaited him. The natives, who were at first friendly, or, at all events, not inimical, indicated some restlessness at their presence, but no disposition to do injury. Suddenly, when two unarmed parties of the crew, numbering sixteen each, were engaged on shore in some necessary work connected with the ship, the natives fell upon them, and massacred them nearly all, in view of the ship's captain, and when it was impossible for him to afford any succour. A few escaped by various stratagems, but wounded severely. Still this dauntless man did not despair. With the courage of an old Norse sea-king, he prepared for such exploits upon the wave as chance might afford him opportunity to perform. He next touched at

Zanzibar, and repaired his ship. Here he discovered, by private information, that the Portuguese, who were rude and surly, had formed a scheme to attack his boat. He opportunely departed, and was borne by unwelcome winds out of his course to the Island of Socotaro. Thence he departed with a favourable breeze for Cape Comorin. This he doubled in May, 1592, and, passing wide of the Nicobar Isles, proceeded to Sumatra, and thence to Penang, where he remained during the stormy season. Here he determined upon attacking all Spanish and Portuguese vessels which came in his way,* where the slightest hope might be entertained that, even in a very unequal combat, victory was possible. He soon fell in with three vessels of from seventy to eighty tons burthen off the Malacca coast. The first struck upon the appearance of his boat, although she was "bravely armed." This was a ship and cargo belonging to the Jesuits of Goa, and Lancaster seems to have been much delighted on that account to make it a prize. Subsequently, by a series of daring attacks, he captured a number of large Portuguese ships laden with spices and other valuable mercantile commodities. In these encounters his own sailors were brave like himself, but so disorderly, as greatly to embarrass his proceedings. After striking terror in the Portuguese captains, sailing through the Straits of Malacca, he hastened to Ceylon, and cruised off Point de Galle, in order to intercept ships belonging to what the Portuguese and Spaniards called the Bengal and Pegu fleets. The sailors, however, enriched by the prizes they had made, were satisfied, and longed for home. They were insubordinate and resolute, so that Lancaster, much against his will, steered for the Cape of Good Hope, which he reached early in 1593. His projected voyage by the African coast was frustrated. He met with tempestuous weather at the Cape, and adverse winds after he had doubled it. Provisions became scarce, and he was obliged to make for Trinidad. He was driven into the Gulf of Paria, and thence made an irregular and confused voyage to the Bermudas. A storm once more wrecked his fortunes, and he was driven upon some desolate island. Having disembarked with most of his crew, the vessel was driven out to sea, and lost with all its precious freight. Lancaster and his hardy mariners must have perished had not a French vessel answered their signals of distress, and taken them on board. They were landed at Dieppe, after very kind treatment, on the 19th of May, 1594.

In 1596 an attempt was made by Sir Robert Dudley, which produced no important effect.

Immediately after the return of Lancaster a Dutch expedition of four ships was fitted out; and in 1598 another, more especially directed to Japan, set sail from the coast of Holland. The departure of these fleets stimulated the competition of the English merchants, and exercised the crowning influence in the formation of the first East India Company. It so happened that the pilot of the last Dutch fleet was an Englishman, named William Adams. Mr. Pratt of the India-house drew up, from original documents, a narrative of his adventures for Mr. Auber, who, in 1834, published it in the appendix to his work on China.* From these documents it appears that Adams was a native of Jellingham, in Kent. He served the long apprenticeship of nearly twelve years—from the age of twelve to twenty-four—to a pilot at Limehouse. He then became master in one of the queen's ships. He left the service of her majesty for that of "the Barbary merchants," in which he remained for nearly twelve years. In the year 1598 he engaged himself as pilot-major to the Dutch fleet of five sail, which was sent out by the Dutch India Company—"Peter Vandershay and Hannecevander-Veeck." The "general and admiral" of the fleet was a merehant named Jaques Maihore. Adams was on board his ship.†

Although the project was to send out this squadron very early in the year, it was not until the 24th of June that it set sail. Being so late in the season, they found the passage of the line stormy. In the middle of September, the squadron being damaged and the crews sick, the admiral sought shelter at Cape Gonsalves, on the coast of Guinea. The sickness increased, and many of the mariners died. After various trials and vicissitudes of fortune, they assembled at their appointed rendezvous on the coast of Chili, in latitude 46°. Departing thence, still severer fortunes awaited them: hunger, sickness, unsuccessful conflicts with savages, storms, and various misadventures. The admiral's ship lost the general, the master, and all the officers were massacred on shore at the Island of St. Maria, on the coast of Chili, latitude 37° 12' south. Other ships suffered in a similar manner. Two ships alone now remained together, that on board of which Adams

* *China: an Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy; and of the British and Foreign Embassies to, and Intercourse with, that Empire.* By Peter Auber, Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

† *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By William Adams, an Englishman, as pilot of a Dutch fleet in 1598. The narrative is partly given here rather than reserved for the chapter on the Dutch in the East, as an Englishman is the subject of the relation.

served, and another. They were both weakly manned, and were in much fear of the Spanish cruisers. On the 27th of November, 1599, they left the Island of St. Maria, and stood for Japan. After passing the line they kept company until the 23rd of February, 1600, when the two ships were separated by a furious storm. "On the 19th of April, 1600, the ship in which Adams was made the coast of Japan in latitude $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$." Only six sailors, along with the hardy English pilot, were "able to keep their feet." About a league from Bevingo the ship anchored. They were hospitably treated by the king, but a Portuguese Jesuit came from Nangasacki, and he, with some Japanese converts, under the plea of acting as interpreter, endeavoured to stir up the king for the destruction of his guests, but their efforts were unavailing, as the king of that part of the island was intelligent and humane. The authority of the king was only local, the emperor exacted obedience from all, and at his court the Portuguese Jesuits renewed their intrigues for the destruction of Adams and the Dutch: the result was, that the adventurers were brought before the emperor, interrogated, and imprisoned, but not treated with severity. All the efforts of the Jesuits to secure the execution of the strangers were as unavailing with the emperor as they had been with the prince. The emperor refused with horror to take away the lives of inoffensive persons who offered him no wrong, and whose object was to trade. By the instigation of these bigoted enemies, the Japanese robbed the crews, and Adams lost all his money, apparel, books, nautical and mathematical instruments, &c. This enraged the emperor, who compelled restitution, whenever the culprits could be found. After the ship, officers, and crew were detained two years, a mutiny broke out among the sailors, who demanded from the admiral the right to go wherever they pleased. They were all detained in Japan, but hospitably provided for by his imperial majesty. "In the course of four or five years the emperor called Adams before him, as he had divers times before done, and desired him to build a small ship. Adams replied that he was no carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof. 'Well! do your endeavours,' said he; 'if it be not good, it is no matter.' Adams accordingly built a ship of eighty tons, in all respects on the English plan, which gave the emperor great satisfaction, and raised Adams so high in his favour that his majesty would have him always come into his presence, giving him from time to time many marks of his grace and bounty. Besides which he assigned him

a stipend equal to seventy ducats yearly, with a daily allowance of two pounds of rice. Adams recommended himself still further to the Japanese monarch by teaching him some points of geometry and elements of the mathematics, with other things that attracted his understanding. Hence the emperor acquired a habit of assenting to what Adams proposed; and his former enemies, wondering at his influence, entreated him to do them a friendship. Adams accordingly did good offices both to the Spaniards and Portuguese, recompensing good for evil. At the end of five years Adams supplicated the emperor for leave to depart from Japan, desiring to see his wife and children in England. With this request the emperor was not well pleased, refusing to let him go. In process of time, being in high favour at court, and hearing that the Hollanders had vessels at Siam and Patania, he renewed his prayer for permission to quit Japan, speaking directly to the emperor. His majesty at first gave no answer. Adams then told him, that to let him go for Europe would be a means of bringing the English and Dutch nations to traffic at Japan, of which his majesty was very desirous; but the emperor would not suffer him to go. Adams then asked leave for the Dutch captain to depart, which the emperor presently granted, and the captain sailed in a junk to Patania. No Hollanders coming thither in the space of a year he went from Patania to Jehore, and there found a fleet of nine sail under General Madlidf. The late provisional captain in Japan, to whom Adams had entrusted letters, was appointed master of this fleet, and was soon after slain at Malacca. Hence Adams is apprehensive that no news of himself has yet reached England; he therefore adjures the worshipful court to make his being alive in Japan known to his poor wife and two children. Adams had made a voyage or two in the ship which he built for the emperor; and, by his majesty's command, he had since built another, in which he made another voyage from Meaco to Eddo, being as far as from London to the Land's-end in England. At the date of Adam's letter, October, 1611, the emperor, in reward for his services, had given him a manor, with eighty or ninety husbandmen as his slaves or servants. In 1609 the emperor of Japan lent the larger ship which Adams built and eighty of his men to the governor of Manilla to sail to Acapulco."

In a future chapter the influence of Adam's residence at Japan will be seen in the enterprises of the English there. The letters which he sent to Bantam and to Europe had much effect upon the trade, and the manner

in which the company and its agents proceeded. In this chapter the narrative has been brought as far as the point when the existence of Adams in the Japanese empire became known to the English, for the Dutch, to whom he rendered the greatest service and obtained for them permission to settle in Japan, repaid him with ingratitude, concealing from the English his existence, and hiding from him the fact that the English had begun a systematic Eastern trade on a scheme of some magnitude. So well did the Dutch act in concert, and keep both secrets, that no suspicion existed in England that an Englishman lived in the Japanese capital, and had signal influence over the emperor, nor had Mr. Adams, during the many years of his detention, any knowledge of the proceedings of his countrymen in reference to the East.

The adventure of the English pilot occurred too near its close, to influence the proceedings of his countrymen within the sixteenth century. They were already intensely stimulated by curiosity; the spirit of commerce, hardihood of enterprise, rivalry with the Portuguese and Dutch, and the heroic attempts of their own captains and traders who had preceded the Dutch, to do something on a large scale to open up a regular commerce with the East.

In 1599 an association was formed, and nominal subscriptions to the amount of £30,133 obtained, for the fitting out of three ships for the Indian trade. There were a hundred and one shares in this subscription, but some of the holders never paid up, and others who did deplored their simplicity, declaring that they believed their money was lost in a fruitless and romantic undertaking. All this coldness and hesitation existed, notwithstanding the favour bestowed upon the project by one of the most popular sovereigns that had ever sat upon the English throne. Elizabeth gave every encouragement to the association, and sent out John Mildenhall as ambassador to the great Mogul to negotiate the privilege of trading within his territory. Before, however, the ambassador could effect anything, the will of a small but determined band of merchants had put forth the project, and the great enterprise was entered upon from which no losses, wars, dangers, difficulties, or sufferings were ever sufficient to make England recoil. It was nearly the close of the year when the association was formed, much eloquence was expended by those most active in framing it, and their arguments were taking and plausible. They pointed out the quality of the cargoes brought home by Drake and Cavendish, and of certain Portu-

guese prizes brought into English ports. It required all this diligence and persuasiveness to form the association, and even then it was destined to have but a short existence as then constituted, for it became necessary soon after to form a subordinate association, the existence of which of course modified the former. A charter was, however, obtained: the first charter of a British East India Company. It was on the last day of the sixteenth century that Queen Elizabeth signed it on behalf of about two hundred and twenty gentlemen and merchants, constituting them one body, "corporate and politique," by the name of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The charter was granted for fifteen years, revocable at any time on two years' notice. Those persons upon whom this royal favour was bestowed were endowed with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies by sea, were permitted to use a common seal, and were empowered to make bye-laws, inflict punishment, both pecuniary and corporeal, and to export bullion and goods duty free the first four voyages. They were also invested with the exclusive right to trade in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

The new association which was formed in 1600 as subsidiary, became virtually the East India Company. George, Earl of Cumberland, was at its head, and there were many knights and squires enrolled among its members. As many members of the old, and some of the new association, did not pay up their subscription, or were not zealous enough in the matter to take a very active part, the whole management fell into a few active hands. The measures taken were to raise and expend £75,373; of which £38,771 was invested in shipping, £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in goods. The court was anxious to give the command of the first expedition to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, but the merchants resolutely refused to accept him, for a reason which appeared as sound to themselves as it seemed audacious and presumptuous to the court. They declared that they had no mind to employ *gentlemen* who did not understand commercial affairs, but preferred "to sort their business with men of their own quality." The favourite of the merchants was the indomitable Lancaster. He who, in 1591, attempted so well and suffered so much, but whose losses and adversity augmented his popularity, as the way in which he bore his reverses exalted the fame of his fortitude and perseverance. The choice of the merchants was judicious, for Mitchelbourne afterwards proved himself more of a pirate than a trader

or a warrior, and more bent upon enriching himself than promoting his own honour or that of his country. Thus, in the very beginning of the East India Company, it adopted the policy of "appointing the right man to the right place;" a policy in which

it persevered more pertinaciously than any other commercial or political body that ever existed.

Thus ended the sixteenth century in reference to the relations of England with the far East.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LONDON EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE SETTLEMENT OF FACTORIES UNDER TREATIES OF COMMERCE IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

AT the close of the sixteenth century, the English, as has been seen, were full of commercial enterprise, partly stimulated by the Portuguese and Dutch, in a greater measure by the boldness of the nation, and the love of trade which characterized it. In this state of mind the seventeenth century dawned upon them. The formation of the East India Company inspired the government and the people with the hope of great things, notwithstanding the fears of many and the despondency of others. When the first expedition was ready to depart, the eyes of the whole nation were turned towards it, and every heart desired its success. There were, it is true, a few who wished their own prophecies of disaster to be fulfilled, and some envious spirits, who were disappointed of official advantage in connection with the expedition, were of course among them.

It has been stated that the queen sent out one John Mildenhall, as ambassador to the great Mogul, but the new company did not wait for his return or for tidings of his success, but prosecuted their purpose until the little squadron of Captain Lancaster was sent forth. It was well that they adopted such a course, for the mission of Mildenhall was a failure. The court of Akbar was not one with which he was likely to succeed, however sure of a friendly reception from that eccentric, able, and liberal prince. Mildenhall died in Persia on his way home, and no satisfactory result, nor even a clear and connected account of his proceedings was ever known to the company.

The expedition of Captain Lancaster consisted of five ships, which, according to Sir William Monson, were the *Dragon*, 600 tons; the *Hector*, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 260 tons; the *Susan*, 240 tons; and the *Guest*, 100 tons. They were freighted with bullion, and a comparatively small proportion of goods, such as iron and tin, wrought and unwrought

lead, broadcloth of all colours, Devonshire kersies, Norwich stuffs, glass, quicksilver, Muscovy hides, &c. The queen gave the captain-general letters commending him to the princes and governors of the countries which he might visit. Thus furnished and equipped Lancaster set sail early in the first year of the seventeenth century.* Various accounts are given of the date of this expedition, which circumstance is explicable from the accident of some dating from the period when the company completed its cargo, some from Captain Lancaster's departure from London, and others from the departure of the squadron from Torbay.

Lancaster proceeded at once for Acheen, on the north-west coast of Sumatra,—5°36' north latitude, 95°28' east longitude,—which place he reached after a prosperous voyage; even the dreaded "Cape of Storms" proved propitious to him. He touched at Madagascar and the Nicobeas, for the purpose of taking in fresh provisions and water, and arrived at his destination June 5, 1602. The objects of the expedition did not contemplate any trade with the great Asiatic continent; the design was to obtain certain productions which were known to be abundant in the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Sumatra, Java, the Molucca and Banda Islands, were supposed to produce great abundance of spices, for which at that time there was an extraordinary demand in Europe. This demand subsequently died out when the objects of it became plentiful. The spices—to obtain which so sanguinary a rivalry was maintained by the trading nations, and which were consumed in such extraordinary quantities in Europe compared with the custom of modern times—were the commodities of which Lancaster was in quest, and he sought

* Miss Martineau says in February, 1601; Mr. Capper makes the same statement; Mr. H. Murray says on the 2nd April, 1601; Mr. Martin, on April 22, 1601.

a port famous for their merchandize. On his arrival at Achcen, the captain delivered his credentials from her Britannic majesty, and he was consequently received with every mark of distinction which that court could confer. The king also gave permission to establish a factory, free trade, protection to the traders, power of bequeathing property by will, and, to some extent, permission to hold and cultivate land. The company began well in its diplomacy before its trade had time to realize any direct profit. Unfortunately the crop of pepper had failed in that neighbourhood the previous season, and Lancaster was unable to obtain a sufficient cargo. Under these circumstances he formed a sort of offensive convention with the Dutch against the Portuguese. This was the first meeting of the company's ships with those of Holland, and it was not only amicable but one of active alliance against a common foe. Scarcely was this treaty of the seas formed, than a magnificent Portuguese carrac of nine hundred tons became a prize. She was loaded with commodities from continental India, especially the finest fabrics of Calicut. The allies plundered her, divided the spoil equitably, and inflicted no violence upon the Portuguese, leaving to them the possession of their empty ship. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where he laid in a full cargo of spices, and, after selling a portion of his goods, left the remainder with agents to be sold after his departure.

As at Sumatra, he delivered the letters of his queen, was well received by the chief, permitted to trade, and treated with hospitality. He left Bantam much encouraged, prosecuting his voyage homewards with assiduity. He, however, sent a pinnace to the Moluccas to provide a cargo of spices for future trade, so as to be exempt from the delays which attended him on this occasion. The commercial treaty which he concluded with the chief of Bantam, although not so favourable as that which he formed at Achcen, was very advantageous, and he and his crew arrived in England full of expectation as to the triumphant reception he should meet. He was not disappointed, for his arrival created an extraordinary sensation, not only among the members of the company, but among the merchants generally. The proceedings of Captain Lancaster were not, however, of a strictly commercial character, but those which were more of a political nature, gave as much satisfaction as his cargoes of rich spices. He made treaties commercial and naval, made maritime war on account of the company, and on his way home took possession of the Island of St. Helena.

His attack upon the Portuguese, in concert with the Dutch, was in keeping with the spirit of the age, and the state of the nation. Every English mariner and citizen, from the time of the Armada, had taken upon himself, as far as in him lay, to avenge that outrage, and the coasts of the Spanish peninsula as well as of the Azores, were ravaged by the expeditions of Drake, the Earl of Cumberland, and other hardy adventurers. The queen and the general public expected that the company would have fitted out a second expedition before the arrival of Lancaster, but they were too timid, and notwithstanding that Elizabeth urged more enterprise, they awaited the results of Lancaster's trial.

When Lancaster arrived he found the city of London in great gloom, much in need of any good tidings to cheer them, which he or others might bring. London had been stricken by the plague, so that many had fled to the country, and those remaining were daily, in considerable numbers, falling victims to the pestilence. These calamities did not prevent demonstrations of rejoicing at the arrival of the successful mariner. A very short time after Lancaster's arrival the queen died. This event took place scarcely two months after the company's squadron delivered its valuable cargo. Probably in no country could the death of a sovereign have been viewed as a greater affliction. The nation loved her for her greatness as a queen, and, whatever might be her faults as a woman, they loved her as a heroine and a patriot. She was proud of her countrymen, and they were proud of their queen. The death of her majesty, and the prevailing sickness, cast a damp over the enterprise of the merchants; but the public spirit rose eventually over every disaster and difficulty, and the active temper of the people asserted itself alike in peace and war, in discovery and commerce. The prince who ascended the English throne was not regarded as a likely person to encourage commerce, nor supposed to possess that love of country which had characterized his predecessor; still he was by many considered learned, although too much of a pedant, and it was believed by them that he would comprehend the crisis to which British commerce had arrived, and be able to adopt sagacious methods of placing England on a footing of hopeful competition with the Spaniards and Portuguese. The Dutch, it was believed by most, would rather side with England in her oriental undertakings, but this illusion was very soon dispelled. Only one year was allowed to elapse before the company was prepared for a fresh undertaking. Elizabeth, before the return of Lan-

caster, taunted the company with breach of charter for not sending out an expedition twelve months after Lancaster had set sail, and before the company could have been apprised of the result of his voyage. James repeated the taunts of Elizabeth; the monarchs were anxious for glory, which could be only obtained through the great risk of their subjects. The desires of the court were unreasonable, especially when James ascended the throne, for among his earliest acts were some which were violations of the company's charter. Very soon after the return of Lancaster, he granted a licence to Sir Edward Mitchelbourne to trade with China and the East Indies. This was the Sir Edward Mitchelbourne that the company refused to accept from Elizabeth as commander of the fleet which afterwards sailed under Lancaster. James not only broke faith with the company in his case, but gave licences to several adventurers to trade on their own account in the East. This was not done by the monarch from antipathy to monopolies, for he professed afterwards to consider that the perils which beset the Eastern trade was so great, and its transactions of such magnitude, that no private trader could engage in it, and that it was only likely to be of service to the nation by being carried on through the medium of a joint-stock undertaking by a chartered company. Sir Edward went out with a ship called the *Tiger*, and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp*, and made havoc of Chinese junks and lorchas cruising among the islands of the Eastern archipelago. He returned with some gain and no glory. The company in vain remonstrated with the king, whose answers were not straightforward, and whose actions, in the company's opinion, were not just.

In 1604 an expedition of four ships, freighted with goods similar in kind and quality to those which had been sent out in 1601, was entrusted to Captain Middleton, afterwards so well and so favourably known as Sir Henry Middleton. This expedition sailed from Gravesend on the 25th of March. Captain Middleton had a prosperous voyage, and at the end of the same year arrived at Bantam. It suited Middleton's object to divide his squadron; two tarried at Bantam to load with pepper, one was sent to Banda, and the commander himself proceeded to the Moluccas. On his arrival he found a fierce war raging; the Dutch and the King of Ternate, being in conflict with the Portuguese allied with the King of Tidore. Here first the English experienced that opposition and enmity with which afterwards the Dutch assailed them in the Eastern seas. The hostile feeling which now sprung up be-

tween the English and the Dutch led to many fierce encounters, and various discreditable stratagems of war in the East. The English intrigued with the native princes against the Dutch settlements in Java, and with such success that the annihilation of Dutch power in that quarter was all but effected. The conduct of Captain Middleton gave no occasion for the bad feeling displayed towards him, which seems to have originated in that greed of gold which so strongly marked the character of the Dutch in the seventeenth century. They were successful in persuading the King of Ternate that the English were pirates, and the conduct of Sir Edward Mitchelbourne, about the same time in these seas, justified the appellation, and other English adventurers unfortunately supported the bad reputation. Middleton was entirely shut out from commerce at Ternate, by the representations and threats which the Dutch made to the king. Before he left the neighbourhood, however, the king sent him a secret letter invoking the aid of the King of England against the tyranny of the Dutch.

The conduct of the Portuguese at Tidore was, as might have been expected, equally, if not more hostile, so that the English captain did not find it possible to transact any business whatever. Indeed, the Portuguese became from that time much exasperated against the English, and the exasperation broke out into open violence. Soon after, four English vessels were attacked in the harbour of Surat by a superior force of Portuguese, but the English fought so well that they triumphed over their enemies, inflicting upon them the most serious injury.* For this attack the English exacted ample vengeance subsequently, for in the year 1617, their ships encountered a Portuguese squadron near the Cape, and compelled the commander to pay an indemnity.†

Captain Colthurst was more fortunate at Banda than his superior, Captain Middleton, was at Ternate and Tidore. Finally, the squadron was laden with spices, and returned to England.

Another expedition of three ships, under the commands of Captains Keeling, Hawkins, and David Middleton, was sent out in 1607. David Middleton sailed on the 12th of March, "direct to the Spice Islands;" his colleagues sailed in April, and proceeded at once for the same destination, but never succeeded in forming a junction with Middleton. This expedition does not seem to have met with any note-worthy occurrence at "the Spice Islands," but found the Dutch and Portuguese as much opposed to the English as they were to one another, and the efforts of

* See chapter on the Dutch in India.

† Ibid.

all the British captains to form a profitable trade with the Spice Islands failed from these oppositions. The British factory at Bantam was found most useful, and by its means chiefly spice cargoes were obtained by the ships which went out. Captain Hawkins proceeded in the *Hector* to Surat, and having letters from King James to the Mogul, he proceeded with them to Agra. The result of his mission must be reserved for another page, while we return to the narrative of Adams, begun in the chapter on the advent of the English in the East.

Adams, the reader will recollect, accompanied the last expedition of the Dutch in the sixteenth century as pilot-major, was detained in Japan, was the means of procuring for the Dutch liberty to trade, and ultimately was the means of the English settling in Firando, which was made by them a *point d'appui* in their commercial enterprises with China. In a previous chapter the narrative of Adams was brought to the year 1609; he was still detained by the emperor, and still anxious to return home, and that not being permitted, to serve his countrymen as best he could in their Eastern commerce. The perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Dutch in concealing from Adams the Eastern settlements of his countrymen, and concealing from the British nation that an Englishman was detained in Japan, was referred to in the previous chapter where the adventures of Adams were related. He eventually became aware of the existence of the English factory planted by Lancaster at Bantam, in Java, and corresponded with the English East India Company through its agent there. In 1609, according to a letter which Adams contrived subsequently to send home, two Dutch ships arrived to trade; in 1611 a small Dutch ship traded at Firando. In 1612 he wrote to the following effect to the British agent then settled at Bantam:—"The Hollanders are now settled in Japan, and I have got them that privilege, which the Spaniards never could obtain during the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan." In the remainder of this remarkable letter, Adams advises the English agent at Bantam to chose a seat for a factory in Japan, and points out the proper neighbourhood. In another part of the letter Adams wrote:—"And comes there a ship here, I hope the worshipful company shall find me to be a servant of their servants, in such a manner as that they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the easternmost part of Japan, let them inquire for me. I am called in the Japan tongue Augin Samma; by that name am I known all the

sea-coast along. Nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will." He then thanks Spalding (of the Bantam factory) for the present of a Bible and three other books; and desires Spalding to offer his humble salutations to Sir Thomas Smyth (the chairman of the company), and thank him for lending his wife twenty pounds. This, his first letter addressed to the English factory at Bantam, thus concludes:—"Had I known that our English ships had trade in the Indies, I had long ago troubled you with writing, but the Hollanders kept it most secret from me 'till the year 1611, which was the first news I had of the trading of our ships in the Indies."

When, in 1613, Captain Saris arrived with Mr. Cock at Firando, as agent of the English, Adams rendered great service in enabling them to establish a factory. Captain Saris reached Firando on the 12th of June, and Adams immediately hastened from the eastern part of the island to meet him, which he effected on the 29th of July, and after a conference they agreed to go up to the emperor with King James's letter. They left Firando on the 7th of August, and began their "journey up to court, having the privilege of post horses to any number they had need of." The emperor having entered the hall of audience, and the general coming before him, the secretary took the king's letter from his hands and delivered it to the emperor, who, receiving it into his own hand, with all kindness bade the general welcome. The general having finished delivering his presents, returned to his lodgings. The emperor then called Mr. Adams, who read and interpreted the King of England's letter. The emperor having understood it, bade Mr. Adams to tell the general to state to the secretary, or to Mr. Adams, what he desired, and it should be granted or answer thereto. General Saris was sent for to receive this intimation, and then retired. After his departure the emperor "reasoned with Mr. Adams of many things." Adams having been thus consulted by the emperor, took his leave, and rejoined the general at his lodging.* After this, it appears that the emperor suggested to Adams the propriety of the English establishing a factory at "Yedso," the southern part of the Island of Jesso. Orders were given to his council to promote the arrangements for the thorough establishment of the contemplated English factory at Firando; and either as originating with himself from his

* *Narrative of a Voyage to Japan.* By W. Adams, an Englishman, collected from documents at the India-house by Mr. Pratt.

favour to the Englishmen, or suggested by Adams, orders were also issued to promote the settlement of the English in various other parts of Japan. It appears also that the home-sick Briton made the very placable mood in which the emperor was at that juncture, the occasion of presenting a petition for his own liberty, which was successful. Yet from what can be gathered from the documents at the India-house, Adams overcame his desire to return home, and remained, of his own accord, in the service of the emperor to his death. According to the Dutch accounts, the emperor revoked his grant of freedom and detained his favourite, continuing to treat him with every possible kindness until death severed the bond.

Notwithstanding the influence of Adams at court, the English had some difficulties at the very outset. These arose chiefly from the prejudice excited by the Spaniards, whom the Japanese detested for their treachery and cruelty. Among the papers found by Mr. Pratt occur the following:—"At this date it was reported that all the Spanish padries were to quit Japan, as it should seem the name of a Christian had become odious: for on the 6th of March, 1613-14, being Sunday, the factory at Firando had put out the company's flag, as their custom was; but in the afternoon Foyné Samma sent agent Cock word to take it in, because it had a cross on it. The agent did not comply on the instant; but after two messages Mr. Cock went to Foyné Samma himself, and excused the matter as well as he could, telling him that this cross was not made in the form of the cross of Christ, but was rather used for a badge or token, whereby the English nation was known from all others, as the Dutch were by their colours of orange, white, and blue. Yet all would not serve, but down it must come; Foyné telling the agent it was the emperor's will that it be discontinued, only the factory might put out any other mark they would, a cross excepted; and that their ships might bear a cross upon the water, but not the factory house on land." The emperor's objection was founded upon the idea that it was the symbol of force, for it was known in all the Eastern seas that the Spaniards and Portuguese, wherever they had power, compelled all persons, whatever their religion and however against their conscience and will, to pay acts of reverence to that symbol.

Notwithstanding the auspicious circumstances under which connection with Japan was thus opened, the factory did not continue a prosperous career. While Adams lived all went well but after his death the

removal of the agency was soon determined. While he lived various enterprises were attempted from Firando. The following papers briefly sketch these, and the withdrawal of the company's servants.

"In December, 1613, agent Cock, accompanied by Messrs. Adams and Sayer, went from Firando to Nangasaque, intending to purchase a junk to be sent on a voyage to Siam. But finding all the vessels there engaged for other destinations, they hired freight on a junk for a cargo to Cochin China. Nangasaque* seems to have been a port to which Firando occasionally consigned goods, and sent factors, as more convenient to embark at than Firando, when the destination of the ship or junk was to places in Japan or neighbouring countries, lying so as to require a passage between the Japanese islands to the north and east. Vessels seem also to have been sometimes consigned thither from Firando to take in part of their lading: for example, some articles of native produce, manufacture, or import more easily procurable at Nangasaque. The emperor's factor also resided there, being no less a personage than the governor of the place. In August of this year the company's factors in Japan commenced a negotiation for opening a trade into China, in which they employed as agents two Chinese merchants usually resident in Japan, but trading periodically to their own country and visiting the interior. The one was chief of the Chinese at Firando, as the other was of their countrymen at Nangasaque. In this attempt the factory expended large sums of the company's money in presents to persons in power at the Chinese court, and in cash supplied to the intermediate envoys. This negotiation was continued until the party was withdrawn from Firando in 1623, at which time it had not succeeded: and the prospect of success 'which various adverse interests obscured, was becoming evanescent.' An attempt had likewise been made in 1615 to open a trade with the islands of Loochoo. It is recorded on the consultations of the English factory of Firando in December, 1623, that it was considered ineligible to leave any person of the factory there behind, as the president's order empowered them to do. In lieu thereof it was resolved to leave a power with Captain Cornelius Newrode, chief of the Dutch factory, to recover the outstanding debts due to the English company. And with respect to the company's houses and godowns, the council agreed to deliver them, as Batavia had ordered, into the King of Firando's custody, to be preserved for the company, and in case the factory return, re-

* Generally written *Nangasaki*.

stored : and for greater security a writing to that effect was to be taken from him or one of his *bonjews* (secretary). The company's agent at Firando wrote the court, under date 13th and 14th December, 1620:—"Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers : giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England, and the other half to a son and daughter he hath in Japan. I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was : he having been in such favour with two emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with the emperors when many Japan kings stood without and could not be permitted. This emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son, which the other emperor gave to the father."

"The following notice is also entered upon the agent's journal, viz. '1620-21, February 20th, a child of the late Captain William Adams was brought by its mother to agent Cock, who presented it with a *tais*, offering at the same time to pay for its support and education, provided the mother would give it up to the protection of the English nation.' Various attempts were made to resume the trade with Japan until 1672, when the project was finally abandoned."

The history of the factory at Firando and of the early efforts to form a commerce with Japan, are so intimately connected with the establishment of the factory at Bantam, as to make it appropriate that the narrative should be given in connection with the establishment of the latter.

Hawkins and Keeling speedily accomplished whatever business they were charged with in the Eastern seas. The former separated from his colleague at Socotra, and arrived at Surat 1608. He put himself in immediate communication with the governor, who refused to allow him to land any cargo until the viceroy, who resided at Cambay, was apprised of his coming. An answer arrived after twenty days; it was favourable as to the disposal of the present cargo, but no factory could be established, or permanent trade otherwise carried on without the express permission of the emperor, which, the viceroy suggested, that Captain Hawkins would do well to apply for in person. Hawkins landed his goods, which began rapidly to be disposed of, when a fierce opposition was made by native merchants instigated by a Portuguese Jesuit. The Portuguese seized two of Hawkins' boats, and refused reparation for

the injury, sneering at King James as a monarch of a poor little island of fishermen. Hawkins was further informed that the Eastern seas belonged to the King of Portugal, and "none were entitled to trade in them without his licence." The English captain challenged the chief of the Portuguese factory to single combat, which was declined. The captured boats, with their crews and cargoes, were meantime sent to Goa. The native authorities were evidently in league with the Portuguese, not that they loved them, but, believing them to be invincible, thought it politic to be on their side. Various attempts were made to break into the house of the English captain, and he was in constant peril of assassination. The viceroy at length arrived, but took no notice of the Englishman's complaints, and helped himself to the best articles of the ships' cargo at whatever price he thought proper to pay, which was always inadequate, and never directly or completely paid. Hawkins at last resolved to travel to Agra, and, if possible, state his grievances and those of his countrymen before the emperor. The viceroy furnished an insufficient escort, with the intention, it was reported, of having it intercepted on the road. Hawkins hired soldiers himself, and afterwards, on application to the viceroy of the Deccan, was furnished with a competent escort of Affghan horse. His coachman had been hired to assassinate him, as in a drunken fit he confessed during the journey. The interpreter was as deep in this conspiracy as the coachman. The former was arrested, and Hawkins proceeded on his journey to the residence of the Deccan viceroy, who received him hospitably, and sent him on to Agra under a faithful guard; at which place he arrived on the 16th of April, 1609. The picture which the treatment of this Englishman at Surat, and on the journey (except so far as the good offices of the viceroy of the Deccan were concerned), presented of the manners and government of India during the palmy days of the Mohammedan period, ought to silence such Englishmen as of late years have delighted to draw comparisons between the Mohammedan and British dominions, to the disadvantage of the latter.

Jehanghire, son of Akbar, then reigned in the metropolis of India, and he at once sent for the Englishman upon his arrival, who presented the emperor with the letter of his own sovereign. Jehanghire viewed it and the seal with great attention and interest. He then commanded a Jesuit, who understood many languages, to read it, who, upon perusal, assured his majesty that it was basely penned. While the Jesuit was silently

scanning the letter, Hawkins continued to address the emperor in Turkish, which his majesty well understood, and a conversation ensued which afforded pleasure to the sovereign, and caused him to take no notice of the unfavourable report made by the Jesuit, of King James's letter. Hawkins had for some time afterwards daily interviews with the emperor, who declared that the English had been scandalously used at Surat, more especially by the viceroy; but his majesty, nevertheless, issued no orders for redress. After many further conversations with the captain, chiefly as to the geographical situation, resources, and government of various countries, his majesty sent positive orders to the viceroy "to supply the English with everything necessary for their trade." He invited Hawkins to remain in India as a commander of cavalry! and governor of a district, with an income of £3000 a year, until he should himself send an embassy to the English monarch. Hawkins, both in his own interest and that of his employers, consented. He was further pressed to marry in the country, which he in vain protested did not suit his inclination; and that he could not conscientiously marry any one but a Christian. The emperor found an Armenian damsel, thus silencing the Englishman's objection. The marriage took place, the officer became extremely attached to his bride, and honourably adhered to his vows, although assured in England that it was not a legal marriage. The captain's enemy, the viceroy of Surat, was summoned to the emperor's presence, in consequence of the various complaints brought against him by aggrieved persons. The emperor ordered the confiscation of his property. When his effects came into review, Captain Hawkins pointed out to the emperor various valuable articles brought by him from England as presents to his majesty, which the viceroy had appropriated to himself.

Tidings having reached the English captain that another ship, the *Ascension*, was coming out to Surat, he solicited from the emperor liberty of commerce for his countrymen, and obtained an imperial edict, "under the great seal with golden letters," giving authority to the English to trade.

After this the high favour in which the British officer stood began sensibly to diminish. Mocrib, the unprincipled viceroy, having been stripped of his property, was pardoned and restored to his government, with stern exhortations to conduct himself in future as became a good governor and a faithful liege of the emperor. The first act of this vindictive tyrant was to put into re-

quisition all the influence of his restored office to avenge himself upon Hawkins and the English in general. His intrigues were somewhat cleverly seconded by the Jesuits. It was represented to the emperor that the Portuguese were a far more powerful people than the British, and that they would retire in disgust if such traders were allowed the same privileges as they had. The Portuguese at the same moment presented the emperor with a balass ruby of uncommon size and beauty. The wayward Jehanghire, than whom no child was more easily bought by a gift, exclaimed, "Let the English come no more." Mocrib was not slow to execute this order, and he departed to his government, resolved that the English should transact no business at Surat. Hawkins wisely offered no opposition, but when the fury of the tempest had passed away, he presented himself before the emperor, and besought him to accept what Hawkins himself afterwards called "a splendid toy;" urging at this opportune moment every argument he could devise to prove that the British trade would be of supreme advantage to the empire. The gift and the persuasion led his majesty to reverse his late decree, and the English once more triumphed. The Jesuits heard the tidings with consternation, and sent horsemen off to Mocrib to announce it; the old machinery was set at work, with the old result. For some time this battle went on—the emperor issuing contrary decrees under the influence of new gifts. The Jesuits had more to offer, and understood the Mogul better; they and their native ally Mocrib at last prevailed, for Hawkins had no longer the means of competing with them in costly presents. The emperor acted as if he played one off against the other in order to extort gifts, or as the women of an Eastern harem, who dispense their smiles and exert their court influence under the influence of some gaudy piece of apparel or pretty instrument of pastime. It is probable that Hawkins—such was his address, so considerable were his resources, and so entire his devotion to his object—would have distanced all his competitors in the race for royal favour, had not the prince minister, Abdul Hassau, been his mortal foe. This officer of state had the power to regulate the place occupied by the notables at court; those only were admitted within the red rails who were the objects of especial favour, such as Hawkins had been before Mocrib regained influence at court. After that period the premier carefully excluded the British captain, who by that circumstance was debarred the opportunity of speaking on court days to the emperor.

Hassau also adopted a cunning method of curtailing the income which Jehanghire had attached to Captain Hawkins. He could not, indeed, refuse to assign territory of the nominal value, but he designated a portion of country that was lawless and disturbed, and where the revenue could only be collected at an expense which made the estate of little value. Thus matters went on for two years and a half, and Hawkins perceived that his residence at Agra could no longer be useful to the company or his country. On the 2nd of November, 1611, he withdrew, not only without attaining his object, but under stinging insults; Jehanghire informing him, through the minister, that it did not become the dignity of the great Mogul to send any communication to a prince of such mean estate as the King of England. Hawkins returned to his country dispirited, but his address and zeal were appreciated.

The last expedition had not been long out before the company dispatched two ships, the *Ascension* and the *Union*, with an invested capital of £33,000. The command was given to Captain Alexander Sharpey. Cambay, and more especially Surat, was the object of this little squadron; the year of its departure was 1607. After encountering tremendous storms while doubling the Cape, the two ships were separated. The *Ascension* never met her consort again, but made her own way along the eastern coast of Africa on to Pemba. During her way thither she was twice attacked by the Moors, and lost several of her men. The sufferings of her crew from bad weather and insufficient food had nearly exhausted them, when fortunately they met with a group of uninhabited islands,* where there were delightful water and abundance of cocoa-nuts and turtle. They then proceeded to the Red Sea, and at Mocha and Aden were well received. They went up to Socotra, where they again took in provisions. At last they arrived at Diu, and were about to cross the Gulf of Cambay for Surat, but were reminded of the dangers of the gulf, and recommended to take in a pilot, which the master obstinately refused to do, and the result was that the vessel, striking repeatedly, was wrecked. The crew was saved by the boats, and, making for the river of Surat, were intercepted by various obstacles, and compelled to enter the Godavery. This change of purpose saved their lives, for the Portuguese at Surat had made ready for their destruction. It will be recollected that Hawkins, in expectation of this ship,—of the dispatch of which the agents of the company

had contrived to apprise him,—redoubled his exertions at the court of Jehanghire to obtain a firman for free trade. By this means the Portuguese of Surat became aware of its intended enterprise, and resolved to defeat it by the destruction of the crew and the capture of the ship and cargo. The crew, however, all escaped, some made their way to Goa, whence they were deported without mischief being done to them; the rest arrived after perilous travel at Agra, where, under the protection of Hawkins, they were secure, and were by him sent home through Persia.

The consort of the *Ascension*—the *Union*—was not lost, as the crew of the former reported at Agra to Hawkins. The mainmast had sprung, but the diligence and skill of the sailors repaired the disaster, and the ship reached St. Augustine, on the Island of Madagascar. Thence she reached Zanzibar, but was attacked by the natives, and some of the crew were slain. She again made for Madagascar, where sickness weakened the crew, and the natives attacking slew several of them. They then proceeded to Arabia, but so uncertain were the purposes of the captain, and so little his nautical skill, that he feared “to tread the mazes of the Arabian Sea,” and steered for the long voyage to Sumatra. Acheen and Priaman were reached in safety, and a cargo of pepper was taken up on excellent terms. The voyage home was as unskillfully conducted as the voyage out, and after a long time unprofitably and foolishly spent, the ship arrived in safety in the British Channel. Even there its ill-fortune pursued it, for it was so badly navigated that it ran on shore upon the coast of Brittany, where the people plundered it. The ship was a wreck; the crew, seventy-five in number, had all perished except nine, but the company saved the ordnance, fittings, tackle, anchors, boats, and two hundred tons of pepper.

In 1609 Captain David Middleton again sailed in command of a single ship, the *Expédition*, which, with its cargo, was worth £13,700. He sailed direct for the Spice Islands, where the Dutch opposed him, claiming the sovereignty of those seas. The captain conciliated the natives, and obtained a fine cargo of spices, disposing of all his own goods profitably. This enraged the Dutch, who determined upon his destruction; and so secure were they of their prize, and so hopeless the escape of the Englishman, that when he made his way through the net spread out for him by his pursuers, and arrived at the English settlement of Bantam in safety, their rage was unbounded.

* These islands are supposed by some geographers to have been the Schelles.

The company at this juncture were very sensible of the perils to which their servants

and their property were exposed from the enmity of the Portuguese, and the commercial selfishness and jealousy of the Dutch, they therefore resolved to build a larger class of ship for themselves than they could charter, and to arm their vessels with heavy cannon; also to send them out strongly manned with able seamen. They formed a dockyard in Deptford, at which many fine vessels were built, superior to those possessed by the English merchants. Early in the year 1609 a vessel of eleven hundred tons—a mighty ship for those days, at all events in English waters—was launched, and received the name of the *Trade's Increase*. King James and his son, afterwards Charles I., presided at the launch, and named the ship. A sumptuous banquet served on China, a rare commodity in those days, honoured the occasion. The construction of so large a ship caused great excitement, for it appears to have been considered a model of strength, and skilful naval architecture. Sir William Monson described it as “the goodliest and greatest ship that was ever framed in this kingdom.”

The formation of so great a ship seems to have stimulated the nation, and a great rage for Leviathans sprung up. The company constructed another dockyard at Blackwall, and many vessels of from six hundred to one thousand tons burdens were erected during the thirty years which ensued. The *Royal James* exceeded them all, for it was twelve hundred tons. The government caught the spirited infection of building big ships diffused by the launch of the *Trade's Increase*, and a man-of-war was framed called the *Prince*, of fourteen hundred tons, and carrying sixty-four guns. So great was the stimulus given to ship building by the enterprise of the company, that in about thirty years from that date private builders were able to compete with them, and undersell the company, so as to render it no longer profitable to build any ships, except such as were intended for peculiar traffic.

Soon after Captain David Middleton was sent out, preparation was made for an expedition on a larger scale; and in order that the *Trade's Increase* might take part in it, her construction was hurried on. Early in 1610 the expedition set sail; indeed, before 1609 had terminated the ships and crews were all prepared for the enterprise. There were only three ships in this fleet; but the comparatively enormous size of the newly-launched ship invested the expedition with considerable *éclat*. The command was offered to Captain, now Sir Henry, Middleton, before referred to as having commanded a squadron on an adventure to the Eastern seas. The

popularity of the commander gave the public additional interest in the undertaking, and by that time a great confidence had sprung up in the public mind that the company would act independently of the court, and appoint no royal or ministerial nominees to commands, but only known and tried mariners of skill, prudence, courage, and energy. Such was Sir Henry Middleton, and his departure in the *Trade's Increase* was considered “a great day for England.” The Portuguese and the Hollanders were deemed likely to meet their match at last, should they obstruct such ships and such a commander. The Spice Islands had hitherto been the source of Eastern trade to English ships. Sir Henry determined to seek in the Red Sea and at Surat a profitable commerce. He doubled the Cape successfully, and sailed without interruption direct to the Red Sea and the port of Mocha, and at first found a most friendly reception. He was invited on shore with every display of hospitality, when he and a number of his officers and men were seized and bound, and sent as prisoners to Suza, the capital of Yemen. The number of the British being seventy-one, and very imperfectly guarded, they made their escape, and once more regained their ships. Sir Henry then sailed down the Red Sea and crossed to Surat. He arrived on the coast of Cambay in 1611, and, on approaching the river of Surat, found its entrance barred by a Portuguese fleet. Captain Sharpey was then in that city, and contrived to communicate with Sir Henry, informing him that Hawkins from Agra, and Fitch then at Lahore, advised that no attempt should be made to transact business on that coast, but to court fortune elsewhere, as the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and the native merchants, were all combined in hostility to the Dutch and English, especially to the latter. Middleton, however, determined not to leave Surat without some attempt to accomplish his mission. While preparing to enter the harbour, he received a letter from the Portuguese admiral, asking him if he brought any letter or credentials from the King of Spain and Portugal; if so, the admiral was prepared to facilitate his objects, otherwise it would be his duty to prevent his entering the port. Sir Henry replied, “That he had no letters but from his own sovereign; that he owed no ill-will to the Spanish or Portuguese nations; that he refused to recognise their exclusive claims, and desired to treat with the Mogul and trade with his people; he would therefore meet force with force.” By this time Sir Henry had four ships under his command, but the principal one, the *Trade's Increase*

was too large to enter the harbour. The smaller ones proceeded in, supported by the guns of the large one. The Portuguese, who are represented by historians as having twenty sail, drew up in order of battle between the British ships and the shore, with drums beating, colours flying, and the crews uttering loud and defiant shouts, still no shot was fired. The English had, ever since the destruction of the Armada, acquired a high reputation for exploits by sea; and the fearlessness with which Drake and his companions ravaged the coasts of the whole Iberian peninsula, after that event, inspired the Spaniards and Portuguese with a timidity which prevented them combating the English on the waters, except very great superiority afforded some prospect of success. This fear was shown on the present occasion, and was observed with wonder by the Suratians. Middleton's three ships went on nearing the shore, the *Trade's Increase* bearing on as near as it could get, its cannon of large calibre ready to give forth from their yawning throats the dreaded thunder of a British cannonade. The English having gone as far towards the shore as was deemed prudent, one of their vessels let down a boat well armed, which pulled directly for shore. Several of the Portuguese let down their boats, and formed, to intercept and capture it. They were received by a galling fire of musketry, the English sailors firing only at a proximity which gave certainty to their aim, and then with a coolness and steadiness, which not only excited the astonishment of their enemies and of the natives, but the admiration of the latter and of Sir Henry himself. The crews of the Portuguese boats pulled off, and were pursued by the British; other Portuguese boats coming to their assistance were beaten off in like manner, and one of the ships was attacked by the English boat's crew; the frightened Portuguese leaped into the sea, and swam to shore or perished. This vessel was heavily laden with the richest Indian commodities, and proved a welcome prize. The whole of the English squadron then opened fire upon the terrified fleet of the enemy, which sought safety in flight, leaving the approach to the shore clear for the conquerors. The exultation of the natives was openly expressed. Always ready to side with power and with success, they fawned upon the English commander, and freely offered to trade with him. It is not to the honour of Sir Henry that his conduct as a trader was as disreputable as his wisdom and gallantry as a commander were famous. He insisted that such of his stores as were unsuited to the market of Surat should be purchased as well

as his more marketable commodities. He all but forced sales with some of the principal native merchants, who, repenting of their bargains, were about, according to the law or custom of Surat, to give him twenty-four hours' notice of the revocation of their purchases, when Sir Henry, inviting the viceroy and his council on board to an entertainment, detained them as prisoners until the payments which the native merchants had stipulated were made. In this way he accomplished his purpose, but his outrageous violence and overbearing demeanour so enraged the viceroy (the enemy of Hawkins), the native authorities, and the native merchants, that a universal indisposition to have anything to do with the English sprung up. The cowardly Portuguese, who cringed and dared not to move a tongue before, now came forth, declaring that the English had proved themselves the pirates and tyrants which they had represented them, and the Jesuits circulated many stories of their own invention, of the piracy and plunder of the English in Europe and in the Spice Islands. The Portuguese fleet, emboldened by the public feeling of the natives, made several attempts to cut off the two vessels near the shore, from the two larger ones, which were anchored at some distance, but they on each occasion "received such entertainment as induced them quickly to retire." The heroic courage of the English, which at first pleased the natives, at last alarmed them, and their rough and unprincipled behaviour as traders disgusted the smooth and deceitful native merchants. A peremptory order from the viceroy reached Sir Henry that he must depart, and that he might announce to his countrymen they would never again be received in Surat. Sir Henry considered himself unjustly treated and "put to great expenses," and vowed that he would have reparation even from the great Mogul.

He sailed along the coast until he arrived at Dabul, where he was well received, but circumstances soon disclosed that fear of his power alone prompted the forms of courtesy; the governor secretly interdicted all trade with him.

He departed from India to the Red Sea. There coming before Mocha he gave such proof of his force and his ability to use it, that the citizens were glad to pay a heavy compensation for the wrongs inflicted upon him when he last visited that coast.

His next exploits were against the ships of the great Mogul. These he stopped, and told their commanders that, "as they would not trade with him by fair means, they must do so by foul." He took what goods pleased him, giving others in exchange to the full

value, but he himself dictated the terms of barter; and it is creditable that he did not place too high a value on the goods of others, nor make too low an estimate of the worth of those of the company. One magnificent ship of fifteen hundred tons burden, which the emperor built for the purpose of conveying pilgrims to Arabia, Middleton captured, appropriating all the valuables it contained to the account of the company.

Having thus severely chastised "Portugals," "Gentoos," and "Turks," by sea and land, the captain considered his mission ended in those parts, and directing his course across the Indian Ocean, arrived at the Spice Islands. Here having, unopposed, transacted such business as was open to him, he repaired to Bantam, and took up his abode at the English factory; his fine ship, the *Trade's Increase*, having struck upon a rock, and suffered such damage that she was almost a wreck. From Bantam he sent home one of his ships, the *Peppercorn*, heavily laden with a very rich cargo, under the command of Downton, with the message to the company, that he would follow as soon as he had effected repairs in his ship. He was soon after seized with illness, and died; some writers affirm in consequence of the damage sustained by his noble ship, which was a heavy drawback upon the profit and glory of the expedition. The profit that accrued to the company was, however, estimated by it at 131 per cent. The objectionable portion of Sir Henry's proceedings was not too closely canvassed in England, and his bold exploits were hailed with as much triumph as the tidings of his decease caused deep regret.

During the year 1609, so eventful to the company in building and sending out ships, the favour of King James I. was bestowed in a manner calculated, morally and financially, to strengthen the company. On the 31st of May in that year, by further charter or letters patent, the powers or privileges granted in 1599 for fifteen years, and all privileges, whether renewed or those (in 1609) first granted, were to be for ever. Such a circumstance was well calculated to give a fresh impulse to the ardour of the company, and will account for the extensive operations of that year, and the growing magnitude of the company's designs.

In 1611 the *Globe* was sent out under Captain Hippon, and one Floris, a Dutchman, sailed with him as "a factor." They left England in the first month of the year, and soon after midsummer reached the Island of Ceylon. They ran along the coast from Point de Galle to Nega-

patam. Not finding that place inviting, they proceeded to Pulicat, where Van Wervicke, president of the Dutch settlements, waited upon the captain, announcing that the king of the territory had given exclusive privilege of trade there to Holland. The captain replied that the patent of the King of England was sufficient anywhere. A quarrel would have ensued but for the interposition of the native authorities, and the English commander, finding that the Dutch possessed complete influence in the native councils, wisely departed. He thence sailed to Patapoli, where he instituted a small factory. From that place he proceeded to Masulipatam, the market for the beautiful cloths known by that designation. The governor there entered into a treaty, which he violated "before the ink was dry," and conducted himself with such falsehood and fraud, that the Englishman charged him with his baseness and duplicity. He replied that a true believer—a descendant of Mohammed—was to be believed before a Christian dog. By menaces chiefly Hippon accomplished an accommodation, and then departed to the British factory at Bantam. Having concerted with the company's officials there, Captain Hippon proceeded to Patane, where he landed in June, 1612, with imposing pomp, "minstrels playing, and flags flying, and bearing the king's letter in a golden box on the back of an elephant." This the commander presented to the queen, who received it graciously, and granted permission to erect a factory, and establish agents there. The captain died at that place, and the officer next in command took the vessel to Siam. Floris, the Dutch factor, had proved himself an able tactician, as he had previously visited those parts in connection with the Dutch East India Company. He declared that at Siam the demand for goods was so great when he had visited it, as the whole world could not be able to satisfy; the English, however, found a great glut of goods, which the activity of the Dutch had created. From Siam the English ship was steered to Masulipatam, where a hospitable reception was given, but a great unwillingness to trade evinced.

In 1611 an expedition was sent out, consisting of three ships, under the command of Captain Saris. Saris sailed at once to the Red Sea, where he found Middleton after his return thither from Surat. The two squadrons formed a junction, and scoured that sea together, capturing or sinking enemy's ships, and forcing trade upon the reluctant. Captain Saris, as well as his predecessor, justified the character given of the English captains to the Great Mogul—that they were sea-rob-

bers, who came to plunder as well as to trade. It must be admitted, however, that but for the injustice and opposition which they met with as traders, they would not have made themselves terrible as rovers. Captain Saris proceeded to Bantam, as did all the English voyagers; thence to the Moluccas, where he found the islands nearly desolated by violence, the native princes carrying on sanguinary feuds in the interest of the rival Dutch and Portuguese, while both had spread the wildest reports about the English, and were ready 'by all means to circumvent or to destroy them. The proceedings of the captain at Japan, under the auspices of Adams, were given on a former page. This expedition returned home in great triumph, laden with the "spicy treasures of the East," fine calicoes, various drugs, and other commodities which then entered into the trade of Asia with Europe.

The various modes of approaching the centres of Eastern trade having all now become well known to the European nations, especially to the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, the trade henceforth assumed a more regular form. Voyages ceased to be so much of the nature of expeditions. The defence of the commerce of each nation did not depend altogether upon mercantile armaments, nor was it affected so much by mere privateering. The governments of the respective countries guarded their commerce more effectually by royal navies, and made the commerce of the East more a matter of state policy. From these circumstances the accounts of particular voyages become less exciting; the novelty disappears; the commanders cease to be mere rovers, not certain whither they would direct their course, and always on the look out for spoil; nor were they, as before, part pirates, part traders; they set sail for specific destinations, with specific objects; and although well armed, and not unfrequently obliged to use their weapons against professional pirates, or against the ships of rival nations in open war, their intent was more strictly commercial. Mr. Murray, writing of the expeditions of the company's captains, and of the general mode of doing business at home up to this time, observes:—"They had derived an average profit of not less than 171 per cent. Mr. Mill hence draws the natural inference that these had been conducted in a manner decidedly more judicious than subsequent adventures that yielded a very different return. Yet we cannot forbear observing, that many of the cargoes were made up on such very easy terms as their successors could not expect to command. Independently of the fact that whole fleets were sometimes

laden with captured goods, trade was often carried on by compulsory means, calculated to ensure a profitable return only to the stronger party. These first voyages, in short, exhibit the profits of trade combined with the produce of piracy. The commerce of India, according to the original plan, was to be conducted on the principal of a joint-stock company, in which the transactions were to be managed by a governor and directors, and a dividend made to the subscribers in proportion to the number of shares. But as the paying up of the instalments upon this principle proceeded very slowly, another arrangement was made, by which each individual furnished a certain proportion of the outlay and received the entire profit arising from its investment. Though the affairs of the company prospered under this system, it was necessarily attended with a good deal of confusion and difficulty, which suggested to the governor and company the expediency of returning to the old method of conducting affairs on the regular joint-stock system. This plan was accordingly adopted in 1612, and on those terms a capital of £429,000 was subscribed, with which the directors undertook, during the next four years, to build twenty-nine vessels, at an expense of £272,000, and to employ the rest of the sum in the investment."

Two years after the victory of Middleton at Surat, Captain Best, with a small squadron, appeared off the coast. He had the address to conciliate the governor of Ahmedabad, and through him obtained important concessions from the emperor. The greatest difficulty the captain found was in the prejudices created by the conduct of Sir Henry Middleton in seizing the pilgrim ship. This the captain condemned, declaring that the British nation could not be held answerable for the unwarrantable liberties of an individual. The death of Middleton of course precluded all possibility of any demand for redress so far as he was concerned. In January, 1613, a firman of the emperor authorized the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Gogo, with protection for the property and persons of the traders. A custom duty of three and a half per cent. was one of the conditions.

The Portuguese were filled with consternation when those tidings arrived at their factories, and they resolved to frustrate any efforts of the English to take advantage of the firman. They accordingly attacked the two vessels of Captain Best with much more numerous, and, to all appearance, powerful ships, at Sevally, near Surat. This attack was made on the 22nd of October, 1612, and

the plan adopted was to open a fire from four large galleons, and under cover of the cannonade a swarm of smaller vessels to bear down and board the British ships. The fire of the galleons was, however, speedily silenced, and many men on board of them slain. The boarders kept a respectful distance, until they saw their galleons repulsed, when they sheered off. The victory raised the valour of the English in the esteem of the natives, which so exasperated the Portuguese, that they renewed their attacks upon the English, whose force had increased to four vessels. Finally, on the 27th of November, after nearly five weeks' conflict, the English ships obtained so complete a mastery, that the enemy abandoned their assaults. The courage of Captain Best and the English was noised abroad along the coasts and far into the interior, and at last its fame reached the emperor at Agra, who involuntarily uttered terms of contempt towards the Portuguese, and admiration of their conquerors. The prestige of the captain's intrepidity, and that of his crews, did much to favour the settlements of English factories on the coasts. An imperial firman, dated the 11th of January, 1613, empowered them to have a factory at Surat, with branch factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goa. They were ultimately extended to Ajmeer and Agra.

This gallant officer had opportunity of rendering other services to his country. In 1615 he visited Acheen, bearing a letter from the English king to the sovereign of that place. The captain obtained permission to establish a factory at Tico, in Sumatra, under a custom duty of seven per cent.

A curious incident is related in connection with Captain Best's visit to Acheen. The king is described as a furious and sanguinary person, but so placable to the English, that he sent a request to the British king to send him an English wife, and he would make her eldest son king of all the pepper countries. No daughter of England took advantage of this royal offer, made in a general way, nor does it appear that the English court gave any encouragement to the idea of an English lady ascending the throne of the peppery regions. In 1623 the fickle and fierce prince, who was disappointed of a *fair* queen, banished the English factor, and, to save the appearance of impartiality, drove away the Dutch factor likewise. He afterwards changed his mind, and admitted them again, but they were the objects of his caprice and that of his successors for a long time.

During the gallant and wise services of Best the English company was much impressed with the importance of securing a

footing on the shores of Western India, that they might be able to conduct a safe and regular trade thence. They expressed to the court of James their anxiety on this subject, and prevailed on him to send Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Great Mogul.* They at the same time directed Mr. Edwards their agent at Agra, since the firman of January, 1613, allowed a factory at Surat, and branches from it, to co-operate.

When discussing the social condition of India, reference was made to the mission of Sir Thomas; also in the last chapter, where his opinions, as adverse to forts as means of

* The following notice of the life of Sir Thomas Roe will interest the reader, as his name holds so peculiar a place in Indian history:—"Sir Thomas Roe was born at Low Leyton, in Essex, about the year 1580. His family, which was originally from Lee, in Kent, had for four generations been connected with the city of London. The first of the family who entered into mercantile pursuits was Reynold Roe of Lee, and his grandson, Sir Thomas Roe, was Lord Mayor in 1568, and did good service in suppressing the *Midsummer Watch*, and replacing it by a regularly organized *Standing Watch*, for the safety and police duties of the city: he was also one of the founders and early benefactors of Merchant Tailors' School; he married a daughter of Sir John Gresham, and left four sons, of whom a younger one, Robert, was father to the object of our narrative. The latter was early left an orphan; but although his mother was married again, to a Mr. Berkley of Redcourt, she appears to have done her duty by her son Thomas in a most exemplary manner, and to have taken great pains with his education. Most probably the foundation was laid in the school upon which he had a family claim, but it is more certain that at the early age of less than fifteen he was entered a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he did not remain long enough to take a degree, and on leaving it went over to study in Paris. On his return he entered one of the Inns of Court, and was shortly afterwards appointed Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth, just previous to her death. In March, 1604, he was knighted by King James I., and specially attracted the regards of Prince Henry, with whose countenance and support—following the adventurous habits of the period—he undertook a voyage of discovery to South America. With this object in view, he built and equipped, in a great measure at his own cost, a small ship and a pinnace, the command of which vessels he entrusted severally to Captains Mathew Morgan and William White, both experienced seamen, who subsequently acquired considerable celebrity in their arduous profession. Having completed all his preparations, our young adventurer set sail from Plymouth on the 24th of February, 1609, and reached the mouth of the Amazon in the latter end of April. If not the first to discover this noble river, he was one of the first to explore it, having sailed up its course for two hundred miles, and then proceeded above one hundred miles further in boats. From thence he sailed northward and westward, exploring the coast, entering several of the rivers, and tracing their courses, occasionally engaging in expeditions inland, until he reached the Orinoco, having expended thirteen months in examining the coast between the two great rivers. From the Orinoco he proceeded to Trinidad, and from thence, after visiting several of the West India Islands, bore up for the Azores, and returned to England in July, 1611." His commission from the king to the Indian emperor was the next notable incident of his history.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

security to trade, were quoted. The hopes of the English from this embassy were considerable. It was the first instance of an ambassador proceeding directly from the English court to that of the Great Mogul; others, representatives of England,—such as Newberry, Fitch, Hawkins, and Best,—were but the messengers of associations of merchants, bearing letters from the reigning sovereign. Costly presents were placed at the ambassador's disposal, and the English felt assured that the directness of his mission, the value of the gifts he bore, the rank of the ambassador himself, and his address and ability, would combine in producing a decisive effect. "He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, with Captains Peyton and Broughton, in command of the *Lion* and *Peppercorn*." * He landed in great pomp at Surat in September, where, as an ambassador extraordinary to the Great Mogul, none dared to dispute his free passage. † From Surat he proceeded to Ajmeer.

The credentials of Sir Thomas are exceedingly interesting, and show definitely the object of his mission. Modern writers give conflicting accounts of the events of this period. Some attribute to Captain Hawkins the permission obtained for the original settlement at Surat, others to Captain Best, and very many to Sir Thomas Roe. The credentials which Sir Thomas received from his own court give the honour of the first successful negotiation to Captain Best, and

* Murray, with whom is the majority of modern writers.

Taking advantage of the sailing of a fleet of four vessels under the general command of Captain Keelinge, Sir Thomas embarked on the *Lion*, Captain Newport, and finally sailed from England on the 9th of March, 1615; and after touching at Saldanha, and the Comera Islands, in the Mozambique Channel, as also at Cape Guardafui, they reached Socotra on the 24th of August, where they remained a week, and thence steered for Surat, where they arrived on the 26th of September, having followed the usual route adopted at that period.—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

† Murray; Taylor.

On the same day Sir Thomas landed in state, accompanied by Captain Keelinge, the president and merchants of the factory, and "a court of guard of one hundred shot" (*musketeers*) from the fleet, commanded by Captain Harris, whilst "the ships, in their best equipage, gave him their ordnance as he passed." On arriving at a large open tent, prepared for the purpose, he was met by the chief native functionaries of the city, and treated with much outward respect, which did not, however, exempt him from considerable annoyance on the part of the governor, who, by force, searched his chests and packages, and helped himself to whatever he thought fit. After much controversy, and many difficulties, Sir Thomas started, on the 30th of October, for the padishaw's court, which was then established at Ajmeer.—*Calcutta Review* June, 1857.

show that the ambassador was sent to "handle and treat" of the matters in the firman given to Best. Along with the following letter King James sent a draft of a treaty of commerce and alliance for the signature of the emperor, so as to enlarge the firman conceded to Captain Best.

James, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the High and Mightie Monarch, the Great Mogol, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer (Kashmir), and Corazon (Khorasan), &c., Greeting:—

We, having notice of your great favour towards us and our subjects, by your great firma to all your captaines of rivers, and officers of your costumes, for the entertaynement of our loving subjects the English nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the ports within your dominions, and that they may have quiet trade and commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c., as by the articles concluded by Suc Suff (*Sheikh Suffee*), Governor of the Guzerats, in your name, with our loving subject, Captaine Thomas Best, appeareth, have thought it meete to send unto you our ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence which is so lately begunne between us, and which will, without doubt, redound to the honour and utilitie of both nations; in which consideration, and for the furthering of such landable commerce, wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall gentleman of our court, to whom wee have given commission under our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions, further to treat of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each other's subjects, to whom we pray you to give favour and credit in whatsoever hee shall mouve or propound towards the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination and wel-wishing toward you, we pray you to accept in good part the present which our said ambassadour will deliver unto you; and so doe commit you to the merciful protection of Almighty God.

It was not until the year 1616 had far advanced that Sir Thomas obtained a firman authorizing the English trade, and then it was so expressed as to afford, in a very qualified manner, the advantages ostensibly conceded. Sir Thomas was obliged to depart in 1618, having no reliance on the firmness or consistency of the monarch; and as he was beset by the same enemies of the English as defeated the diplomacy of Hawkins, Sir Thomas left the court of the emperor far from satisfied with the results of his mission. Nevertheless, the padishaw showed him many tokens of honour on his departure, and gave him a commendatory letter to King James. On arriving at Surat, he found the governor unwilling to act upon the new treaty. He even had the insolence to sneer at the orders and firmans of the emperor. Shah Jehan, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of In-

dian princes, was at variance with the officious governor. With him Sir Thomas opened a correspondence. The shah was as adverse to the Portuguese as he was to the governor, their friend, and therefore at once entered into the views of Sir Thomas. After a considerable time spent in negotiation with the prince, a treaty was formed confirming all the benefits of the firmans previously granted to Captain Best and to Sir Thomas, together with especial privileges at the port of Surat, and leave to erect a building for the stores and business transactions of the English factors. Emboldened by these concessions, Sir Thomas further negotiated to have inserted in the treaty clauses conferring on the English the free exercise of their religion, the government of their own laws, and the right to wear arms. In return for the last concession, Sir Thomas bound the English resident at Surat to assist the emperor in defence of the port.

While at Surat, perceiving that the agents of the company were conducting a profitable trade in the Persian Gulf, Sir Thomas directed negotiations for a treaty with the shah. The English had already established factories on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and even at Ispahan—so active were the company's first agents at Surat. Shah Abbas, the ruler of Persia, had a profound respect for the Great Mogul; and, understanding that Sir Thomas had been received with great distinction at his court, he readily acquiesced in all the suggestions that came from him. The result was a treaty on terms as favourable as those which established the English at Surat.

At the commencement of the year 1619, this renowned ambassador bid farewell to the scene of his difficulties and triumphs. In the month of May he put into Saldanha Bay, where the renowned Dutch admiral, Hoffman, at that time lay. Sir Thomas was as successful in negotiating with the Dutch as he had been with the Hindoos and Persians, for he and Hoffman agreed to write to the factories and stations in the East, enjoining peace and good-will as alone conformable to the wishes of the two governments. They also corresponded with their governments, and did all in their power to pour oil upon the troubled waters. The influence which Sir Thomas exercised over Hoffman was most extraordinary, for he was a man of stern disposition, strong will, and deep nationality. The clear intellect, and pure love of peace, were so conspicuous in the English envoy that he failed not even with the dogged Dutchman.

The arrival of this distinguished negotiator was hailed by the crown, the company, and the country with acclamation, and many

honours were shown him. He was appointed a member of the privy council, and chancellor of the Order of the Garter. These were his only recompences from the king, who never continued long to appreciate men of real eminence. He was a royalist, but disapproved of the absolute measures of the Stuarts, to whom his warnings and counsels were in vain. He contributed much to the public welfare by his advice to the company, and to commercial men. On all questions of trade he was regarded as the most able and experienced man in the kingdom. His love of commerce was united to an exquisite taste. He made a very extensive collection of articles of *vertu*. He also collected a vast number of medals. His treasures in art and antiquity he bequeathed to the public. His ideas on foreign politics were moderate and liberal, and his counsels were valued by all the statesmen of the day. He was a good orator, but spoke best on commercial subjects, especially in the House of Commons, to which he was elected; his speeches in the house on the currency were much before his age. He published several pamphlets on monetary, commercial, and political subjects, and left behind him various very valuable manuscripts.*

* The following brief narrative of the life of this statesman, *after his return from India*, will complete the sketch of his history before his departure to the Mogul:—"Soon after his arrival in England he was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Cirencester, in Gloucestershire. In 1621 he was sent as ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained until 1628, holding the same situation under the Sultans Osman, Mustapha, and Amurath IV., with credit to himself and his country. He was the first English ambassador who was enabled to establish a real and permanent influence at the Porte, and to command respect on all occasions. He secured for the English merchants several valuable commercial and civil privileges, and also by his influence and general advocacy was enabled to benefit generally the condition of all members of the Greek Church. He made a valuable collection of Greek and oriental manuscripts, which he presented to the Bodleian Library, and he brought over the celebrated Alexandrian copy of the Greek Scriptures, which was presented to King James by Cyril, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, in gratitude for the benefits obtained through the influence and by the agency of the English ambassador. In 1629 he was sent as ambassador to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to whom he recommended the plan, adopted in the following year by that monarch, of making his famous descent upon Germany in defence of the Protestant liberties. In acknowledgement of this counsel, Gustavus Adolphus, after his victory at Leipsic, sent Sir Thomas a present of two thousand pounds, addressing him as his *Strenuum Consultorem*, and acknowledging that he was the first who had advised him to undertake the campaign in Germany. He was subsequently employed in negotiations at Copenhagen, and several of the German courts. In October, 1640, he was elected member for the University of Oxford, and in April, 1641, he was sent as ambassador from King Charles to the Diet of Ratisbon, to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the late King of Bavaria's son to the late Palatinate. Here he made so favourable an impression upon

Sir Thomas had difficulties to contend with at Ajmeer arising from his own people, independent of those which arose from the personal character of the monarch, the intrigues of the court, and the hostility of native governors, Portuguese merchants, and Jesuits. One of these was the ill-assortment of the presents sent to the Mogul and his court; another arose from the meanness and parsimony which pervaded the arrangements of his own court and the company in reference to his embassy. These things struck the court of Ajmeer, lowered the English king and nation in their estimation, and provoked some of the insults and delays which he experienced. He was also much embarrassed by adventurous Englishmen at that time in India from various causes. One of these he found it necessary to attach to his own suite, in the hope of preventing mischief. Perhaps the ambassador was too sensitive to such matters; but he was certainly exposed to many *mal apropos* incidents at court, which were calculated to try severely a less composed and self-collected man.

Among others, he was embarrassed by the presence of the most eccentric Englishman of that age, named Thomas Coryate. Some notice of this extraordinary man is here desirable. The remarks of an Indian reviewer are very apposite on the subject of the embarrassment caused to Sir Thomas, by "extraordinary Tom," as he was quaintly and aptly termed in his day. "The circumstance which led to their juxta-position is one of specially Indian interest; their having been strangely and unexpectedly thrown together, nearly two centuries and a half ago, at the durbar of the Great Mogul, exhibiting to the astonished Indian courtiers two extreme varieties of English character, position, and habits, at a time when the name of England was barely known in Hindostan, and every thing connected with Englishmen was novel and apparently contradictory, and when the privileges and position of the stately ambassador and the pedestrian pauper, or 'English fakeer,' were alike incomprehensible to the padishaw, and to those around him."

the emperor that he publicly said, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an ambassador till now;" and on another occasion, in allusion to Sir Thomas' persuasive eloquence, he said laughingly, "That if he had been one of the fair sex and a beauty, he was sure the engaging conversation of the English ambassador would have proved too hard for his virtue." After his return to England he was unavoidably drawn into the struggle then carrying on between his royal master and the parliament, which embittered his latter days, and is believed to have accelerated his death, which took place on the 6th of November, 1644, at Woodford, in Essex, where he was buried."—*Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.

In order that the reader may be able to comprehend the inconvenience which the ambassador felt from the presence of that other "extreme variety of English character," the following brief outline of his history is given. He was born at Odcombe, in Somersetshire, in the year 1577, and was son of the rector of that parish, who had been a superior scholar and a Latin poet of some merit. Thomas was educated at Westminster school, from which he received a presentation to Gloucester Hall, Oxford. Having pursued his studies there with great success, he became notorious as a scholar and an eccentric person. Partly from his varied and antique scholarship, and partly from personal oddities which seemed strangely associated with so much learning, he was appointed to an office in the household of the Prince of Wales. Fuller says, "Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course of all entertainments. Indeed, he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammer as hard knocks as it received; his bluntness repaying their abusiveness." A love of travel seems to have early seized upon him, and neither his interests at court nor any other consideration were sufficient to detain him at home. In 1608 he undertook a journey through the south of Europe. His observations he published in 1611, and called them *Coryate's Crudities gobbled up in five months in France, &c. &c. &c.* After this publication, which made an immense sensation in its way, he issued another, which he queerly titled, *Coryate's Crambe, or his Calwert twice sodden*. A critic describes these books as "crude enough, but not without a quaint originality, curious scholarship, and truthful observation." He speedily undertook another period of foreign travel, "for which he allowed himself ten years, which time he fixed in imitation of Odysseus' wanderings." He set sail from England on the 20th of October, 1612, for the Grecian archipelago, thence he sailed for Asia Minor, and visited the site of Troy, in company with a number of other "roving Englishmen," such as at that time were finding their way everywhere. His companions playfully pretended to make him a knight of Troy, on which occasion he made an oration replete with "out-of-the-way learning and absurdity, which has been preserved among the fragments of his travels and correspondence." He then went to Constantinople, where "he saw every thing, and published what he saw." Thence he travelled to Jerusalem, and the cities of Palestine, with one Henry Allard, another roaming Englishman, whom he picked up on the way. From Jerusalem he travelled into

Egypt and other adjacent countries, and into Persia, generally meeting with no unkindness, but at last robbed of everything by a Turkish soldier. From Persia he travelled to India by Yezd, Ghayn, Furrâh, and Greshk to Candahar, and from that by Quetta, and the Bolan Pass to Shirkapore. On this last route he met Sir Robert Shirley and his lady, proceeding from India to Persia, on the embassy projected by the London company, at the same time they influenced the court to send out Sir Thomas Roe to India. Sir John and Lady Shirley had known him before, having met him at court, for every one who visited the court knew Coryate. Lady Theresa Shirley made him a present of forty shillings, a very much larger sum, relatively, in those days than at present. Sir Robert complimented him as an author, and said he would bring his book under the notice of the shah, which gratified him more, probably, than if the knight had bestowed all he had upon him; for Coryate was as vain of authorship and of displaying his learning as he was simple and unostentatious in all things beside. From Shirkapore, he made his way to Agra, and thence to Ajmeer, where he arrived a toilworn man, to the amazement of ten Englishmen all transacting business there for the company, except one or two in the service of the Mogul. He found his books well known to his countrymen, which fed his peculiar weakness, and recompensed all his fatigues. This was in 1615. He immediately began the study of the Urdu and Persian languages, although he had already acquired as many as perhaps any other man of the age. "He remained at Ajmeer until the arrival, in the end of that year, of Sir Thomas Roe, whom he had known in England, and whom he was one of the first to greet, going out as far as Chittoor to meet him. Coryate's eccentricities, his love of sight-seeing,—which carried him to every spectacle and ceremony,—his poverty and peculiarities of attire, his temperate habits, and his invariably travelling on foot, had excited the attention of the shah and his courtiers, who looked upon him as a sort of religious mendicant, and generally spoke of him as the English fakeer. The unexpected appearance of such a character, so little calculated to exalt the opinion of English wealth or dignity, was anything but agreeable to Sir Thomas, the more especially as he could not ignore or keep him at a distance, having been well acquainted with him formerly in the Prince of Wales's household. Moreover, knowing him to be a gentleman by birth and education, a sound scholar, the quondam companion and present correspondent of some of the leading men of letters in England, and, above

all, being acquainted with the simplicity and perfect innocence of his character, it was impossible to receive him save with welcome and kindness, more especially as he was remarkably touchy regarding the least slight to his vanity. These considerations must naturally have guided Sir Thomas' conduct towards him, which appears to have been kind and judicious. He was quartered in the ambassador's household with his chaplain, and kept as much in the background as practicable. This last part of the arrangement was anything but agreeable to one so imbued with the love of notoriety, and accordingly he determined to bring himself to the notice of the padishaw in spite of the ambassador. Having now sufficiently mastered the Persian language to be able to speak it pretty fluently and correctly, he one day made his appearance at the royal durbar, where he immediately attracted the observation of Jehanghire, who making inquiries regarding him, Coryate stepped forward, and after due obeisance commenced a prepared harangue in Persian, of which he was so proud that he made several copies of it both in the original and the translation, which he forwarded to England."*

Our space does not permit us to give the oration, or the reader would not need to be told that the emperor and his court remained silent for some time in amazement. The astonishment of his majesty was so great at the man, the manner, the oriental learning, the impulses and motives indicated, that he was bewildered, utterly unable to conceive what should be said or done to the orator. The padishaw's surprise subsided into amusement, and this humour being caught up by the court, poor Coryate afforded them much entertainment, and left a general impression that the English were like no other people; their energy in trade, their bravery in war, the astuteness of their negotiators, the adventurous folly of individuals, and the unaccountable specimen which then stood before his majesty in the durbar, produced the impression upon the court that they were a people whose ways were not as those of other men, and of whose doings, individually or collectively, it would be difficult to predicate anything, except that they would be energetically occupied somehow.

The oration of Coryate was the talk of Ajmeer, and the story spread "far and near," to the disquiet and discomfiture of the dignified ambassador, who had already struggled so hard to maintain the dignity of his sovereign and his country. Coryate knew all this, and was delighted, so that he wrote

* *Calcutta Review.*

home to his mother the address with which he circumvented his ambassadorial friend, and obtained an opportunity of unfolding to the padishaw the greatness of his learning and of his travels, for he had truly told him, "I traeced the world into this countrys, that my pilgrimage hath aecomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have susteyned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortale man in this world did ever perform to see the blessed face of your maiestie."

The effects which Sir Thomas feared were produced to a far less extent than his cautious temper depicted. The padishaw became intensely pleased with the strange, wild traveller, and gave him one hundred rupees. Several of the courtiers, who persisted in believing him a mad fakcer, also endowed him with presents of rupees. Sir Thomas himself seems to have spared his money, for when Coryate departed on fresh travels he only gave him "a piece of gold of this king's coyne worth foure-and-tweentic shillings." He persisted in travelling into Tartary, although the emperor, solicitous for his safety, personally advised him not to do so, because of dangers from the difficulties of the way and the bigotry of the people. He was compelled to return from illness, brought on by privations and fatigue, and died at Surat, according to a presentiment which led him to rejoin the ambassador. The estimate of the man is just which is thus given:—"With all his weaknesses, there was much that was amiable and manly in Coryate's character, and he deserves a prominent place among the pioneers of British enterprise in the East."

While this eccentric wanderer was traversing Asia, other English adventurers were in jeopardy, and their proceedings were constantly reaching the ear of the Great Mogul. One Withington, an agent of the company, and a party of Englishmen, set out from Ahmedabad to reach a port in Scinde named Laribunda, where three English ships had found their way. The third night of the journey, while in company with a caravan, an attack was made by robbers. The next day our traveller met the Mogul's officer "returning with two hundred and fifty heads of them." The journey was five hundred miles, and the account given by Withington and his companions was far less favourable than that of Sir Thomas Roe. Coryate's descriptions tallied with both according to the district in which he travelled. Withington and his party could not have proceeded a day's journey but for hired escorts of cavalry. Notwithstanding escorts, they were attacked, and compelled to pay ransom. A Rajpoot guide delivered them over on another occasion to a party of

marauders, who strangled two native merchants of the party and their five servants. They bound Withington and his attendants, and marched them thirty miles to a mountain fastness. After having been plundered of everything, they begged their way back to Ahmedabad, after an absence of a hundred and eleven days, and innumerable dangers, fatigues, and ill-treatment. The English, when oppressed, urged their complaints upon the emperor, where there were always some courtiers to plead the cause of the wrongdoers, and the ambassador had much to do besides urging the suit for liberty of commerce.

The success of Sir Thomas Roe placed the company's stations on a new footing, altered the relations of the company to the government of India, and materially affected its fortunes. Henceforth all concerned could look forward from a new stand-point, but no idea of territorial conquest crossed the mind of any one whose opinion is recorded, and it is next to impossible that in the settlements they had obtained they had dared to hope for aught but commercial convenience and security. Miss Martineau has well put the fact in connection with this era in the company's fortunes in the following language:—"The English speculators thought of nothing but commerce in settling their Indian plans at home, much more certainly must they have contemplated nothing else when in Hindostan. What they saw there dwarfed everything English in a manner now scarcely to be imagined by us. By degrees the immensity of the territory opened upon them, as they heard of groups of sovereigns, and crowds of chieftains, each with a province, or a district, or a kingdom, or an empire, under his control, and as they found the old Hindoo organization of rulers of ten towns, and a hundred towns, and a thousand towns, commemorated in their traditions. The mere deserted capitals were like the metropolitan cities of Europe fallen asleep. By degrees they learned something of the two deltas of the Ganges and the Indus, where the mere mouths of rivers might constitute fair kingdoms, without including the course of their mighty streams. By degrees their imaginations became able to attain the peaks of the Himalaya, and to comprehend the spaces of the Deccan which were guarded by the Ghauts. The more they learned of Indian magnitudes, the less could they have conceived of having any other than commercial business there. The phenomena of human life and manners were as stupendous in their proportions as the productions of nature. Our first residents at the native courts saw wars made on such a scale

that they hardly dared to tell it at home, for fear of the contempt with which their 'travellers' tales' would be treated."

The chief uneasiness now at home arose from apprehensions of a protracted struggle, neither with Mogul obstinacy nor Portuguese arms, but with the brave, energetic, and persevering Dutch; for all the efforts of Roe and Hoffman, whatever effect they produced upon the courts and companies at home, failed to introduce a spirit of conciliation abroad. The English disclaimed all intention of interfering with the Dutch where the right of prior occupation gave the latter a claim upon their forbearance, but the English had no scruples in placing factories near those of their competitors; and this circumstance inflamed the resentment of the Dutch as much as if England made war upon their Eastern settlements. The contest of the two nations in the Moluccas was an instance of this. The Dutch had early formed settlements there, and the English established agencies in the little islands of Puleroom and Rosengen, which belonged to a group occupied generally by the Dutch, although they had no establishments of any kind on those particular islands. The Hollanders "warned the English off," declaring that the sovereignty of the Spice Islands belonged to them, and attacked the English, but were repulsed. They then seized two English ships, and refused to restore them until England withdrew from those islands.

Among the disastrous results of the ill-feeling between the two nations in the East was the massacre, as it has been called, at Amboyna, of which an account will be given

in another chapter, relating the progress of the Dutch in India and the Eastern seas, rendering it unnecessary here to make further reference to it than to state that the cruelty and injustice perpetrated there upon the English residents, suspected of conspiracy against Dutch power, so exasperated the English both in the East and at home, that a very general desire sprung up to expel the Dutch utterly from India and the great Eastern Archipelago. English privateers attacked and captured rich homeward-bound ships, unless when convoyed by powerful naval squadrons. The Dutch government felt keenly the expense laid upon it by convoy fleets, and the Dutch merchants and East India Company were mortified intensely as well as injured by those captures. The British were, however, to suffer reverses, which followed each other in rapid succession. The revolution of the Portuguese against the throne of Spain so occupied these two powers, that the Dutch were relieved from nearly all armed competition with these nations, and were enabled to concentrate their energies in repressing the commerce and power of England in the Eastern seas.

In order to give explicitness and clearness to the position and conduct of the English in their relations to the traders and government of Holland during succeeding years, it is necessary to devote an entire chapter to the Eastern history of a people who so frequently crossed our path in the competitions of commerce and colonization, and the sanguinary struggles of war.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE DUTCH IN INDIA AND THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE history of no country, in modern times, supplies a more extraordinary instance of the rise of a small and insignificant province to independence and greatness than does that of Holland. The successful war she maintained for the lengthened period of eighty years, against the most powerful empire in the world, and which terminated in the recognition of the republic by the union of Utrecht, in 1581, is an event which, in its incidents and results, has not been equalled. It has been well described "as an organized protest against ecclesiastical tyranny and universal empire."

From causes, to which are generally due

the debilitation of states and their utter prostration, arose the greatness of the Netherlands, and its steady progress, until it became a naval and commercial power; and from its insignificant body extended its far-reaching ambition until it grasped and appropriated innumerable possessions on every side—in Asia, America, Africa, and Australia, subjecting to its rule the Brazils, Guiana, the West Indies, New York, the Cape of Good Hope, a large portion of Hindostan, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and New Holland.

A history of India could not be complete which would pass over the enterprising Dutch. Their impress in that quarter, impassive as is

its social contour, indurated by its Hindoo compression, will survive; and though not a vestige remain of its military and naval prowess, of its administrative institutions, the produce of the vineyard, planted by those zealous and self-sacrificing Dutch missionaries, Schwartz and Ziegenbalg, will live in this world, and in the next.*

* To the credit of the United Provinces, or rather of the Dutch East India Company, with all their selfish criminality, they were earnest propagators of the Gospel; and wherever they established a factory they also reared a temple to the Lord. At page 57, it has been noticed that the first Protestant missionary was sent to India in 1705, under the auspices of the King of Denmark, and established himself at Tranquebar, then a Dutch settlement, where he founded a church and school. The first Protestant mission was founded in India by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated in the university of Halle, in Germany. He was ordained by the learned Burmannus, Bishop of Zealand, in his twenty-third year, and sailed for India in 1705. In the second year of his ministry, he founded a Christian church among the Hindoos, which soon extended its limits. In 1714 he returned to Europe, and to the credit of the first of the Georges, kings of England, he was honoured with an audience by his majesty, who took a great interest in the success of the mission. He was also patronized by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The king and the society encouraged him to persevere in his translation of the holy Scriptures into the Tamul language, which they designated "the grand work." In the year 1719, Ziegenbalg finished the translation, having devoted fourteen years to the work. The king did not lose his interest in this primary effort to evangelize the Hindoo after the departure of the missionary. In 1717 his majesty, by letter, assured him that he appreciated "the work undertaken by him, of converting the heathen to the Christian faith," and prays "that he may be endowed with strength and health of body to continue to fulfil his ministry with good success, of which he shall be rejoiced to hear, and ready to succour him in whatever may tend to promote his work and excite his zeal, with an assurance of his continued zeal." After the death of Ziegenbalg, and ten years from the date of the foregoing letter, a second was addressed to the members of the mission by his majesty, in 1725, in which he assures the missionaries that he received with much pleasure the success of their zealous efforts, and requests them to continue to communicate the particulars of their progress (Niecampius's *History Mist.*). The Hindoo converts at Tanjore are also in possession of letters written by Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the same reign, who is reported as having supported the mission with unexampled liberality, affection, and zeal. These letters, which are many in number, are all written in the Latin language. He was president of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The first is dated, January 7, 1719. After the first missionary, Ziegenbalg, had finished his course, he was followed by other learned and zealous men, upwards of fifty in number, in the period of a hundred years; among whom Schultz, Jaenicke, Gericke, and Schwartz, whose ministry has been continued in succession in different provinces. When Dr. Buchanan arrived in Tranquebar, in 1806, he was told by the missionaries that religion had suffered very much there of late years. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion and hostile to the conversion of the Hindoo, and that European example in the large towns was the bane of Christian instruction.—See Buchanan's *Christian Researches respecting the Hindoos*.

In the *Rise of the Dutch Republic** is given an able summary of the war against Spain, and the circumstances which accompanied it. The part which the English took in it is familiar to every one versed in the history of this country. Here it will be sufficient to say, that when France had rejected the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which the states of Brabant, Flanders, Mechlin, Zealand, Holland, and Friesland, had laid at the feet of Henry III., by a solemn embassy, headed by Peter de Melun, Prince d'Espinoy, 1585,† the Protestant patriots turned in disappointment from the Roman Catholic, who had rejected their proposals of absolute submission, to Elizabeth, the Protestant sovereign of England. To her they also dispatched a solemn embassy, of which John Oldenbarnvelt, or Barneveldt, was a member, for the purpose of soliciting her to become the sovereign of the United Provinces.‡ Though the advantages of the offer were described in language little consistent with the phlegmatic character of the dull burghers, and in colours too vivid for the Dutch, and more in harmony with the Italian school, she apprehended, from becoming a principal in the war against Philip, the invasion by him of her hereditary dominions; and that, by declaring herself the protector of rebels, she would have arrayed against her the avowed or concealed hostility of all the monarchs of Europe. She prudently declined to accept the *absolute allegiance* of "an affectionate and devoted people, whose possession would render England mistress of the seas." To Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, the next *absolute* submission was offered with the crown, but he was haughtily forbidden by his royal mistress to accept the tempting gift. Though excluded from the throne, he had been appointed a governor-general of the United Provinces in Elizabeth's name, and six thousand English troops were placed at his command; and as a security for the repayment of the expenses incurred by England, English garrisons were admitted into Flushing, Rammekens, and Briel, and a place given to the English in the councils of the nation; and henceforth, both by the queen and her deputy, the Netherlands were treated as a dependent province of England.||

In an early stage of his government, Leicester forbade, by public edict, the transport of provisions or ammunition to any enemy's or neutral country, and all mercantile intercourse by bills of exchange or otherwise

* By John Lothrop Motley. London: Chapman, 1855.

† Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 162.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 174. § *Ibid.*, p. 175. || *Ibid.*, p. 180.

between the United Provinces and Spain, France, and the nations of the Baltic.* This impolitic restriction subjected the Spaniards and Portuguese to no inconveniences. They had free access to the ports of England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, and the Hanse Towns. In fact, Holland lost a profitable trade, and threw it into the hands of other nations. It is only justice to the foresight of the Dutch to state, that they strongly protested against this impolitic procedure.

As a measure of reprisal Philip seized on all the Dutch and English ships found in his waters, and several of both countries were in the ports of Spain and Portugal. With the sanction of the queen a number of English privateers were commissioned, and these did not confine their hostilities to the common foe; the Dutch vessels were equally an object of attack, for since the prohibition they were accustomed to trade with Spain and Portugal under Spanish colours; and so severe were their losses, which averaged one million guilders annually, that they sent ambassadors, in 1589, to remonstrate with the queen on the subject. The navigation of the channel was in such peril, that the Dutch vessels trading to the west, were obliged to venture on the dangerous route by the northern shores of Scotland.

Forced by these measures to stretch out into seas with which they were but imperfectly acquainted, they began, amid the experiences of the northern ocean, to despise the terrors of the unknown deep. About this time Italy, for some years, was subjected to a great scarcity, and the Dutch monopolized a large and lucrative trade by transporting thither the produce of the shores of the Baltic. A return of the usually propitious seasons terminated that branch of commerce, and forced the mariners of Holland and Zealand to explore new channels. The extraordinary success of the Portuguese, and of their allies the English, fired their spirit of enterprise, and incited them to seek in distant adventures emulative successes.

The immediate stimulant, however, was a countryman of their own, Cornelius Houtman. This adventurer had resided for some time in Lisbon, and had witnessed the enriching results of the commerce with the East, and held out the hope of very remunerative profits from a trade with the Spice Islands of India. His representations induced nine merchants of Amsterdam to form a company for the prosecution of a trade with the nations of the East.† Four vessels were constructed

and equipped for the voyage, and, as the exigencies of the occasion required, the vessels were equally fitted for attack and for commerce. The largest of them was about five hundred and sixty tons.

On the 2nd of April, 1595, they departed from the Texel; on the 2nd of August reached the Cape of Good Hope; and after some delays, in June of the next year they arrived at the Island of Java. The reception which they met with here was not calculated to cheer and compensate for the toil and privations of their protracted voyage. The Portuguese, who had settled in the capital of Java, influenced the native chief to reject their intercourse, and to forbid their trading in his territories. Before they relinquished their designs, they were unfortunately involved in an affray with the natives, and lost several of their crews. In consequence of this loss, aggravated by subsequent illness and hardship, the *Amsterdam* was necessarily abandoned at Bali; to which, on their ejection from Java, the Dutch adventurers had directed their course, and where they were more successful. After an absence of nearly three years, the surviving vessels reached home, laden with pepper, nutmegs, and mace. Their success was celebrated by a general jubilee, though but ninety, out of two hundred and fifty, of their crews were alive.

The beneficial effects of this expedition was felt throughout the provinces. A bold attempt was made to reach China and Japan by a north-east passage, which, though it proved a failure, so far as the original design, resulted in the discovery of Staten Island, and in reaching as far as the Sea of Tartary, the mouth of the river Oby, and some small islands. Through the influence of the court of France at the Grand Porte, they were enabled to form a treaty with the sultan, by which they obtained full liberty to trade with Syria, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, for all their vessels sailing under the French flag—a liberty which they did not neglect to turn to the best account. Eighty ships of considerable size were dispatched, in 1598,* to

terprises of so much importance in other quarters of the globe, and so much engaged in the contemplation of its splendid empire in the New World, that the acquisitions of the Portuguese, now its subjects, in the East Indies were treated with comparative neglect. The Dutch, accordingly, who entered upon the trade to India with considerable resources and the utmost ardour, were enabled to supplant the Portuguese.—MILL'S *History of India*, vol. i. p. 24.

* Boek, b. xxxii. bl. 21—23.

Faria thus describes the equipment and progress of this squadron:—"It consisted of eight ships, in which were eight hundred men and provisions for three years. Their admiral was Jacob Cornelius Neque, of Amsterdam. They set sail from that port on the 13th of May, 1598;

* Boek, b. xxi. bl. 703.

† At the time that the Dutch commenced their voyages to the East, the crown of Spain was engaged in en-

the East and West Indies, to Brazil, and to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought back large quantities of ivory and gold-dust. The trade with the north of Europe was not, during these enterprises, neglected. Six hundred and forty vessels arrived from the Baltic, early in the following year, in the port of Amsterdam, freighted with one hundred thousand tons of merchandize, consisting of timber, corn, hemp, tar. In 1599 a blow, which threatened the annihilation of their maritime prosperity, was struck by the youthful successor of Philip of Spain—a blow more severe than was ever inflicted by his father. He arrested all the Dutch ships in his ports, and imprisoned the crews. Such of them as he suspected of having been engaged in the destruction of the Armada, he vindictively and unjustifiably put to the torture, and forced the remainder to work as galley slaves. He punished them as traitors, who had assisted the enemy in fighting against their lawful sovereign. The inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands were forbidden to trade with Holland and Zealand. These, like most measures suggested by overwrought passion, recoiled on the author; and, as in the former destruction of the fleet, ultimately contributed to the aggrandizement of the Dutch. They, in a very short space of time, fitted out seventy-three vessels of war, manned them with an effective force of eight thousand men, under the command of Van der Duys, and an edict was promulgated, prohibiting the ships, not only of the Dutch but those of foreign powers, from conveying provisions or any other commodity to Spain; and all goods belonging to that realm, wherever found, were declared lawful prizes.

Van der Duys having unsuccessfully attempted to draw from the harbour of Corunna the Spanish fleet, which was there safely moored and protected by artillery, directed his course towards the Canary Islands, and plundered and occupied the largest of them. Gomara shared the same fate. With thirty-six of the fleet he sailed along the coast of Africa, until he arrived at the Island of St. Thomas, which he found occupied by a large body of Portuguese. Pavaosa, the capital, made no resistance. The inhabitants sought refuge in the mountains, and left a rich booty to the victors. Large stores of sugar, ivory, and other wares, fell into their hands. These they conveyed

to their ships, and while so occupied they spent the time till they were overtaken by the summer heats. The deadly pressure of the atmosphere, impregnated with pestilence, avenged the conquered. The Dutch in numbers fell victims to their cupidity and improvidence, and amongst the fallen were the gallant admiral and his brave nephew. Although the fleet hastened its departure, it did not escape the danger. Above one thousand perished on the homeward voyage, and in the space of fifteen days not more than six or seven survived, in some of the crews, able to work the ships. One was entirely deserted; one, unable to defend itself, was captured by the enemy; a few were cast upon the English coast; and when they arrived, at the end of the winter, in their native ports, two captains alone survived of the officers of that rank. However, the fear which it inspired imposed on the Spanish monarch the precaution of providing convoys in future for his fleets from the Indus.

The success of the adventure of the few merchants of Amsterdam, in 1595, had raised the hopes of the nation; and the voyage of Van der Duys, disastrous as it was to himself and the crews, in a commercial point was eminently fortunate, and the atmospheric influences, to which all their misfortunes were traceable, could be avoided. Indeed each year added to the importance of the oriental trade, and the public appetite was proportionally increased. By the cautious proceedings of the captains of the Dutch vessels the jealousies which had been created against them by their European predecessors were in a great degree obviated, and alliances had been actually formed with the natives of Banda, and the King of Ternate, and of Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon. The sovereign of Acheen, who had exhibited the bitterest animosity, was induced to send ambassadors to the United Provinces, to convince himself that the merchants from that country trading to the Indian coast and islands were not pirates, as the Portuguese and Spaniards had represented them. The consequence was that a league of amity and commerce was formed, and the Indian prince convinced that his new ally was a nation renowned for its wealth, and desirous of the blessings of legitimate commerce. On the return of this embassy the most favourable reports of the Dutch were circulated, and their future intercourse greatly facilitated.

In the various towns of the United Provinces associations of merchants were formed, and several ships dispatched to the East. These desultory efforts, directed by no common object, and seeking private advantage solely, as might be expected, often ended in loss and

arrived at Madeira on the 15th; on the 17th at the Canaries, where they took in wine; on the 23rd at the islands of Cabo Verde; on the 29th they were in the latitude of six degrees, and passed the line on the 8th of June—a wonderful swiftness, and to me incredible.”—Vol. iii. part ii. chap. iii. sect. i.

disappointment. When one vessel arrived, it too frequently found that it had been anticipated, and that all the disposable commodities had been already secured. The competition had also the effect of raising prices to an exorbitant height, and on the other hand the quantity of wares which were brought back at one time had often the effect of glutting the market. On a large scale were produced such ruinous fluctuations as were so recently witnessed, to the ruin of many English speculators, in our colonial markets, where the scarcity and high prices of to-day were succeeded by the over-abundance and nominal prices of the morrow.

This unsatisfactory state of things, which, if left to itself, would have of necessity superinduced its own remedies, determined the provinces to take the oriental trade under their supervision, and they accordingly resolved all the independent companies into one General East India Company, which for a period of twenty-one years should have the exclusive privilege of navigating east of the Cape of Good Hope, and west of the Straits of Magellan. The company was empowered to make alliances with the sovereigns of India in the name of the provinces, to build forts, and appoint governors, taking the oath to the states.*

This arrangement was hailed with general confidence. The large sum of six million six hundred guilders was raised, and a fleet of fourteen armed vessels equipped, and Wybrand Van Warwyk appointed admiral in command. The prosecution of commerce was not the sole advantage anticipated from this armament; it was calculated, and correctly, as the issue proved, that the concentrated force of the company would be sufficiently powerful to oppose the attacks of the Spaniards, who had from the commencement vigorously endeavoured to put a stop to their traffic. Several encounters took place between the merchants of the rival powers, which usually ended in favour of the Dutch. Wybrand remained five years on this service, and in the year 1606 discovered the island on which he bestowed the name of Mauritius.

Wybrand had scarcely ventured on the deep, when another fleet of thirteen ships was placed in commission, and sailed in 1603, under the command of Stephen Van der Hagen, for the coast of Malabar, the principal seat of the Portuguese in India. Their arrival was hailed by the inveterate opponent of the Portuguese, the Zamorin of Calicut, who readily entered into a treaty of commerce and alliance with them against their old enemies. The terms were exceedingly

* *Groot Plakaatb*, deel. i. bl. 529.

favourable to the Dutch. In a very short space of time they became powerful, and the Portuguese historian thus accounts for their success:—"They were well backed by the natives, who, tired out with our insatiable avarice, joined with those rebels to expel us."* Early in the year of his arrival Van der Hagen sailed to the attack of Amboyna. The governor, Gaspar de Melo, commanded there. He was compelled to surrender; and to save his honour, as she rashly thought, which was impeached, his wife poisoned him—"a strange government," remarks the author last quoted, "where notorious malefactors were not punished, and an innocent person was so persecuted, that she who loved him took away his life, lest they should take away his honour, who had none of their own." After the capture of the citadel of Amboyna, the Dutch fleet, having divided, a part of it sailed to Banda, and the remainder, nine in number, proceeded towards Tidore. The Portuguese residing there were greatly alarmed at their approach. They were apprehensive of the fidelity of the king, but finding that he was prepared to assist them, they prepared for their defence.

The rivalry of these peoples was influenced by the most virulent hatred. They looked upon each other as tyrants and rebels; and in their mutual eagerness to come to blows they very often overlooked the difficulties they had to encounter. The two first vessels which reached the coast of Malabar met six Portuguese vessels coming out of the port of Malacca, and bound for India. Indifferent to the inequality of forces, they did not hesitate to engage, and maintained the fight all the afternoon, and part of the night. In the morning they renewed it, and thus held it on for eight days continually. The Hollanders were at length forced to seek refuge in the port of Queda, and were, eventually, cast away on the coast of Pegu. Shortly after this encounter three Dutch vessels, on their way from Europe, captured a richly-laden Portuguese galleon at the Island of St. Helena. The captain and most of the men were taken, and treated, the Spaniards allege, with great cruelty, and abandoned on the island of Ferdinand de Noronna. On his way to Tidore, Van der Hagen fell in with two richly-laden carracs: these he boarded, and mastered with very little loss; and having cleared away the artillery and valuables, he burned them to the water's edge. The Portuguese were safely landed, but all the Spaniards found on board were put to death, which was the general practice.

Although the Kings of Tidore and Ternate

* *Faria*.

were at variance, both so detested the Portuguese, that they entered into an alliance with the Dutch to expel them as a common enemy. Siege was then laid to the citadel of Tidore, in their possession. It was carried by storm, and the Portuguese driven from the island. They were forced to quit the Moluccas, with the exception of one small fort, which they retained. Through the interference of the Dutch, all differences were settled between their allies, and resident factors settled at Tidore, under the protection of the native sovereign. Andrew Furtado was sent to recover these islands, and consumed five years to no purpose in the attempt.

In 1605 a fleet of thirteen ships sailed for India, under the command of Admiral Maatelif, and having arrived at Malay, entered into an alliance with four kings then reigning in Johor, the descendants of princes who had been driven from their territories by the Portuguese; with their aid he undertook the siege of that city. His native allies rendered him little or no assistance. The insufficiency of his troops induced the Dutch admiral to turn the siege into a blockade. In the fourth month the viceroy of India, Don Alphonso de Castro, came to its aid. His fleet consisted of fourteen galleons and twenty smaller vessels, carrying three thousand seven hundred men. At his approach the Dutch retired on board their vessels, and prepared to give the enemy battle. Their fleet consisted of eleven, which, Faria states, exceeded the Portuguese ships in strength, swiftness, number, weight of metal, and skilfulness of gunners.* Three ships perished on each side, with a loss, says the Dutch historian Grotius,† of eight men killed, while a considerable number suffered on the other side. Faria says the loss was nearly equal, but admits the damage was greater on his side.‡ He mentions several deeds of daring; the principal one of which is that of De Noronna, who boarded the Dutch admiral's flag ship, and both vessels being in danger of being burnt, they parted with the mutual understanding never again to encounter. In August a second naval engagement took place, in which the Portuguese had the advantage. After eight days' fighting, the Dutch at length fled, and the Portuguese entered Malacca, which had been destroyed during the siege. Contrary to the advice of several, the viceroy here divided his fleet; seven galleons were sent to meet the outward bound fleet, which was expected at the Island of Nicobar; five more were sent to protect

the ships of Java, which had brought provisions to Malacca, through the Strait of Singapore. These having met the Dutch fleet, retired before them into the port. They were attacked by a superior force of the enemy, and the whole squadron was destroyed. The Dutch lost five hundred men killed.* De Castro soon after died, it was reported through grief for this defeat.

The advantage thus gained was overbalanced by the loss of Tidore, from which the Dutch were expelled, and all hopes of ever making a settlement in these islands destroyed. Victorious in this quarter, they hastened to the invasion of Ternate, and drove from his capital the sovereign of that kingdom, who had faithfully adhered to the Dutch. Maatelif lost no time in succouring his ally; he sailed to the Island of Malacca, fortified that town as a stronghold, and having secured the king assured him of his protection. Thence the Dutch admiral sailed to Bantam, whence, having refitted his fleet, he returned to Europe, bringing with him ambassadors and presents from the King of Siam to Prince Maurice, and three vessels richly laden with eastern spices.

The encouraging reports of these successes in the East brought by each arrival, effected a complete revolution in the feelings and hopes of the Dutch. They were no longer content with the cultivation of their commerce and the preservation of their rights; nor with the limited territories which, with laborious and persevering toil, they had rescued from the ocean. In the struggle which they had so nobly sustained against the colossal power of Philip II., they became cognizant of their strength, and in the continued conflict they acquired a greater development and greater confidence, and their schemes of aggrandizement became the practical questions of the day. Nothing less than an extensive and predominant empire by land as well as by sea, could now satisfy their newly-awakened ambition. Wealth, glory, and conquest, lately so irreconcilable to their sober calculations, were now thought of as the only pursuits worthy of their exertions.

The conduct of the King of Spain contributed still further to stimulate these dangerous elements. He promulgated an edict, "forbidding any foreigner to engage in the trade to the East and West Indies, on pain of death." The effect produced by this would-be prohibition was quite the reverse of that intended. A West India Company was projected—England having, shortly before this, furnished a precedent. The objects it proposed to itself were far more extravagant

* *The Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 16.

† *Lib. xvii. p. 792.*

‡ Faria, vol. iii. pt. ii. c. vi. sec. 15.

* Faria, *ibid.*

than those embraced by its predecessor, the Dutch East India Company. In addition to the cultivation of a profitable trade, it was seriously proposed to realize a civil and military organization of the natives of the West Indies and America, which, supported by the fleet, would be able to overcome and expel the Spaniards from their acquisitions in the New World; and if this could not be accomplished, to wage war on the detested power in those distant regions, the most vulnerable part of its extensive dominions. The warlike and enterprising spirit of the phlegmatic boor was now far in advance of that of the leaders; and Barneveldt, foreseeing the consequences to a province deeply indebted,—with the ordinary resources exhausted, with a new generation, the inheritors of a war which owed its origin to an age now terminated,—sought earnestly and eagerly for peace. To his proposals were opposed the merchants, East India adventurers, the new projectors, and a party of equal influence with any of them—the reformed clergy, whose worldly interests and convictions were equally involved in the settlement. These had enforced as an axiom, “that a just and equitable peace with Spain was wholly impossible, and that the sole object of all her negotiations was merely to reduce the provinces again under her yoke, and to extirpate the true religion.”* The fact is now transparent, that the best interests of the United Provinces demanded a cessation of this bequeathed war; and that the parties opposed to Barneveldt forgot the country in the consideration of their selfish ends. The Spaniards, wearied by a forty years’ prosecution of the war, were equally sincere in their desire for peace. The archduke, a churchman advanced in years, was entirely opposed to a war which inflicted so much misery on his subjects; and Spain herself was financially reduced to the lowest ebb. Her exhaustion is thus graphically described in a letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador in Spain:—“The public treasury was drained; the revenues and customs mortgaged for former loans; credit annihilated; every device for raising funds, by debasing the coin or other means, come to an end; the nobility poor and overwhelmed with debts; the merchants plundered, impoverished, and discontented; and the people, reduced to the extremity of necessity, and even of starvation, were ready at any moment to break out in revolt.”† It was from the archduke, indeed, the first proposal for an accommodation came, and John Neyen, a Franciscan monk—who, even from the Dutch,

acquired the character of uniting to courteous manners and insinuating address a considerable portion of straightforward simplicity, boldness of speech, eloquence, skill, and long experience in affairs*—was sent as his representative. They were treated in the quality of free provinces and states, over which the archduke had no pretensions. Although this point was graciously conceded, no such facility was exhibited when the right of continuing their commerce with the East came to be considered. The Dutch insisted on its continuance, on the grounds that a thing lawful in its nature, and not declared unlawful by any express act, was of itself free to every one, without permission asked or granted; and they said that the King of Spain could not, even before the war and while they were his subjects, have sought to restrict, with any colour of justice, the exercise of that right. Richardot, on the part of Spain, retorted that the king would neither surrender his sovereignty over the provinces, nor permit any traffic with Spain, if this point were insisted upon. Some of the deputies inclined to the Spanish view of the matter, and thought the Indian trade would be beneficially exchanged for the more accessible trade of Spain; by the great majority it was looked upon as indispensable to the prosperity of the provinces. They pointed, and with considerable effect, to the hundred and ninety ships and above eight thousand men, and the annual return of forty-three millions guilders. Prince Maurice and Barneveldt were equally energetic in the preservation of the Indian commerce. The former, because he calculated that on this point there would be no agreement, and that the rupture of negotiations would promote his private and selfish ends. It was while these discussions were pending that Maatelif returned, as has been related, with shipments of spices; and the reports which circulated of his success rendered the Dutch less disposed to listen to any proposals, having for their aim the loss of such anticipated treasures as were reckoned on from the East. The next stipulation, the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, was as obnoxious to a large body as the surrender of the right of navigation to the Indies. The English were not indifferent actors in these proceedings; and to their intrigues was in no small degree due the fact that these negotiations were broken off in high displeasure, and the Spanish ambassadors took their leave of the states with expressions of mingled regret and reproach. Shortly after, through the mediation of France, a truce for twelve years was concluded under

* Davies’ *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 407.

† Wenwood’s *Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 65.

* Davies’ *History of Holland*, vol. iii. p. 411.

the guarantee of that power and England,* by which the United Provinces were treated as independent and sovereign states, and mutual free trade established between the parties on very liberal terms, so far as the European dominions of Spain were concerned: the provinces were rigidly excluded from trading to any port belonging to that power in any other quarter of the globe without special licence; but by a secret article the King of Spain was bound not to offer any obstruction to the freedom of trade to India; and the guarantees† declared that they should consider any such obstruction an infraction of the treaty. These and the other very favourable terms conceded by their former imperious rulers raised the Dutch to such a status amongst nations that henceforth we shall find their friendship and alliance emulously sought by the greatest powers in Europe. This truce, which extended to Asia, Africa, and America, was settled in 1609. For some years subsequent to this treaty the Dutch and Portuguese seldom came into collision. Faria incidentally mentions that, in 1613, Michael de Sousa Pinintel was in the Chinese waters, having four galleons under his command, and that John Cayado de Gamba, with three others, was sent to join him, to protect the Portuguese trade against the Hollanders, who were very strong in those seas;‡ that Francis Lopez Calleyros brought into Malacca a Dutch pink that had captured a rich Portuguese ship; that great dissatisfaction prevailed in India towards the close of the year, in consequence of the non-arrival of the ships from Portugal which were expected, in order to oppose the English and Hollanders; and that Hierome d'Almeida, on his return homewards, "encountered four *mighty* Holland ships, with which he ventured a conflict with much equal courage and loss. The Dutch admiral was sunk, and the Portuguese were set on fire." In the following year, through the intrigues of their rivals, the Dutch were expelled from their factory at Vizapore. At this time the fleet, the arrival of which had been delayed, reached Goa. One out of the five ships was lost, and of the three thousand soldiers, who were shipped aboard these vessels, not half the number survived the voyage. This was a great disappointment to the Por-

tuguese, whose increasing difficulties demanded all the aid that could be sent from home. Their homeward-bound vessels were equally unfortunate: one was cast away at the Maldivc Islands; another at the Island of Fayal, with the loss of two hundred men; and the third alone arrived at Lisbon.

These disasters did not dispirit the Portuguese viceroy, Sidrome de Azcvedo. With the small unaided force at his command, he sailed to the north to oppose both the Dutch and the English, who were strong in these seas. He landed, and laid waste the lands of Cifundam and Diva. The towns of Baroch and Gogo were plundered and burnt, and six ships which were found in that bay. Patane shortly after consigned them to the flames. This squadron, which carried fourteen hundred Portuguese, and a large artillery force, made an attempt to capture four English vessels in the harbour of Surat. The attempt terminated in their own discomfiture. Three of their vessels were set on fire, and the English escaped with impunity.

In the year 1617 an English fleet, cruising near the Cape of Good Hope, intercepted the Lisbon fleet, and exacted seventy thousand crowns for this attempt, and alleged injuries done to the vessels, and in addition twenty thousand ducats, which were divided by the English admiral among his men. The Portuguese admiral, on his reaching Goa, was secured by the viceroy, and sent home a prisoner.

In consequence of some serious differences which arose about this time between the Dutch and English, which will be treated with due consideration in a future chapter, mutual distrusts were created, which gave occasion to the foundation of Batavia. This town was erected by the Dutch general, John Pieterse Coen, in 1619. It is a large and strongly fortified seaport on the north coast of the Island of Java, and the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East. It is situated on the banks of the Jacatra, in a swampy plain, at the bottom of a very spacious and convenient bay, and as a place of commerce enjoyed superior facilities. It laboured under one great disadvantage—its insalubrious situation.* The harbour is rendered perfectly secure at all seasons by fifteen or six-

* In giving this guarantee the English ministers went beyond their instructions; and it was only the wish not to disavow their proceedings, and not to prevent the negotiation being concluded, that prevailed on James to confirm their act.

† *Neg. de Jeannin*, tom. iii. pp. 380, 475, 477; tom. iv. p. 8.

‡ Faria, *Portuguese in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 11. chap. xi. sect. x.

§ *Ibid*, sect. xv

* This evil has been remedied. The late Baron Capellau, one of the most enlightened governors ever sent out by the Dutch, sensible of the superior advantages which Batavia possessed as a place of trade, adopted effective measures for its improvement. He widened several of the streets, filled up several of the canals, cleansed others, demolished useless fortifications, cut down trees, and adopted other sanitary reforms, and, by the introduction of several judicious regulations, has rendered it as healthy as any town in the island.

teen islands, interspersed in every direction at its mouth, which preserve it, undisturbed by winds or waves. It is resorted to by the various nations of the East, and consists of a very mixed population, of which the Chinese form the most numerous, enterprising, and successful section, amounting to about sixty thousand.

The Javanese, as well as the English, received with jealousy the creation of this stronghold, and both united, and laid siege to the new fort. A treaty was agreed to, by which the Dutch engaged to pay six thousand rix dollars to the King of Jacatra, and abstain from further fortification. This arrangement did effectively terminate the apprehensions entertained in the temporary absence of Coen. Van der Broek, who was left in command of the garrison, was invited by the king to a feast, and was treacherously seized, along with his attendants, and placed in irons. Of this proceeding the English have the credit, and with every appearance of being entitled to it, for they availed themselves of the occasion to coerce the Dutch into a treaty, and to surrender their fortress to the King of Jacatra. The success of the king was but short-lived. The day immediately following the ratification of the treaty the king of the adjoining state, Bantam, either at the instigation of the Dutch, or tempted by the hope of possessing the fortress and wealth of Batavia, invaded Jacatra, and defeated and forced to fly its sovereign. The Dutch captives were treated with as much harshness by their new master as by the former. But the hour of their liberation was at hand. Coen returned at the head of eighteen ships; he swept the English, by his superior numbers, from the Straits of Sunda, attacked the town, and carried it by assault in a few hours. His countrymen were restored, and the town evacuated by the enemy. The fortress now for the first time was called Batavia, the classic name of the mother country, and soon became one of the richest and most magnificent commercial cities in the world. Those who had the direction of the Indian commerce in Holland were greatly pleased when informed of this establishment, as their policy now was to build forts, create magazines, organize a military force, and constitute a regular civil government. Without such arrangements, they knew it would be impossible to enter into successful competition with their European rivals.

To strengthen more firmly the ties between them and the orientals, the Dutch induced the King of Siam to send an ambassador to the Prince of Orange, who received him with great pomp and ceremony. He brought

over five Indian princes to be educated in Europe.

In 1622 the East India Company sought a renewal of their charter, which they with very great difficulty obtained. They were opposed by the public, on the substantial grounds that the monopoly which they enjoyed was detrimental to the subjects of the republic generally; and the proprietors complained that the profits were not justly appropriated; several alleged that by throwing open the trade, far more money would find its way to the exchequer. Very opportunely for the claimants of the charter, in the spring of this year, there returned home two ships richly laden, which conveyed the news that the war was still raging in Java, and also against the Spaniards in the Moluccas, and in the Manillas; that Banda was again recovered, and that the last outward-bound Dutch fleet had arrived at its Indian destination in four months and three days.* A new charter, dated December 22, 1622, was conceded to them for the further term of twenty-one years.

In the year previously, the twelve years' truce with Spain had come to a close, and the archduke thought that the civil dissensions which distracted and weakened the states, had reduced them to such a condition that they would gladly compromise their difference with Austria and Spain; he consequently suggested to the Dutch the advantages likely to result to them from a reconciliation with their natural sovereign, and a pacification which would include the King of Spain as well as themselves. This proposal was indignantly rejected, and vigorous preparations made for the prosecution of the war. A great change had been effected in the political relations of the powers who had taken an active part in the former war. The haughty and cruel conduct of the states, in rejecting the humane remonstrances of the King of France, who had unavailingly interceded to save from an unmerited and ignominious death that able statesman Barneveldt, and his illustrious compatriot Grotius, who would have shared his fate, had he not been rescued by his dauntless and virtuous wife, who was completely devoted to him. The Lutherans of Germany were averse to make any sacrifices in behalf of the Calvinistic provinces. In addition to these grounds of alienation, the reformed princes were terrified by the humiliation of the Count Palatine, and the absorption of his territories in the empire. England, which had hitherto aided the Protestant revolvers, from religious as well as political sympathies and a desire to humble the Catholic powers, was now in close alliance

* Meteren, *Histoire de Pays Bas*, lib. xxxiii.

with Spain. The disputes between the Dutch and English East India Companies* irritated the public mind; and James complained that the Dutch had represented him to the Indian princes as the chief of a petty state, and as the plunderer, butcher, and tyrant of his subjects. The rejection, by the court of Madrid, of the suit of Prince Charles for the hand of the Infanta put an end to these influences, and drove the English king into a defensive treaty with the Dutch for two years, by which the latter were permitted to raise six thousand men in the British Isles at the king's cost, the expenses to be paid at the conclusion of the war.

This treaty had been scarcely concluded, when intelligence was conveyed from the Indies, the earlier communication of which was calculated to interrupt friendly negotiations, and which exasperated the English against their allies. This was the celebrated affair at Amboyna; where, on the pretence of a conspiracy, Gabriel Towerson and other Englishmen were seized, tortured, and put to death.

This act created a great sensation at the time, and destroyed those strong feelings of attachment which bound together the two great Protestant maritime powers—a union which was not severed by the vacillating policy of the wavering Stuart.

Amboyna is the chief of the Molucca Islands. It is between fifty and sixty miles in length, and favoured with two splendid bays, and celebrated for its production of cloves. It was first discovered by the Portuguese, who took possession of it in 1564. They were expelled by the Dutch in 1605; and in 1615 the English made an ineffectual attempt to share the possession of it.† They, however, contrived to preserve a factory there till 1622, when the occurrence just mentioned happened.

The facts of the case, stripped of the inferences which give it a forensic complexion, are simply these. The Dutch authorities had their attention called to one of the Javanese soldiers—a body of whom were in their service—who had been observed making some minute inquiries respecting the citadel. He was arrested, and, on being subjected to an examination, revealed that his countrymen had held a correspondence with Towerson, the chief of the English factory, and some of his countrymen,

* The differences between the Dutch and English were settled by the payment of eight hundred thousand livres by the former.—HARRIS'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 930.

† The Dutch, having thus acquired exclusive possession, retained it till the year 1796, when it was wrested from them by the British, under Admiral Ranier, and restored at the peace of Amiens. It was re-occupied by them in 1810, and restored by the peace of Paris, in 1814.

to gain possession of the citadel, and to put to death the governor. The Javanese were disarmed, and they fully confirmed the statement of the prisoner, as also did a surgeon, Price, who had been arrested for arson. Towerson and twelve other Englishmen were then arrested and put to the torture, and in their anguish admitted their guilt. They were after this put to death. The Dutch, apprehensive of the consequences, endeavoured to conceal the particulars, and merely announced, when the intelligence reached Europe, that there had been some commotions in Amboyna, which, by the vigilance and prudence of the governor, had been totally extinguished.* When the full particulars reached England, the proceedings were stigmatized in the severest terms, and the exercise of any jurisdiction over the subjects of Great Britain was strenuously condemned, and this summary punishment was pronounced violation of the rules of equity and of the law of nations. The charge of conspiracy was denied, and asserted to be a pure invention of the Dutch, framed with the object of depriving the English of the share of the trade which they possessed. The admissions of guilt were treated as declarations wrung from the victims' agonies to procure a cessation of their intolerable punishment; and this view of the case was corroborated by the testimony of Towerson, who, in an acknowledgment which he gave privately, through his keeper, to a creditor of the company, added:—"Firmed by the form of Gabriel Towerson, now appointed to die, guiltless of anything that can be laid to my charge; God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy."† And also by others of his fellow sufferers, who in their last moments protested their innocence. Three of the prisoners received pardon, and all the details which were published depend on their questionable testimony. A late historian‡ records as his conviction, "that the whole story of the plot was a fabrication, is highly improbable; and there seems no doubt that the Javanese soldiers did, in fact, entertain a design of the nature imputed to them, either in concurrence with, or relying on, the co-operation of the English; but if the latter cannot be exonerated from the accusation of treachery, the conduct of the Dutch was no less disgraced by an excess of vindictiveness and cruelty." However justly indignant the English public felt at the fate of their unfortunate countrymen, the Prince of Orange, the Dutch East India Company, and the states-general, were enabled to

* *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 309.

† Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 880.

‡ Davies' *History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 554.

silence the patriots, and to have this outrage condoned.

A well-equipped fleet was fitted out by the joint naval authorities of Amsterdam, Friesland, Zealand, and Holland, consisting of eleven large vessels, having on board upwards of one thousand mariners and six hundred regular troops, and three hundred pieces of cannon. In honour of Prince Maurice it was called the *Nassau fleet*. It was proposed that it should touch on Chili or Peru, for the purpose of making a settlement there, or to strike such a blow as would materially affect the Spanish interests in that quarter; it was then to prosecute its voyage to the East Indies. On the 10th of May it made the port of Lima; the Dutch attacked the town, did it much damage, and took several prisoners; they inflicted similar mischief in other places, and to climax their vengeance they hung up their guiltless captives at the yardarm. At the close of this year the fleet reached its destination, and though the great and splendid results augured for it were not realized, the aid which it brought enabled the Dutch company to overpower the Portuguese, to intercept the communication between their various settlements, and to detach from them several of the native princes.*

A powerful stimulus was given to their Indian commerce, and the directors of the company, aware that the prosperous condition of their affairs in the East was mainly attributable to the abilities and discretion of their admirals and commanders-in-chief, sent out in rapid succession three squadrons, respectively commanded by John Peterson Coen, who sailed in April, 1627; John William Verschoer, and Andrew Block Martsen, who sailed in October of that year.

The attacks frequently made on their homeward-bound vessels, by the privateers of Dunkirk and the English, compelled the Dutch to fit out a strong squadron annually to convoy their merchantmen. The first equipped was commanded by John Dierskisz Lam, and as soon as his flag was seen on the seas, the privateers retired. In October a squadron of eleven ships sailed for India, under the command of James Specks, and with it went Valbeck, an accomplished mathematician. About this time some Dutch adventurers sailed from Batavia, with the intention of passing through the Straits of Baly, but, by encountering some adverse winds, they were driven out of their course, and ran ashore

* It is worthy of remark that at this early period all accidents regarding discoveries were carefully recorded. In after times such was not the case. Probably the number of European peoples who were contending for the trade with Asia deterred the discoverers from communicating the results of their experiences to their rivals.

upon the south side of Australia, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees. In order to get afloat, they were obliged to throw a great portion of their valuable cargo overboard. In their passage they fell in with Block's fleet, which, like themselves, had encountered very boisterous weather. It was at this period that the Dutch so enriched, by their discoveries, the geography of the Pacific islands. Carpentaria—called after General Carpenter—was discovered in 1628; it was subsequently called New Holland, and since it became a possession of the British crown, it is universally known as Australia. The western parts of that island were discovered in the following year, and after its discoverer, named De Witt's Land.

The stability of the Dutch empire was subjected now to a very rude shock, and had it not been for the great exertions made by the company, and the succession of squadrons which with such rapidity followed each other, she would have been compelled to evacuate the seat of power. The rise of Batavia, and the imperious dictation of the Dutch, as soon as they found themselves sufficiently strong to throw off the mask of suppliants, and exercise the authority of masters, had first excited the suspicions and jealousy of the Javanese, and at length induced them to take measures for the destruction or ejection of the strangers. In 1629 the King of Java raised an army of two hundred thousand men, with which he invested Batavia. The siege, or rather blockade, was vigorously maintained for some months, but the town had been so strongly fortified and spiritedly defended, that the enemy, having lost sixteen thousand men, were obliged to desist. The Prince of Madura, a small island adjacent to Java, represented to the King of Java that the failure was attributable to the incapacity of the commander, and that a skilful officer with one-third the force, would be able to capture the town. Influenced by these representations, an army of one hundred and fifty thousand was placed under the command of this prince, and the king in person accompanied him to the siege. From the 22nd of August to the 2nd of October repeated assaults were made to no purpose. Every effort ended in the severe loss of the besiegers, and the army was reduced to almost the skeleton of what it had been. In a fit of fury, excited by disappointments and severe losses, an attack was made by the Javanese on the unsuccessful prince and his contingent, in which both he and eight hundred of his men were slain. The success of the glorious defence was due to John Peterson Coen, the governor-general, who ended his life towards the close of the siege.

With this drawback, nevertheless, the year was a propitious one to the company. Six vessels reached home, under the command of three several commodores, richly laden; and Peter van der Broek, the first introducer of trade upon the Red Sea and the adjacent countries, returned home the next year from the East Indies, where he had been for several years, with seven vessels, the cargoes of which were valued at eight millions; and in 1631, Antony Van Dieman returned with seven others, which brought the company an incredible amount of treasure.*

On the death of Coen, James Specks was appointed provisional governor—a good selection. He caused the canals to be cleansed, and expeditiously restored every thing to its proper condition, essentially promoted the interests of the company, and added considerably to his reputation.

The enormous wealth which thus flowed in upon them served but to incite the ambition and cupidity of the Dutch shareholders. They resolved to enlarge their means of aggression, and to aim at the expulsion of their European rivals and a monopoly of the Indian trade. It was with these objects that, in 1641, they resolved to seize on Malacca, the strongest hold which the Portuguese held at that time in India, and which was so advantageously situated as to secure to an energetic people, in possession, the commerce of the kingdoms of Johor, Siam, and Pegu, and the control of their trade with China and Japan. By the mastery of the Straits of Malacca, they calculated that they would be in a position to dictate the law to all the nations that traffic in that part of the world.

It was in this year the Dutch also succeeded in excluding the Portuguese from the entire possession of the commerce of Japan. This they effected by sedulously ingratiating themselves into the favour of the sovereign of that country. They persuaded his ministers that they were a humble, peaceable, and well-disposed people, whose only objects were to open a market for their commodities, and who felt it to be their interest as well as duty to promote the prosperity of any country where they were kindly received. By these amiable pretensions they succeeded in imposing on the Japanese authorities, and were placed in possession of the fort of Firando, and treated with every mark of confidence. By the adoption of similar means, they insinuated themselves into the favour of other Indian princes, and thus obtained permission to establish factories, and to build forts for their protection. Having so far succeeded, they no

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 933; *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 317.

longer supplicated; they dictated laws, and those kings whom they had approached with such apparent humility, and sycophantly courted, found to their cost that their old friends were become their new masters.*

The successes which had recently attended them, the great wealth they had acquired, the revenues which their trade yielded, and the terror which their many and well-appointed armaments inspired, removed the difficulties which otherwise would have stood in the way of the renewal of the charter which now, for the third time, they obtained for the period of twenty-one years, commencing from the 1st of January, 1644. Such, indeed, was the importance acquired by the company that, on the conclusion of the general peace, their interests were as much consulted as those of the government, and the court of Spain was compelled to relinquish any right previously claimed of questioning their conquests in India. As a mark of their gratitude the company entered into a project of erecting, at their own expense, a monument to the commercial fame of the city of Amsterdam. This was the Stadthouse, a structure commenced in 1648 and finished in 1655, and for a long time after considered the finest in the world. There was no period at which they were better able to undertake such a work; their commerce was at its height, there was not a potentate from the Cape of Good Hope to the most distant part of the empire of China which had not learnt to respect their power, and which had not experienced the effects of their good will or their enmity.

At first view it appears singular that in this unexampled prosperity, with a trade enlarged by each successive year, the dividends per cent. to the shareholders under the second charter fell considerably short of those derived under the first. The solution of this anomaly is probably to be found in the vast augmentation of their expenditure occasioned by the necessity of building fortresses, raising forces, and the splendour of their establishments in Batavia and elsewhere.

Shortly previous to this period two contemporaneous revolutions had been successfully attempted in Europe, and the contest in each was being vigorously maintained. The discontented Portuguese, spurning the foreign rule of Spain, had bestowed their allegiance on the Duke of Braganza, whom they had placed on the throne with the title of Joam IV., and in several campaigns they nobly maintained their independence. The Portuguese settlers in India did not hesitate to follow the spirited precedent set to them at home, and

* Tavernier, *Voyages des Indes*, p. 2. l. 3. c. 20.

proclaimed their native prince. By this procedure they lost the aid which they sometimes derived from the Spaniards; and from the authorities in the father-land, involved in the struggle against their late masters, they could calculate on no assistance. Of this state of affairs the Dutch, though the allies of Joam, availed themselves, and made use of the exigency to extend their power; taking care at the same time to give the best colour they could to those actions, suggested by their worst passions, avarice and sordid ambition.*

The second revolution referred to, will be recognised as that in which the outraged Commons of England rose against a would-be dominant, and at the same time servile, church,† and faith-breaking sovereign. The civil war absorbed all the attention of the nation, and the interests of the English East India Company were lost sight of in the more important considerations at home. The Dutch improved this opportunity also; and on the most frivolous pretences plundered the English factories, and seized on the English vessels. A brief reference to this subject here is demanded, in order to show by what lucky accidents the Dutch were enabled to grasp the power which they wielded in Asia. In dealing with the English portion of this history the subject shall be treated with the consideration due—enough for the present purpose to say that, on the treaty with the Protector, the English claimed as compensation for their losses the sum of £2,700,000, and a further sum of £3615 to the representatives of the persons that were murdered at Amboyna thirty-two years previously.

One of the most important acquisitions of the Dutch in the East was undoubtedly Ceylon. A description of that interesting island has been already given.‡ A brief summary of its history, from its being possessed by the Portuguese till it fell into the hands of the English, appropriately forms a part of this chapter.

* *Universal Modern History*, vol. x. p. 336.

† Dominant over the people, and servile to the throne. She was, perhaps, the most subservient to the throne and the most hostile to popular rights of any national church then existing. The repudiation of the Papal supremacy, the confiscation of church property, the entire dependance of the dignitaries on the sovereign, made it, to a great extent, a mere political engine in the hands of the prince. The Church of England was the first to teach these impious doctrines—the divine right of kings, and passive obedience; dogmas which soon roused the noble indignation of the British, called into action the pious and chivalrous Independents—a God-fearing host, who vindicated the immutable rights of the people—and taught kings that they had heads to forfeit for their flagrant violations of honour, duty, and rights.

‡ P. 158.

The first settlement of the Portuguese was made as early as 1517, when Albergaria obtained from the King of Cotta—whose territories close adjoined Colombo—permission to erect a small factory for the purposes of trade. As in every other quarter, they soon contrived to strengthen their position, and extend their intercourse with the natives. Stone walls quickly replaced the unpretending palisades, and a goodly supply of cannon frowned their defiance on those who dared assault it by land or sea. Too late the Cingalese were sensible of the dangerous proximity of their late suppliants. With the aid of the Moors, and other foreign traders who were eager for the destruction of their enterprising and successful rivals, an attack was made on the new settlers. This proved unavailing; and after a long protracted struggle, the Europeans were left in possession of the western coast. The arbitrary, faithless, and cruel conduct of the Portuguese, which had rendered them detested by the Indians, generally characterized them in Ceylon; and when the Dutch, in 1601, under the command of Admiral Spilbergen, arrived on the coast, and sought an alliance with the King of Candy, in the interior of the island, the proposal was heartily embraced, in the hope that, with the co-operation of the new comers, the Portuguese could be expelled or destroyed. It does not appear that any hopeful attempt was made to realize these expectations until the year 1639. In that year a Dutch squadron attacked the forts on the east coast, and razed them to the ground. In the year following they repeated their visit, and landed at Negombo, but did not as yet attempt to make a settlement there. In 1643 they attacked and took possession of this town, and fortified it in 1658. The Dutch, who properly estimated the value of the prize, sent General Heest from Batavia with a good fleet and army to co-operate with the King of Candia, to effect the final expulsion of the Portuguese. Having defeated the latter in the field, they sought the protection of the fortifications of Colombo. Partly by force and partly by famine this fortress was reduced in a few months. The King of Candy led an army of forty thousand men to this siege, and, although according to the terms of the treaty existing between them, every fort wrested from the enemy was to be delivered into his hands, the Dutch peremptorily refused to put him in possession of this. They alleged there was a large debt due to them, and that they had resolved to retain it as a security for its discharge. This breach of the treaty led to a rupture and declaration of war; but so broken and disheartened were the Portuguese that they did not avail them-

selves of the opportunity offered to repair their losses.

The recent conquerors pursued a wiser policy than their European predecessors. They set assiduously to work to develop the resources of the country, and to cultivate a trade with the interior. They acted with their usual discretion, and duly appreciating the advantages to be derived from an extension of trade they, contrary to the example of the Portuguese, treated the natives with kindness, and made no efforts to reap barren military renown. They succeeded in rendering their commerce between this island and Holland very lucrative. Beside the trade in cinnamon, several other branches of industry were developed; public works undertaken on a large scale; and education, if not placed within the reach of all the inhabitants of the maritime provinces,—over all which their sovereignty extended,—was established on a broad and liberal scale, and subjected to government superintendence. For a century and a half they retained unquestioned possession. The enervating effects of the torrid zone must have told upon their descendants, as, indeed, it has hitherto done upon those of all European settlers; for the territory which they had, by their military prowess, secured in 1658, they as rapidly lost, by their imbecility and cowardice, to the British in 1796.

Not content with the successes they had achieved, the general council in Batavia made an enterprising effort to overcome the difficulties which had hitherto impeded their trade with China. In July, 1655, they sent an embassy with very rich presents to the emperor. After a delay of eight or nine months at Pekin, they were honoured with an audience, and from the courtesy with which they were received, they augured favourably of the results; but very shortly after discovered that they had enemies at court, who had sufficient influence to frustrate all their hopes. The Jesuits had, a long time previous to this, been settled in the Celestial Empire, and under the then reigning sovereign were in great credit, and had considerable influence. The chief of these was Father Adam Schaal, a native of Cologne. He had been thirty-five years a resident, and was in special favour with the emperor, who had raised him to the rank of a mandarin of the first class, and placed him at the head of all the philosophers and mathematicians of the empire. He gave a truthful sketch, though highly coloured, of the new comers; who, with assumed "humble mien and bated breath," hoped to accomplish their ends. He represented them as a people belonging to an

insignificant corner of Europe, whose support depended on peddling and piracy, who had, by treachery and cruelty, raised themselves an extensive empire in the Indies, at the expense of the natives, and more especially of those princes who suffered themselves to be imposed upon by their specious pretences, and allowed them settlements in their dominions, and by those means afforded them an opportunity of tyrannizing over them and their subjects.* On being questioned respecting these particulars by order of the emperor, their admissions fully convinced the Chinese authorities of their real character, and the embassy was obliged to return towards the close of the year 1657, frustrated in their objects.

A similar attempt made at the court of Japan was more fortunate. The Dutch, on this occasion, made a felicitous selection of their ambassador. Zachary Waghanaer was a man of polished manners, affable deportment, and very great experience. On his arrival at that court in March, 1659, he succeeded in ingratiating himself into the favour of the emperor, and also what was equally to his advantage, into the good graces of his ministers. By giving an assurance that the Dutch would apprise the authorities of Japan of any designs which might be formed in the Philippines to their prejudice, and that they would forbear from molesting Chinese vessels trading to their coasts, he obtained for his countrymen all that he could reasonably request in their favour.

While these negotiations were pending in the distant empires of China and Japan, some serious complications arose in Java, in which the safety of Batavia was involved. The Island of Java was under the rule of a sovereign, who by the Dutch was sometimes styled the emperor, and at other times the King of Japara. His governor of Bantam† threw off the yoke, and proclaimed his independence. In this revolt he was sustained by the Dutch, who hoped, in the exhausting conflict, to bear away the lion's share. Their policy—that by which they had hitherto sustained their position—was to foster these divisions; and, accordingly, whenever the emperor made any aggressions on the Dutch settlement,

* Harris's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 933.

† Bantam is on the west of Java. The English and Danes had factories there till 1682, when the Dutch fomented a war between the king and his son, because the father would not come into their measures. With the aid of other rebels they took the old king prisoner, and sent him to Batavia, and placed the son upon the throne. In 1683 they pretended that they were empowered by the new king to expel the Danes and the English, which they did, insolently, according to their custom.—HAMILTON's *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 127.

the King of Bantam was always ready to take up arms in their favour; and whenever the latter and they had any variance, the interference of the emperor was sought. In consequence of some intestine troubles in Java, in the year 1659, the emperor's entire resources were engaged in their suppression. The King of Bantam considered the crisis favourable to his personal designs, and he accordingly enrolled a very numerous army to attack the Dutch, who, he reasoned, deprived of the aid of the emperor, would become an easy prey. He laid siege to Batavia; but the hopes which he nurtured of success were fated to end in disappointment; the greatness recently attained by their extraordinary successes, and the several squadrons which had arrived from Europe in the Indian waters, enabled the Batavians to baffle every effort made by their enemy, and after various repulses and the great losses which he suffered, the King of Bantam retreated precipitately to his own territories.

Their own immediate necessities and defensive war did not incapacitate the Dutch from extending support to their ally the King of Bengal, whose rule was endangered by the pretensions of his brother to the throne. They supplied him with provisions, military stores, and a body of troops, which enabled him to establish his power on a firm basis. As an acknowledgment of the services so opportunely rendered, he conceded to them permission to erect a factory and build a fort at Hoogly. This position they strongly fortified. The effects produced by this location on the trade of the English in that quarter will be hereafter detailed.

The repulse which attended their efforts to conciliate the Chinese still rankled in the bosoms of the governor and council of Batavia, and they eagerly wished for an opportunity to requite the Jesuit fathers for their interference. To be revenged they fitted out a fleet of thirty sail, which they dispatched to the Island of Macassar, to attack the capital of that name, in the port of which there was a Portuguese fleet richly laden, in which the Jesuits were largely concerned. In June, 1660, Macassar was attacked by sea and land, and though the king of the island defended his allies with all his forces, the Batavians achieved a complete victory, burnt three of the enemy's ships, sank two, and captured one; the cargo of which was so valuable, that it defrayed the expenses of the Chinese embassy, which cost the Dutch a sum of money (the loss of which affected them seriously), and also of this expedition. The King of Macassar, much to the honour and gratification of the victors, sent an embassy

to Batavia, and submitted to such terms as the governor thought proper to impose, though these were stringent and arbitrary. He was bound to expel from his dominions all the Portuguese settlers, and never to admit them, or any other Europeans than the Dutch, to locate themselves there. The fortress and port of Jampandam, with a district of about four leagues in diameter about it, were assigned to the Dutch East India Company; the Jesuits were expelled, their colleges razed, their churches beaten down, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company;* and the king was compelled to send an ambassador with suitable presents to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of the treaty, even upon these disgraceful terms. This was the most important and advantageous of all their achievements in the East. But, nevertheless, it was undoubtedly an unjustifiable act of robbery and spoliation, a long time conceived, carefully matured, and treacherously executed. Ten years previously, while they were carrying on a trade with this island, and on terms of amity with the king, they privately encouraged several of their countrymen to settle in different parts of his dominions, who, when they found themselves sufficiently strong, raised a formidable force, and unexpectedly attacked him in his palace, having an assurance from the authorities in Batavia, that a sufficient force was prepared to support them. The latter, through mismanagement, did not arrive

* In a work entitled, *An Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macassar in the East Indies*, in which the above statement is more fully given and quoted from Tavernier, the author observes:—"This is the specious pretence wherewith M. Tavernier excused the Indian Batavians; but this is the truth, which ought to be believed, concerning that affair, upon the testimony that was given to me by persons disinterested, and of known probity, who told me what I am going to say concerning those that had the greatest share in that expedition. 'Tis very true that the Dutch ambassador from Batavia was ill-received at the Chinese court, and that the emperor refused him permission to traffic in his country. But there was no necessity for the Jesuits to advise him to deal so by him; for by several precedents he well knew how dangerous a thing it was for the Indian sovereigns to let the Dutch get footing in their realms, and the experience of their neighbours convinced them too well of the infidelity and ingratitude of those people. But though the Jesuits of China should have had any share in the emperor's refusal, and though they who live at Macassar, because they were of the same society had deserved the blame, yet how many merchants were there at the same port, to whom alone the ships belonged, that were innocent? Nevertheless, they were as little spared as the rest, but were all involved in the same misfortune. 'Tis true, the Jesuits were sensibly concerned at the defeat of the Portuguese; not only for the loss of any merchandize of their own, but because they saw themselves disappointed in all their hopes of settling the Roman Catholic religion in Macassar."—P. 33.

at the time appointed, and in the interval the king, though taken by surprise, mustered his forces, and acted with such vigour that the Dutch insurgents and their allies were in danger of being totally destroyed. Both armies were encamped within sight of each other, and separated by a river. The Dutch, observing that the native soldiers at a certain hour came to drink, poisoned the water, and thus destroyed multitudes of them, and secured themselves till the succours arrived.

The self-congratulations of the Dutch, on the success of this expedition, were shortly after painfully interrupted by the severest reverse they had met with during their Indian experiences. They had at this time one of their most flourishing and fairest settlements in Formosa. This island lies about ninety miles off the coast of China, from which it is separated by the channel of Fo-kien, north lat. 22° and $25^{\circ} 30''$, and east long. $120^{\circ} 30'$ and 122° . It is one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the East. Almost all grains and fruits may be produced on it. Among its articles of trade are—maize, sugar, tobacco, fruits, timber, salt, sulphur, camphor, cotton, hemp, silk, &c. It at present belongs to China, and is familiarly called the granary of the maritime provinces of that empire. It was unknown to the celestials till about the year 1403. About 1643 the Dutch built a fort there, called Fort Zealand, on a small island, commanding the harbour of the capital Taewan. The Chinese, in the year 1653, laid a deep and well-devised scheme for the destruction of the settlement, which was frustrated by the accidental discovery of it. Their good fortune produced a relaxation of that circumspection characteristic of the Dutch; and, entirely bent on the prosecution of their private speculation, they neglected their public duties and general welfare. The fortifications were neglected, and the magazines exhausted. At the same time the greatest severities were inflicted on the Chinese, who in the island amounted to between twenty and thirty thousand men. These were in communication with their countrymen, who were at that time engaged in resisting the Tartar invasion of the empire. The Dutch governor, Werburgh, in order as he supposed to render himself and the garrison secure, proceeded against such as were either in arms or were suspected of a forbidden correspondence. Many of the former were cut to pieces, and many of the latter exposed to cruel deaths and merciless tortures. These severities made the Chinese to a man determined enemies to the Dutch.

At the time the Tartars made their last conquest of China, there dwelt in Fort Zea-

land a tailor, whose name was Chinchilung, but by the Europeans he was called Iquon. He was a man of large mind, great resolution, and undaunted courage, devoted to his country, and enraged against its Tartar invaders. So constituted, he could not continue a passive spectator of the dangers that threatened his father-land. He collected some kindred spirits, manned two or three small barks, and with this force proceeded to take an active part. His daring adventures were crowned with success; in a short space of time his power had increased to that degree that he became a terror to the Tartar emperor. To get rid of so formidable an adversary, the emperor entered into negotiations with him, and offered to make him king of the two extensive provinces of Canton and Fo-kien, and invited him to Fo-kien to complete the arrangements, and to give him the investiture of his new dignity; but, instead of keeping his faith, he seized on his guest, and had him poisoned. This aspirant to a throne had a son, whose name was Coxinga, who, upon his father's imprisonment, took the command of his fleet. He at first solicited the aid of the Dutch, promising them in return great advantages in case of success; this was refused. Enraged at the repulse, and well acquainted with the neglected state of the defences and the disaffection of the Chinese, he resolved to turn all his force against Formosa. For this enterprise he assembled a fleet of six hundred sail, most of them small frigates, but nearly one hundred of them stout men-of-war of forty guns and upwards, and before any preparations could be made to receive him, he appeared before the Dutch town, in March, 1661. The Chinese landed forty thousand men; all the outposts in a very short time fell into the hands of Coxinga, and the Dutch forces on the island were crowded into Fort Zealand. Although a strong squadron of nine ships, commanded by Commodore James Cawen, was sent to re-inforce the garrison, four hundred of his troops were lost in a land attack upon six thousand Chinese. No better success attended an effort by sea; the Dutch lost two of their best men-of-war, one of which came ashore, and the crew, numbering three hundred and eighty, were killed by the Chinese; the other was blown up, a shot having lodged in her powder magazine. Thus baffled, the five remaining vessels sailed for Java, having on board two hundred women and children taken from the fort. The Governor Cojet performed his part like a soldier and man of honour; and when he was urged by promises and threats to surrender, his answer was worthy of a Spartan,—there was nothing, he said, could induce him to

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